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URINARY CALCULUS
A
PROBLEM IN PHYSIOLOGICAL CHEMISTRY¹

BY

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(Continued from page 137, vol. vii, No. 2)

PART III

EXPERIMENTAL PRODUCTION OF STONES

While the above inquiry was proceeding, Col. McCarrison investigated the possibility of producing stones in albino rats under rigidly controlled conditions through faulty diets in common use among the people of India. A number of stones were thus produced; twenty-one of them were analysed. They were all bladder-stones; they varied in weight from 3.4 to 66.6 mgs. Their chemical composition shows the following noteworthy points (Newcomb and Ranganathan, 1930, *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, xvii, p. 1055)..

(a) All the stones are essentially of magnesium ammonium phosphate with small quantities of other substances of which carbonate is the chief.

(b) They all contain little or no calcium.

(c) None of the stones contain uric acid or urates.²

¹ Prize-thesis for the Maharajah of Travancore-Curzon Prize, 1932.

² The significance of this will be dealt at length at a later stage (*Vide* p. 65).

McCarrison observed that the chief deficiencies of the above calculus-producing diets were a deficiency of suitable proteins of good biological value and a deficiency of vitamin A-bearing ingredients. Later experiments showed that a sufficiency of proteins of high biological value neither prevented nor diminished appreciably its incidence. Thus he eliminated the protein factor in the causation of stone.¹

Experimental Production of Different Types of Stones

Having succeeded in producing stones consisting essentially of magnesium ammonium phosphate, the next point investigated by Col. McCarrison was to find out if the composition of the stones could be altered by purely dietetic means. He, therefore, added slaked lime to his experimental diets, which were deficient among other things in vitamin A, with the result that the incidence of calculus and its sequelae was greatly increased. A number of stones were thus produced on calcium-rich vitamin A-deficient diets. Seventy-eight of them were subjected to complete chemical analysis; this series also included six stones produced on diets to which lime was not added.

The physical characters of the stones produced on calcium-rich diets differed markedly from those previously reported: they were as a rule white or greyish-white in colour, and usually multiple; their appearance was chalky, and often the concretions consisted of fine, rounded chalky grains showing no tendency to adherence into a single mass. In weight, they varied from less than 2 to as much as 800 milligrammes. Of the 78 stones, 60 were bladder stones; 15 were kidney stones; 2 were ureter stones; and 1 was a chalky gravel removed from the prepuce. For purposes of analysis, they were divided into two main groups: those weighing less than 5 mgs. and those weighing more. Owing to the small amount of material, analysis of those in the first group was only possible by qualitative methods;

¹ McCarrison, R. (1930): *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, xvii, p. 1103.

while those in the second group admitted of analysis by quantitative micro-chemical methods (Ranganathan : *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, 1930, xviii, p. 599).

The results of the analysis of stones weighing 5 mgs. or less are set out in Table VII and of stones weighing over 5 mgs. in Table VIII.

TABLE VII

Showing the chemical composition of 25 rat stones that weighed 5 milligrams or less.

[Directions : + (?) = Doubtful or faint trace ; + = Present ; + + = Fair amounts ; + + + = Plenty ; 0 = Nil.]

Stone Number	Carbonate	Phosphate	Calcium	Magnesium	Murexide Test	Diet	Location of stone
24	+ + +	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	A	Bladder
25	+ +	+ +	- 0 (?)	+ +	0	D	Bladder
29	+	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	C	Bladder
32	+ + +	0	+ + +	0	0	B	Kidney
38	+ + +	+	+ + +	0	0	B	Kidney
39	+	+ (?)	+ +	0	0	H	Bladder
40	+	0	+ + +	0	0	A	Bladder
44	+ + +	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	C	Bladder
47	+ + +	0	+ + +	0	0	B	Bladder
49	+ (?)	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	C	Kidney
57	+ (?)	+ + +	0	+ +	0	D	Bladder
60	+ + +	+	+ + +	0	0	A	Bladder
62	+ + +	+ (?)	+ +	0	0	C	Kidney
64	+ + +	+	+ +	0	0	E	Kidney
65	+ (?)	+ +	+ (?)	+	0	F	Bladder
68	+ + +	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	E	Kidney
69	+	+ +	+ (?)	+ +	0	G	Bladder
70	+ + +	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	C	Bladder
73	+ + +	+ (?)	+ + +	0	0	E	Bladder
74	+ + +	0	+ + +	0	0	E	Kidney
80	+ + +	+	+ + +	0	0	C	Kidney
81	+	0	+ + +	0	0	C	Kidney
85	+	0	+ + +	0	0	E	Kidney
105	+	0	+ + +	0	0	J	Bladder
107	0	+ + +	0	+ + +	0	L	Bladder

TABLE VIII

Showing the composition of 53 rat stones weighing 5 mgs. or more.

Stone number	Moisture per cent.	As per cent. on moisture-free sample					Wt. of stone mg.	Murexide Test	Diet	Location of stone
		Total N.	P ₂ O ₅	CaO	MgO	CO ₂				
23	5.5	2.4	Trace	43.0	2.0	43.4	30.3	0	A	Kidney
26	27.4	0.7	0	29.0	0	0	127.6	0	A	Bladder
27	3.8	1.8	1.6	42.0	2.0	37.0	26.1	0	B	Do.
31	36.7	1.1	0	35.6	0	0	117.8	0	B	Do.
33	19.4	1.1	1.4	45.5	2.0	39.5	96.0	0	A	Do.
34	8.7	1.2	Trace	29.0	1.8	22.0	17.3	0	C	Do.
35	5.8	1.3	1.1	44.4	1.5	37.1	69.3	0	C	Glanspenis
36	6.5	3.4	1.9	33.4	3.6	41.1	12.3	0	A	Bladder
37	3.5	0.5	1.1	47.6	1.6	36.0	797.8	0	B	Do.
42	11.4	0.7	0	41.5	0	7.0	104.2	0	B	Do.
43	43.8	1.1	Trace	28.0	0	Trace	99.8	0	A	Do.
45	6.0	1.2	0.9	45.0	1.8	35.6	81.2	0	C	Do.
46	10.1	1.6	Trace	30.7	Trace	21.5	43.5	0	A	Do.
48	11.6	1.4	0	32.4	0	0	20.6	0	C	Do.
50	8.5	1.5	Trace	37.0	1.4	25.5	30.7	0	E	Do.
51	11.4	2.4	0	35.5	0	0	18.5	0	C	Do.
52	5.1	1.1	0.8	42.6	Trace	29.1	59.3	0	C	Do.
53	13.3	0.5	0.9	40.3	2.0	26.5	286.3	0	E	Do.
54	18.4	1.1	2.7	43.2	1.6	38.4	37.5	0	E	Do.
55	5.0	1.5	1.3	40.0	Trace	22.2	43.9	0	C	Do.
56	19.0	0.9	0.7	29.9	0	8.6	245.4	0	B	Do.
59	35.5	0.7	0.3	29.1	Trace	5.1	370.0	0	A	Do.
61	8.8	2.3	1.0	38.1	0	22.2	13.7	0	C	Do.
63	11.6	1.2	0.3	45.7	0	5.4	59.2	0	C	Do.
66	19.9	1.5	0.7	32.6	3.5	12.3	200.9	0	E	Do.
67	7.9	3.6	1.8	32.4	2.5	28.8	21.6	0	E	Kidney
71	9.2	0.8	Trace	41.5	0	10.6	84.2	0	C	Bladder
72	8.7	3.2	0.9	44.5	0	Trace	20.6	0	C	Kidney
75	3.7	0.6	1.3	41.2	1.0	37.5	32.5	0	A	Bladder
76	7.8	1.8	1.2	38.0	1.6	33.7	51.3	0	B	Do.
77	8.6	0.5	0.5	43.7	1.4	41.8	288.6	0	B	Do.
78	14.3	0.9	0.5	37.3	1.0	21.5	72.9	0	C	Do.
79	5.7	3.5	1.3	39.7	3.0	39.7	15.9	0	C	Ureters
82	29.7	0.7	0.5	27.8	0	Trace	112.7	0	H	Bladder
83	18.4	0.6	0.4	29.5	0	Trace	123.0	0	I	Do.
84	9.4	1.6	0.3	40.8	0	7.5	73.0	0	A	Do.
86	18.0	1.5	0.9	43.7	1.2	36.2	122.4	0	E	Kidney
87	22.1	0.9	0.5	41.6	2.2	19.9	83.6	0	E	Bladder
88	7.4	3.5	1.8	34.6	3.2	23.3	18.9	0	C	Kidney
89	11.0	2.9	1.5	34.0	1.8	28.6	14.6	0	C	Bladder
91	49.3	1.1	0.3	29.4	0	Trace	550.7	0	A	Do.
92	4.6	1.7	1.9	41.1	1.5	39.4	17.5	0	A	Do.
93	19.7	0.7	0.7	53.5	Trace	34.9	36.7	0	A	Do.
94	3.5	0.4	1.6	43.2	2.1	39.0	51.7	0	E	Do.
95	41.9	1.5	0.7	26.7	0	Trace	237.2	0	B	Do.
96	2.7	1.1	1.4	27.6	0	9.6	59.5	0	B	Do.
98	12.0	2.1	11.6	37.0	2.1	Trace	13.4	0	E	Do.
99	3.8	1.0	2.3	44.7	3.2	42.3	13.1	0	E	Do.
101	2.6	0.2	1.2	48.0	1.6	39.9	163.5	0	B	Do.
103	9.3	1.9	2.2	35.	1.2	39.0	11.9	0	J	Do.
104	4.8	2.5	1.9	41.6	2.8	+ + ¹	6.3	0	A	Ureters
106	3.9	0.5	1.7	44.3	2.2	43.8	70.2	0	J	Bladder
108	39.1	5.0	36.8	4.36	24.4	Trace ¹	11.0	0	L	Do.

¹ Tested only qualitatively as there was not enough stone-material for quantitative work.

It will be seen from Tables VII and VIII that the six stones (stone Nos. 25, 57, 65, 69, 107 and 108) differed from the rest in being very rich in P_2 and Mg, comparatively rich in nitrogen and very poor in calcium and carbonates. Because of insufficiency of material, ammonia was not tested for in the above six stones; it is, however, assumed that the Mg existed as the magnesium ammonium phosphate. This assumption is warranted by the positive tests given by some of the rat stones reported previously wherein there was a sufficiency of stone material for the performance of this test.

It will also be seen from the above two tables that while there are some stones containing fairly large amounts of calcium, with approximately equivalent amounts of carbonate, there are some equally rich in calcium with little or no carbonates. Qualitative tests for the presence of sulphates, cystine, formate, acetate, butyrate, oxalate and succinate showed that the calcium is not held in combination with any of these radicals; it could not exist in combination with any organic nitrogenous compound commonly found in urine, since the stones contain nitrogen only in traces. It was, therefore, suspected that the calcium might exist as its hydroxide. Such stones (containing fair amounts of calcium with little or no carbonates) when treated with a small quantity of distilled water were alkaline to litmus and methyl red. But the addition of a drop of 0.1N sulphuric acid gave a distinctly acid reaction, which again turned alkaline after violent shaking and gentle warming. The following experiment repeated with six stones (Nos. 48, 51, 59, 66, 91 and 95) was, therefore, designed to prove that stones containing fair amounts of calcium with little or no carbonates are composed for the most part of calcium hydroxide; weighed amounts of the dry, powdered stones were treated with an excess of 0.1 N acid and boiled for over 5 minutes; when cold they were back titrated against decinormal alkali. In all the six stones the acid used up was appreciable; but the amounts used up were not strictly equivalent to the amount of calcium present in the stones. Presumably, the molecules of calcium hydroxide are coated with a thin film of some urinary colloid which renders the penetration of acid difficult, and at best, imperfect. This may possibly explain why such stone powders did not use up appreciable amounts of acid when titrated

direct. However, the same stone powders, when boiled with excess of acid, took up very appreciable amounts of it. Even then, the process of neutralisation was imperfect; for the residue left over after the endpoint was reached, when freed completely from acid by repeated washings with distilled water, and boiled as before with decinormal acid, was found to use up a portion of the acid added. Further, the stones containing large amounts of calcium, with little or no carbonates, liberated ammonia when boiled with a solution of ammonium chloride. These tests show that the calcium in such stones exists as its hydroxide.

The moisture content of the stones varied widely: from 2.1 to 49.3 per cent, the average being 14.17 per cent. Comparing the moisture content of the stones with their general composition, it is seen that the moisture content serves as an approximate guide to the composition of the stone: those with a low moisture content, below 10 per cent and especially those below 5 per cent, consist mostly of calcium carbonate; those rich in moisture, viz., above 20 per cent, consist for the most part of calcium hydroxide; and those whose moisture content lies between 10 and 20 per cent, consist mostly of mixtures of calcium carbonate and calcium hydroxide.

Composition of Stones from Various Parts of the Urinary Tract.—There were in the present series of 78 stones, 60 bladder stones, 15 kidney stones, 2 ureter stones and one chalky gravel from the prepuce. There was not in this series any particular association between the location of the stone and its composition. Data relating to it are given in Table IX, in the construction of which the principal constituent of the stones is reckoned.

TABLE IX

Location of stones	Number of stones	Number of calcium carbonate stones	Number of calcium hydroxide stones	Number of mixed stones	Number of magnesium ammonium phosphate stones	Total
Bladder ...	60	27	11	16	6	60
Kidney ...	15	10	2	3	0	15
Ureters ...	2	2	0	0	0	2
Prepuce ...	1	1	0	0	0	1
Totals ...	78	40	13	19	6	78

Diet and Chemical Composition.—Of the 78 stones, whose chemical composition was investigated, 72 contained large amounts of calcium with very little phosphate, while 6 contained appreciable amounts of phosphates and magnesium with little or no calcium. The whole set of stones ranges itself into two distinct groups: calcium stones, wherein the calcium exists either as the carbonate, or the hydroxide or a mixture of both, and magnesium ammonium phosphate stones. The following Tables X and XI show the diets employed in their production.

TABLE X

Showing the composition of McCarrison's experimental diets containing added lime.

A.	White bread	... 97 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Lime	... 5 grains per rat per day.
	Iodine solution (1 mg. in 1 litre)	... 5 drops per rat per day.
B.	White bread	... 97 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Lime	... 5 grains per rat per day.
C.	White bread	... 95 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Gingelli oil	... 2 " "
	Lime	... 5 grains per rat per day.
	Iodine solution	... 5 drops per rat per day.
E.	White bread	... 97 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Lime	... 5 grains per rat per day.
	Iodine solution	... 5 drops per rat per day.
	Manganese chloride	... 0.0327 mg. per rat per day
H.	White bread	... 97 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Lime	... 5 grains per rat per day.
	Distilled water containing 0.25 mg. of iodine per litre of water for drinking purposes;	
I.	White bread	... 95 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Radiostoleum in gingelli oil.	... 2 " "
	Iodine solution	... 5 drops per rat per day.
	Lime	... 5 grains per rat per day.
J.	White bread	... 97 per cent.
	Dried yeast	... 3 " "
	Iodine solution	... 5 drops per rat per day.
	Lime	... 2½ grains per rat per day.

TABLE XI

*Showing the composition of McCarrison's experimental diets
containing no added lime*

D.	Oatmeal	...	...	...	53 per cent.		
	Linseed meal	...	...	...	20	,	,
	Corn flour	...	...	...	25	,	,
	Sodium chloride	...	...	...	1	,	,
	Calcium phosphate	...	...	...	1	,	,
F.	White flour	...	...	...	90	,	,
	Linseed oil	...	...	...	8	,	,
	Sodium chloride	...	...	...	1	,	,
	Calcium phosphate	...	...	...	1	,	,
G.	White flour	...	...	...	20	,	,
	Casein ...	...	...	...	60	,	,
	Olive oil	...	...	...	8	,	,
	Gingelli oil	...	...	...	2	,	,
	Salt mixture	...	...	...	5	,	,
	Dried yeast	...	...	...	5	,	,
K.	White flour	...	...	...	60	,	,
	Casein...	...	...	...	20	,	,
	Hydrogenated fat	...	...	...	8	,	,
	Hydrogenated fat <i>plus</i> radiostoleum	...	...	...	2	,	,
	Salt mixture	...	...	...	5	,	,
	Dried yeast	—	...	...	5	,	,
L.	Casein...	...	...	...	80	,	,
	Hydrogenated fat	...	...	...	8	,	,
	Hydrogenated fat <i>plus</i> radiostoleum	...	...	...	2	,	,
	Salt mixture	...	...	...	5	,	,
	Dried yeast	...	...	...	5	,	,

There is thus found a close association between the diet and the chemical composition of stones. This association is clearly set forth in Table XII, in the construction of which only the principal constituent of the stones is taken into consideration; Table XIII shows a similar association after incorporating the results of the 21 rat stones previously reported upon.

URINARY CALCULUS

TABLE XII

Diet	Number of stones	Number of Calcium carbonate stones	Number of calcium hydroxide stones	Number of magnesium amm. phosphate stones	Number of mixed calcium stones	Total
A ...	16	9	3	0	4	16
B ...	13	8	2	0	3	13
C ...	22	9	4	0	9	22
D ...	2	0	0	2	0	2
E ...	15	8	1	0	6	15
F ...	1	0	0	1	0	1
G ...	1	0	0	1	0	1
H ...	2	0	1	0	1	2
I ...	1	0	1	0	0	1
J ...	3	2	0	0	1	3
K ...	1	0	0	1	0	1
L ...	1	0	0	1	0	1
Total ...	78	36	12	6	24	78

TABLE XIII

Diet	Number of stones	Number of calcium stones	Number of magnesium ammonium phosphate stones
Those containing added lime ...	72	72	0
Those containing no added lime ...	27	0	27
Totals ...	99	72	27

It is thus seen that the stones produced on diets to which extra lime was added were composed either of calcium carbonate or calcium hydroxide or a mixture of both; while the stones produced on diets to which lime was not added were composed of magnesium ammonium phosphate. It is also seen that there is no association between the diet and the particular kind of calcium stones produced, for, the same diets that produced calcium carbonate stones in some rats produced calcium

hydroxide or mixed stones in others. Possibly, the stones originate as calcium hydroxide and get deposited as such, in the absence of any available carbonate in the urine. Further, it is evident from the foregoing observations that the addition of lime to the diet profoundly alters the composition of the stone. While it is generally contended that very little calcium passes through the urinary tract, instances have occurred wherein calcium has been found in the urinary tract of rats in as large amounts as one-fiftieth of the body-weight of the animal. Particular interest therefore attaches to the chemical composition of the present series of stones, as it affords material for evaluating the influence of added lime on the composition of the rat stones. The course of ingested lime was investigated biochemically; at the same time, the metabolism of phosphorus and magnesium, the two important elements occurring in the non-calcium stones, was also studied. To this end, various deficient diets which had proved to be of high stone-producing potency were used.

Experimental.—The animals were kept in individual metabolism cages, specially designed for this purpose in these laboratories. In the present studies, special precautions were not taken to prevent fermentation of the urines and the faeces, as the investigation was limited to mineral metabolism alone.

The *basal* diet used in these experiments consisted of 97 grs. of white bread and 3 grs. of yeast, to which were added 25 grains of slaked lime and 25 drops of an iodine solution containing one mg. of iodine per litre. Each rat was given 20 grs. of this food per day, thereby having a daily supply of 5 grains of slaked lime. Several modifications of this diet were made, and the effects of the change on the mineral metabolism studied. These modifications were as follows: additions of radiostoleum (vitamins A and D), sesame oil, milk, sodium phosphate, butter, sodium phosphate and vitamin A, vitamin A alone, sodium phosphate and radiostoleum, radiostoleum alone or cod-liver oil to the basal diet. Two young albino rats in growing period were fed on each of these diets. The diets were made into a homogeneous, non-crumbling mass and pressed into small glass food-containers each holding 20 to 25 grs. of food. The animals were provided with distilled water *ad libitum*. When milk formed part of the diet, it was given in measured amounts and

that left unconsumed in the milk tube being measured the next morning.

The animals were fed at 11 a.m. daily and the following morning the food left unconsumed was picked out of the containers and weighed. The food-intake of each animal was thus arrived at, due allowance being made for loss of weight consequent on drying. This loss was slight; it ranged in the 13 diets used between 1.5 and 3.0 per cent.

The calcium, magnesium and phosphate contents of the various diets were estimated. The urines were collected daily into stoppered bottles and analyses made on representative samples of them collected during each week. In collecting the urines, urinary deposits were often noticed sticking to the stem of the funnel and to the bottom of the flask. These deposits were dissolved in 5 to 10 c.c. of strong hydrochloric acid on the last day of each weekly collection, and added to the main bulk of the urines. An additional advantage of this procedure was that it held in solution salts which would otherwise have been thrown out of solution during the storage necessary before analyses could be completed by a single worker. Before the addition of hydrochloric acid solution of the urinary deposits to the main bulk of the urines, aliquots of the representative samples were taken and utilised for chloride estimation. Total nitrogen, phosphate, calcium and magnesium were determined in the remainders. The faeces were collected at least two hours before the administration of food, care being taken to avoid their contamination by food particles. They were weighed and then dried at 100°C for over 6 hours. When completely dry, they were again weighed, powdered and representative samples taken for analysis. Phosphates, calcium and magnesium were determined in them. It is thus possible from the above analysis to form a fairly accurate estimate of the actual intake of calcium, magnesium and phosphates and of the respective amounts of them that are excreted through the urinary and intestinal tracts, and therefrom to arrive at the amounts retained in the body. Records of the intake of food, the volume of urine voided, the weight of faeces excreted and the weekly body-weights were maintained for each animal. For the sake of convenience, the experiments were divided into three series.

SERIES I

The mineral metabolism under this head was confined to the following four diets :—

Group I received a modified 'stock' diet,¹ consisting of 'atta chapatties', sprouted Bengal gram, cabbage and milk;

Group II received the basal diet, wherein 2 parts of white bread were replaced by 2 of sesame oil containing half a drop of radiostoleum (300 Blue, B.D.H.). The consumption of radiostoleum was approximately 0.06 of a drop per rat per day.

Group III received the same diet as in Group II but without the radiostoleum.

Weekly analysis of the urines and faeces were made for six weeks when the following alterations in the diets were made. The animals in Group I were given in addition slaked lime to the extent of five grains per rat per day (incorporated in 20 gms. of food) while those of the other two groups received milk in addition. This alteration in the diets was made with a view to finding out what changes, if any, were brought about in the excretion of lime by its addition to the 'stock' diet and what by making good the vitamin deficiencies of the other diets by the addition of milk. The observations of mineral metabolism under the altered conditions were carried out for a further six weeks. The results are set out in detail in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 1931, vol. xix, p. 1; a summary of the results is given in Tables XIV (a), (b) and (c) and XV. The results for the faeces are reported on dry samples.

TABLE XIV (a)

	CALCIUM (CaO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention.	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake
Group I.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	844	45	129	174	670	79.4
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	2,133	46.5	1,192.5	1,239	894	41.9

¹ The original 'stock diet' included in addition carrots and occasionally meat.

TABLE XIV (a)—*Contd.*

	CALCIUM (CaO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention.	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake
Group II.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	1,314	320	273	593	721	54.9
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	1,616	76	690	766	850	52.6
Group III.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	1,152	171	324	495	657	57.0
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	1,442	86	675	761	681	47.2

TABLE XIV (b)

	PHOSPHATES (P ₂ O ₅).						
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention		CaO retained/ P ₂ O ₅ retained
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake	
Group I.							
Mean for the first 6 weeks	1,029	441	225	666	363	35·3	1·85
Mean for the second 6 weeks	1,025	162	892	1,054	—29	—2·7	...
Group II.							
Mean for the first 6 weeks	411	13	109	122	289	70·3	2·49
Mean for the second 6 weeks	622	45	344	389	233	37·5	3·65

TABLE XIV (b)—*Contd.*

	PHOSPHATES (P ₂ O ₅).						
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention		CaO retained/ P ₂ O ₅ retained
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake	
Group III.							
Mean for the first 6 weeks	360	12	117	129	231	64.2	2.84
Mean for the second 6 weeks	568	56	377	433	135	23.8	5.04

TABLE XIV (c)

	MAGNESIUM (MgO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake
Group I.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	233	18	47	65	158	67·8
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	428	57	297	354	74	17·3
Group II.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	250	37	31	68	182	72·8
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	316	46	93	139	177	56·0
Group III.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	219	36	26	62	157	71·7
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	283	35	89	124	159	56·2

TABLE XV

	Output of CaO in		Output of P ₂ O ₅ in		Output of MgO in	
	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces
	Percentage		Percentage		Percentage	
Group I.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	0·023	0·58	0·232	1·18	0·011	0·21
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	0·022	4·44	0·076	3·67	0·027	1·23
Group II.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	0·291	4·29	0·012	1·69	0·035	0·36
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	0·055	7·91	0·025	4·03	0·029	1·10
Group III.						
Mean for the first 6 weeks.	0·131	6·20	0·010	2·24	0·027	0·038
Mean for the second 6 weeks.	0·061	8·25	0·039	4·65	0·024	1·07

The results of metabolic studies show that there was very little excretion of calcium through the urinary tract of rats when they were fed on the 'stock' diet. Even when the calcium content of the diet was greatly increased by the addition of lime, the excretion of calcium in the urine was not appreciably affected. These results are in conformity with those of Stewart and Percival,¹ Telfer,² and Bauer, Albright and Aub.³ But the addition of lime to diets of which the chief deficiencies were fat-soluble vitamins and phosphates, led to a great excretion of calcium through the urinary tract. The excretion of calcium through the bowels was also great. When the above deficiencies were partly corrected by the addition of milk, the urinary

¹ Stewart and Percival (1928): *Physiol. Rev.*, viii, p. 283.

² Telfer (1922): *Quart. Jour. Med.*, xvi, p. 45.

³ Bauer, Albright and Aub (1930): *Abst. J.A.M.A.* (1930), xciv, p. 1022.

calcium decreased while the faecal calcium correspondingly increased. It was suspected that the apparent discrepancies in the estimation of urinary calcium of animals in Group III, just before the addition of milk, were possibly due to the development of stone in one of the animals, which exhibited clinical symptoms of this malady—protrusion of the penis, a common symptom of stone—and loss of weight; this it was thought would lead to a storage of mineral salts. This suspicion was later confirmed at the post-mortem when stones were found both in the kidney and bladder; these weighed 19.2 and 95.0 mgs. respectively. Their compositions were as follows:—

—	Mois.	N.	P ₂ O ₅	CaO	MgO	CO ₂
Kidney	5.1	1.6	0.9	44.2	Trace	40.8
Bladder	3.6	1.3	1.4	43.0	1.5	36.5

The figures represent results on moisture-free samples.

The amount of calcium excreted through the bowels in animals fed on the stock diet exhibited a fairly close relation to the amount of phosphates in the faeces. On this diet, the two ingredients, CaO and P₂O₅, seemed to exist approximately in the ratio obtaining in calcium phosphate. This relation of CaO to P₂O₅ was not so well observed in rats fed on the deficient diets, especially in the pre-milk period; showing thereby that a considerable part of the calcium was excreted in some form other than calcium phosphate, possibly as sulphate. Qualitative tests showed that the faeces of the deficiently-fed animals contained more sulphates than those of animals on the stock diet.

As regards phosphates, there was, comparatively speaking, a far greater excretion of phosphates in the urine on stock diet than on the deficient diets. When lime was added to the stock diet, the urinary phosphates rapidly decreased, while the faecal phosphates correspondingly increased. In the deficiently-fed rats, there was very little excretion of phosphates in the urine; but with the addition of milk, urinary phosphates increased gradually.

A study of the excretions of CaO and P₂O₅ in rats fed on the three diets shows that the urinary excretion of phosphates seems to be governed by the intake of CaO and P₂O₅. If the diet be well balanced as regards its calcium and phosphorus,

there should theoretically be only very little excretion of calcium in the urine. But in the deficiently-fed animals, where there was a preponderating excess of calcium over phosphates, very little of the phosphate was left, after combination with calcium in the bowels, to be excreted in the urine. Again, the greater urinary excretion of phosphates in stock animals was due only to the relative amounts of calcium and phosphates in the stock diet and not to the content of fat-soluble vitamins in the diet; this was well shown by the behaviour of rats (Group II) receiving radiostoleum.¹ It was also shown by the rats on stock diet in the post-lime period where a great imbalance between calcium and phosphorus was brought about by the addition of large amounts of lime to the diet.

SERIES II

The study of mineral metabolism under this head was confined to the following four diets :—

Group I received the basal diet of white bread, yeast, lime and iodine without further addition;

Group II received the basal diet *plus* milk *ad libitum*;

Group III received the basal diet *plus* sodium phosphate in amounts approximately equivalent to the amount of calcium in the diet so as to facilitate the formation of calcium phosphate;

Group IV received the basal diet *plus* butter to the extent of 20 per cent of the diet.

It was suspected as a result of the metabolic studies recorded under Series I, that if the diet rich in calcium were also to contain an abundance of phosphates, in quantities sufficient to form calcium phosphate, then very little of the calcium ingested would pass through the kidneys, while most of it would pass through the bowels. Further, it had been noticed in the first series that the addition of milk to calcium-rich diets was able to divert the course of a major portion of the calcium from the urine to the faeces. In order to determine whether this was achieved solely by the fat-soluble vitamins of the milk, or by its phosphate content alone, or by the conjoint effects of both, the above four diets were employed.

¹ It is possible, however, that the amount of fat-soluble vitamins added to the deficient diet in the form of radio-stoleum may have been insufficient for the metabolic needs of the animals. But as will be seen later in Series III, the same observations were noticed even when the radiostoleum content of the diet was increased sixteen-fold.

As in the first series, weekly analysis of the urines and the faeces were made to find out the excretions of CaO , MgO and P_2O_5 . These observations were extended to nine weeks. The diets were also analysed for their CaO , MgO and P_2O_5 contents to evaluate the intake of the three mineral salts. A summary of the results as total excreted is reported in Table XVI (a), (b) and (c), while Table XVII gives the same as percentages of the urines or the faeces. The results for the faeces are reported as before on moisture-free samples.

Slight changes were effected in the amount of butter added to the diet. Up to the end of the sixth week, the animals were receiving butter to the extent of 20 per cent of their diet. In the seventh week, the percentage was reduced by one-half, viz., to 10 per cent, during the eighth week to 5 per cent, and during the last week butter was totally cut out from the diet. It was seen that the urinary excretion of CaO which was as high as 112 mgs. in the seventh week, rapidly fell to 42 mgs. in the eighth week, and to 29 mgs. in the ninth week. Synchronous with this decrease in the urinary output of CaO , the animals grew better during the last three weeks, they had better appetite and consequently, there was a greater intake of CaO .

At the end of the experiment the animals were killed and subjected to complete post-mortem examination. Vesical calculi were found in one of the animals on the basal diet; the weight of the dry stones was 31.3 mgs. On analysis they were found to contain: moisture 11.5, nitrogen 2.2, P_2O_5 1.36, CaO 34.2, MgO nil, and CO_2 trace; the figures represent results as percentages on moisture-free sample.

TABLE XVI (a)

	CALCIUM (CaO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake
Group I.						
Mean of nine weekly determi- nations.	1,145	96	272	368	777	67·9

TABLE XVI (a)—*Contd.*

	CALCIUM (CaO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake
Group II.						
Mean of nine weekly determi- nations.	1,929	122	670	792	1,137	58·9
Group III.						
Mean of nine weekly determi- nations.	1,844	90	952	1,042	802	43·5
Group IV.						
Mean of nine weekly determi- nations.	1,042	57	267	324	718	68·9

TABLE XVI (b)

	PHOSPHATES (P ₂ O ₅).						
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention		CaO retention/ P ₂ O ₅ retention
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake	
Group I.							
Mean of nine weekly determinations	334	12	84	96	238	71·3	3·26
Group II.							
Mean of nine weekly determinations	729	28	221	249	480	65·8	2·37
Group III.							
Mean of nine weekly determinations	1,316	86	340	426	890	67·6	0·90
Group IV.							
Mean of nine weekly determinations	305	13	78	91	214	70·2	3·36

TABLE XVI (c)

	MAGNESIA (MgO).					
	Intake Mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine Mg.	Fæces Mg.	Total Mg.	Mg.	Percentage of intake.
Group I.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	201	30	42	72	129	64.2
Group II.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	355	75	94	169	186	52.4
Group III.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	324	20	129	149	175	54.0
Group IV.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	182	23	57	80	102	56.0

TABLE XVII

	Output of CaO in		Output of P ₂ O ₅ in		Output of MgO in	
	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces
	Percentage		Percentage		Percentage	
Group I.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	0.153	8.51	0.018	2.69	0.053	1.33
Group II.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	0.076	7.42	0.017	2.52	0.046	1.12
Group III.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	0.067	12.74	0.051	4.65	0.021	1.72
Group IV.						
Mean of nine weekly determinations.	0.088	5.25	0.017	1.60	0.034	1.12

SERIES III

The mineral metabolism in this series was restricted to the following six diets :—

Group I received the basal diet *plus* sodium phosphates in amounts equivalent to the calcium content of the diet to form calcium phosphate;

Group II received the basal diet *plus* sodium phosphate as in Group I *plus* vitamin A concentrate (vitamin A Oil, Special, 150 Blue; without added vitamin D, British Drug Houses, Limited) in the proportion of one drop per rat per day;

Group III received the basal diet *plus* vitamin A concentrate as in Group II;

Group IV received the basal diet *plus* sodium phosphate as in Group I *plus* Radiostoleum (300 Blue, B.D.H.) in the proportion of one drop per rat per day;

Group V received the basal diet *plus* radiostoleum as in Group IV;

Group VI received the basal diet *plus* sodium phosphate as in Group I *plus* cod-liver oil to the extent of 2 per cent of the diet.

A relatively high excretion of Ca and a low urinary excretion of phosphates having been observed in Group II (receiving basal diet *plus* radiostoleum) of the first series of experiments, it was suspected that this might have been due to the insufficient provision of fat-soluble vitamins. Hence in the present series, the amount of vitamin preparations, either as vitamin A concentrate or as radiostoleum, was increased sixteen-fold. With a view to finding out the influence, if any, of vitamin D on this mineral metabolic study, diets containing vitamin A alone, and others containing vitamins A and D were used. A diet with cod-liver oil (Group VI) was included to evaluate the efficiency of the proprietary vitamin preparations of the British Drug Houses in terms of cod-liver oil.

It may be mentioned here that the appetite of the animals receiving sodium phosphate in their diets, viz., those in Groups I, II, IV and VI, was so great that the 20 grs. of food usually given was not sufficient. Therefore the amount of food given was increased to 25 grs. per rat, but still containing only the five grains of lime and five drops of the iodine solution.

As before, weekly analysis of the urines and the faeces were made to find out the respective excretions of CaO, MgO and P_2O_5 . These observations were extended to six weeks. The diets, too were analysed for their CaO, MgO and P_2O_5 contents. A summary of the results obtained, expressed in milligrammes as total excreted is set out in Table XVIII (a), (b) and (c) and the same calculated as percentages of either the urines or the faeces, are set out in Table XIX. The results for the faeces are reported on moisture-free samples.

TABLE XVIII (a)

	CALCIUM (CaO.)					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine mg.	Faeces mg.	Total mg.	mg.	Percentage of intake.
Group I. Basal diet <i>plus</i> sodium phosphate.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	2,300	141	1,412	1,553	747	32.5
Group II. Basal diet <i>plus</i> sodium phosphate <i>plus</i> vitamin A concentrate.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	2,448	159	1,458	1,617	831	33.9
Group III. Basal diet <i>plus</i> vitamin A concentrate.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	1,074	231	531	762	312	29.1
Group IV. Basal diet <i>plus</i> sodium phosphate <i>plus</i> radiostoleum.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	2,305	153	1,352	1,505	800	34.7
Group V. Basal diet <i>plus</i> radiostoleum.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	1,136	137	460	597	539	47.3
Group VI. Basal diet <i>plus</i> sodium phosphate <i>plus</i> cod-liver oil.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	2,391	51	1,426	1,477	914	38.2

TABLE XVIII (b)

	PHOSPHATES (P ₂ O ₅).						
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention		CaO retained/ P ₂ O ₅ retained
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percent- age of intake	
Group I.							
Mean of six weekly determinations.	1,604	94	688	782	822	51·3	0·91
Group II.							
Mean of six weekly determinations.	1,707	139	709	848	859	50·3	0·97
Group III.							
Mean of six weekly determinations.	265	31	209	240	25	9·4	12·48
Group IV.							
Mean of six weekly determinations.	1,607	151	642	793	814	50·7	0·98
Group V.							
Mean of six weekly determinations.	281	16	156	172	109	38·8	4·94
Group VI.							
Mean of six weekly determinations.	1,666	65	731	796	870	52·2	1·05

TABLE XVIII (c)

	MAGNESIA (MgO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg.	Percentage of intake
Group I.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	280	37	156	193	87	31.1

TABLE XVIII (c) (*contd.*)

	MAGNESIA (MgO).					
	Intake mg.	Output			Balance or retention	
		Urine mg.	Fæces mg.	Total mg.	Mg	Percentage of intake
Group II.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	298	23	170	193	105	35·2
Group III.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	122	41	69	110	12	9·8
Group IV.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	281	27	152	179	102	36·3
Group V.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	128	15	70	85	43	33·6
Group VI.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	291	21	155	176	115	39·5

TABLE XIX

	Output of CaO in		Output of P ₂ O ₅ in		Output of MgO in	
	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces
	Percentage		Percentage		Percentage	
Group I.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	0.058	14.18	0.042	6.89	0.016	1.57
Group II.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	0.081	14.00	0.072	6.91	0.012	1.62

TABLE XIX (*contd.*)

	Output of CaO in		Output of P ₂ O ₅ in		Output of MgO in	
	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces	Urine	Fæces
	Percentage		Percentage		Percentage	
Group III.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	0.124	11.98	0.017	4.65	0.023	1.55
Group IV.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	0.068	14.27	0.067	6.73	0.012	1.00
Group V.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	0.218	12.47	0.027	4.62	0.025	1.45
Group VI.						
Mean of six weekly determinations.	0.036	14.01	0.047	7.13	0.015	1.52

Limitations of space preclude a detailed interpretation of the results. But the one noteworthy point that arrests the attention is the significant difference between the groups I, II, IV and VI on the one hand, and groups III and V on the other. In the former, as a rule, there was comparatively far less excretion of CaO in the urine than in the latter two groups. A study of Table XIX shows that the average percentage excretions of CaO in the urines of groups I, II, IV and VI were 0.058, 0.081, 0.068 and 0.036 respectively with a mean of 0.061 per cent, while the values for groups III and V were 0.124 and 0.218 respectively with a mean of 0.171 per cent, which is nearly three times as much as in animals receiving sodium phosphate in their diets. Though the latter two groups of animals got a sufficiency of vitamins, chiefly as vitamin A, the fact that their urines contained large amounts of calcium may render them liable to stone formation. Conversely, the percentage urinary excretion of phosphates, in groups I, II, IV and VI were 0.042, 0.072, 0.067 and 0.047 respectively with a mean of 0.057 per cent; the corresponding values for groups III and V being 0.017 and 0.027 with a mean of 0.022 per cent,

which is roughly a third of that of the animals receiving sodium phosphate. Thus there seems to be an inverse relation between the urinary calcium and phosphorus. A similar observation was noticed by Meigs *et al* in their experiments on the *Physiology of Phosphorus and Calcium Metabolism of Dairy Cows*.¹

It is stated that calcium is excreted both by the kidney and the large intestine, the greater part by the latter route.^{2,3} It is also stated that diets rich in calcium cause only a slight increase in the urinary excretion of calcium. But as will be at once apparent from the results of the present investigation, these statements require qualification. Under normal conditions, practically all the calcium of the diet excepting that actually utilised in the system, is excreted through the bowels. But in rats fed on diets deficient in fat-soluble vitamins and containing an excess of calcium, a considerable amount of the calcium is excreted through the kidneys—an amount several times greater than that excreted by normally fed animals. Though the amounts excreted may not intrinsically be very great, yet in the light of the solubilities of salts like calcium hydroxide, calcium phosphate and calcium carbonate, the significance of the values of urinary calcium becomes at once apparent; it is one of the positive factors predisposing the animals to stone formation.

Deficiency of vitamin A is generally held to be one of the chief causes of stone formation. Provision of an adequate amount of this vitamin does prevent stone formation in rats fed on certain diets; but the results of the present investigation, wherein diets of such high stone-producing potency were employed, indicate that the mineral imbalance is a factor of even greater importance in the production of calcium carbonate or calcium hydroxide stones. It has been found in this investigation that the addition of fat-soluble vitamins to the diet, either as vitamin A alone or in association with vitamin D, did not materially alter the composition of the urine; in fact, the urinary excretion of calcium was much the same as when vitamins A, or A and D, were lacking. Yet the crucial point is whether such a state of affairs conduces to stone formation in

¹ Meigs, Blatherwick and Cary (1919): *Jour. Biol. Chem.*, xl, p. 469.

² Cushny (1918): *Text-book of Pharmacology and Therapeutics*, Seventh Edition, p. 559.

³ Husband, Godden and Richards (1923): *Biochem. Jour.*, xvii, p. 707.

the urinary tract. From the values obtained of the urinary excretion of calcium on diets deficient in fat-soluble vitamins as also on diets containing them in sufficient amounts, the conclusion is irresistible that stone formation is very likely. Nevertheless, not a single case of urinary calculus has so far been encountered in rats fed on diets adequate in vitamin A. There was the instance of a rat, a male, getting the basal diet *plus* vitamin A concentrate actually passing gravel in its urine. The discrete particles of gravel were found to be mostly of calcium hydroxide. Though most of the factors conducive to stone formation were present in this case, yet, consequent on the presence of vitamin A in the diet which 'maintained the functional and nutritional integrity of the cell walls', formed stones were not deposited in the bladder. Hence, as the particles of the calcium hydroxide formed, they were passed in the urine.

Again, the animals, though receiving adequate amounts of vitamin A, always ran the risk of developing stones in their urinary tract during any inadvertent cessation of the provision of this vitamin. The results of the present investigation suggest that this risk can to a great extent be minimised by balancing the diet as regards its CaO and P_2O_5 contents. The balancing of the CaO and P_2O_5 contents of the diets were found to be much more beneficial than provision of adequate amounts of fat-soluble vitamins. The true significance of this statement is better understood when the growth of the animals is taken into consideration. The growth obtained on diets, balanced as regards its CaO and P_2O_5 contents but lacking in fat-soluble vitamins, almost approximated the growth obtained on the stock diet. But by far the best approximation to the stock diet was obtained when the above diet contained in addition adequate amounts of the fat-soluble vitamins.

RELATION OF CALCIUM RETENTION TO PHOSPHATE RETENTION

Theoretically, on a normal diet, the ratio of retention of CaO to P_2O_5 should be fairly constant. Assuming all the calcium were to be retained in the system as its phosphate, $\text{Ca}_3(\text{PO}_4)_2$, then the ratio, CaO retained/ P_2O_5 retained, should equal 1.18. It should not be understood that this value is absolute, for, all the calcium need not necessarily be retained as its phosphate alone. It has been found that the proportion of carbonate in

normal rat bone increases with age.¹ Hence the ratio is bound to vary a little from the theoretical. A study of Tables XIV (b), XVI (b) and XVIII (b) shows wide variations of the value, CaO retained/P₂O₅ retained, with variations in the diet.

Thus, it is seen that out of the thirteen different diets employed in the present metabolic studies, seven gave values approximating closely to the theoretical, while the remaining six gave far higher values ranging from over 3 to as much as nearly 12.5. It so happened that the animals on the former seven diets grew well, had good appetite and were free from disease, while those on the latter six diets suffered from either loss of weight or did not grow at all, and ultimately died. It is also to be noted that the former seven diets on which good growth was obtained were those that were well balanced with respect to their calcium and phosphate contents, whereas the latter six diets on which positively harmful and growth-inhibiting effects were observed were imbalanced as regards their calcium and phosphate contents. It is therefore obvious that a diet imbalanced with respect to its mineral constituents, although containing a sufficiency of the essential vitamins, is more harmful than a diet deficient in fat-soluble vitamins but perfectly balanced as to its mineral constituents. Further, it emerges from the results of these experiments that comparatively little fat-soluble vitamins is needed to maintain growth if the diet is perfectly balanced with respect to its mineral constituents.

COMPENSATING EFFECTS OF VITAMIN D ON MINERAL IMBALANCE

The Plimmers² have stated that vitamin D possesses a compensating effect on the imbalance between the supply of calcium and phosphates. The foregoing metabolic experiments do not support this statement; for, if it were true, there ought to have been good growth in Group V, Series III, where the animals received adequate amounts of vitamin D. On the other hand, when the calcium and phosphate contents of the diet were well balanced, good growth was obtained even when no extra vitamin D was added to it. The above results prove conclusively that vitamin A alone or in association with vitamin D

¹ Kramer and Shear (1928): *Jour. Biol. Chem.*, lxxix, p. 147.

² Plimmer and Plimmer (1929): *Food, Health and Vitamins*, p. 64.

exercised no compensating effect on the imbalance between the supply of calcium and phosphates.

The results of the above investigation bring out the importance of calcium-phosphorus imbalance in connection with the aetiology of calcium carbonate and calcium hydroxide stones in albino rats. They also show conclusively that comparatively little fat-soluble vitamins is needed to maintain good growth, if the diet be perfectly balanced with respect to its mineral constituents. Provision of adequate amounts of fat-soluble vitamins did not improve the growth, if the imbalance between the mineral constituents was not corrected. Further, a study of the values for the ratio, CaO retained/ P_2O_5 retained, on the several diets examined suggests that this value may serve as a reliable criterion of the biological efficiency of a diet. Conformity of this value to the theoretical is a necessary pre-requisite to the efficient functioning of a diet. Its importance in devising a stock diet for control animals employed in nutritional researches can hardly be over-estimated.

URINARY CALCULI IN CATTLE

While the investigations on human and rat stones were proceeding apace, it was brought to the notice of Col. McCarrison that urinary calculus is a frequent condition in cattle in certain portions of India, and in response to a questionnaire issued, similar to that for human calculi, he collected twenty-three stones; seventeen were from the various parts of the Madras Presidency, four from Nadiad and Barsi in the Bombay Presidency and two from Jarwar and Fatehpur in the United Provinces. Twenty-one were vesical and urethral stones and two were renal. Particulars in regard to them are given in detail in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 1931, xviii, p. 935.

Physical Characters.—Cattle stones are usually small, grain-like bodies, often little bigger than a No. 4 lead shot, having a light or deep golden yellow sheen about them. Most of them look alike in structure and shape; this is true of only the vesical and urethral stones. The two renal stones stand apart from the rest as regards their physical characteristics: they are of irregular shape, the shape presumably depending on the site of

formation of the calculus in the kidney, and devoid of the bright metallic sheen. The cattle stones differed in their physical characteristics from human stones in the following regards :—

(1) They are much smaller, rarely exceeding the size of a small pea whereas human stones are commonly of large size.

(2) They are usually multiple, often occurring to the number of 100 or more : less often they are few in number. Human stones, on the other hand, are commonly single : less often they are multiple.

(3) Cattle stones have a laminated structure of several layers all looking alike, the layers being thin and comparable to the thin coats of the onion; while the different layers of the human stones have a different composition, consisting either of calcium oxalate, or uric acid or urate, or calcium or magnesium ammonium phosphate, those of cattle stones consist for the most part of calcium carbonate. Again, the several layers of the human stone are differently coloured—the colours serving as an approximate guide to the chemical composition, e.g., uric acid or urate layers being light yellow to dark brown, phosphate layers white to dirty white and oxalate layers being chocolate coloured—whereas those of cattle stones have nearly the same colour.

(4) Cattle stones are quite hard, considerable pressure being usually necessary to powder them. Human stones may also be hard if they consist mostly of calcium oxalate, comparatively less hard if consisting of uric acid or urate and relatively brittle if of phosphates.

(5) Cattle stones have all nearly the same colour which ranges from whitish yellow to yellowish-brown; commonly they have a metallic sheen. Human stones do not all have the same colour nor have they the bright metallic sheen so common in cattle stones.

(6) Whereas all cattle stones resemble one another closely in most of their physical characters, human stones do not.

Chemical Composition.—The similarity of cattle stones in most of their physical characters is manifested in their chemical composition as well. Table XX shows the average composition of a cattle stone.

TABLE XX

		Per cent.
Total ash		54.5
P ₂ O ₅	0.90	...
CaO	44.0	...
MgO	4.84	...
	49.74	...
C ₂ O ₃	...	0.59
N.	...	0.37
CO ₂	...	39.07

The results of the chemical composition of individual cattle stones show that they all have a similar composition, consisting mostly of carbonate of calcium, with a little magnesium. The magnesium content varied from 2.2 to 9.4 per cent with an average of 4.84 per cent; presumably it exists for the most part as carbonate, though it is possible that some may exist in the form of phosphate. The average percentage of CaO being 44.0, it would require only 34.5 per cent of CO₂ to form CaCO₃; while there actually exists 39.07 per cent of CO₂. The remaining 4.57 per cent of CO₂ is presumably combined with magnesium to form magnesium carbonate; if that were so, it would require only 4.19 per cent of MgO whereas the average for MgO works out to 4.84 per cent. The balance of 0.65 per cent MgO is very likely united with the P₂O₅, the average content of which is 0.90 per cent.

Nitrogen is present only in traces, the average being 0.37 per cent. Insoluble matter—i.e., portions of the stone left undissolved after digestion with concentrated sulphuric acid—occurred only once, a kidney stone removed from an ox. The only other kidney stone did not contain any insoluble matter. The chemical composition of the only two renal stones encountered was not significantly different from that of the rest. In this respect, cattle approximate closely to rats, whose renal stones do not differ in their chemical composition from the vesical ones and differ from human beings in whom kidney and bladder stones are essentially different in their composition.

The composition of the stones does not vary appreciably with the age of the animal: that of a calculus from a six months old calf or from a twelve-year fully grown up bullock

being approximately the same. The chemical composition also seems to be independent of the place of nativity of the animals as also of their diet. So far as these limited observations are concerned, there seems to be an indication that stones from different provinces do not materially differ in their chemical composition or in their physical characteristics, notably structure and shape.

Calcium and Magnesium Content of the Waters drunk by Animals.—Samples of water, drunk by five animals suffering from urinary lithiasis were provided. Calcium and magnesium were determined in them, and the results show that the chemical composition of the stone seems to be unaffected by the mineral content of the water drunk by the animals; the composition remains approximately the same whether the stone came from an animal drinking water rich in calcium and magnesium or from one used to a water comparatively poor in these two elements.

The bright metallic sheen in most of the stones suggested that it might be due to the occurrence of iron. Quantitative estimations showed it to be contained in them from almost less than detectable amounts to about 42 mgs. per cent of iron.

PHYSIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ABSENCE OF URIC ACID IN RAT AND CATTLE STONES

A study of the results showing the chemical composition of human, cattle and rat stones, shows the conspicuous absence of uric acid in cattle and rat stones, while most of the human stones contain some uric acid or other. This difference has been attributed to a fundamental difference in the physiological disintegration of purine bodies, whereby the process in man stops short at the uric acid stage, while in cattle and rats the uric acid gets oxidised to allantoin. This conversion of uric acid to allantoin is an enzymatic one and is accomplished by the enzyme, uricase, which is found in all animals except man and higher apes. Allantoin is several times more soluble in water than uric acid and hence it never forms a constituent of either of rat or of cattle stones. Human beings do not possess this power, and in them the degradation of purine bodies stops short at uric acid; and as uric acid is very sparingly soluble in water, it is almost always found to be a constituent of urinary

calculi in man. This is the explanation why the rat and cattle stones are singularly devoid of even traces of uric acid.

The extent to which uric acid undergoes this final oxidation to allantoin is indicated by the 'URICOLYTIC INDEX', which represents the ratio of allantoin nitrogen to the sum of allantoin and uric acid nitrogen excreted.

$$\text{Uricolytic Index} = \frac{\text{Allantoin nitrogen}}{(\text{Allantoin} + \text{uric acid}) \text{ N.}} \times 100$$

Previous estimations of the uricolytic index of albino rats has given a value of 96.

Although realising that rats have a high uricolytic index, the author investigated the possibility of producing uric acid and urate calculi in rats; to this end, attempts were made to increase the uric acid concentration of their urine, both by the oral administration of uric acid and by feeding them on a glandular organ. It was found that the uric acid ingested orally did not lead to an increase in the excretion either of uric acid or of allantoin or of total nitrogen; nor was there an appreciable increase when the uric acid was administered with sodium carbonate in amounts sufficient to form the mono-sodium urate. Subcutaneous injections, and injections direct into the blood stream, of an isotonic solution of uric acid did increase the uric acid, allantoin and total nitrogen contents of the urine, but the increase was not commensurate with the amounts of uric acid injected. These injections of uric acid followed by the ingestion of 'atophan' led to a greater increase in the daily excretion of uric acid in the urine; the volume of urine voided was also increased so that the percentage concentration of uric acid in the urine was not materially altered. The results of experiments in this direction, completed after the submission of the present thesis, showed that the experimental production of uric acid calculi in albino rats is not possible (Ranganathan, S. : *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, 1934, xxii, p. 71).

PART IV

CAUSATION OF STONE

Having considered so far the physiological and the biochemical aspects of the problem, it now remains to be considered the actual mechanism that governs stone formation.

It has been recognised that stones can be formed within the urinary tract under a variety of conditions, and no single mechanism would suffice to explain the process. Leaving out of consideration the formation of stones arising out of foreign bodies, there are three important theories, each one of which may perhaps be enough to cause stone; but it seems more likely that all the three may play their part in the architecture of the human stone, laminated as we know it to be. The three theories are :—

(1) Infection;

(2) Dietetic or faulty metabolism; and

(3) Physico-chemical theory of protective mechanism.

(1) *The Infection Theory*.—Though infection of the urinary tract as a predisposing cause of stone formation was recognised from a very long time, much thought was not bestowed on it till Rosenow and Meisser¹ experimentally demonstrated the formation of urinary calculi by the devitalisation and infection of teeth in dogs with streptococci from cases of nephrolithiasis. They found that the experimentally produced stones were similar in physical properties to those found in nephrolithiasis of man. They suggest on this basis that a stone forming infection may account for the prevalence of nephrolithiasis in certain localities.

The infection theory received its confirmation in the work of Hager and Magath² who actually isolated *Proteus Ammoniae* in their cases of urinary lithiasis. They also succeeded in experimentally producing vesical calculi by inoculating *Proteus Ammoniae* under favourable conditions. They noted that a deficiency of vitamin A was favourable to the implantation of the organism. The causation of stone by such an infection is explained by them as follows :—The specific bacteria liberate in their growth a urease capable of splitting urea into ammonia, thereby producing an alkaline reaction of the urine. This alkalinity precipitates the calcium, magnesium and ammonium salts which by some mechanism develop into a stone. Hager and Magath have also found *Salmonella Ammoniae* to be capable of causing incrustated cystitis and stone-in-the-bladder.

¹ Rosenow and Meisser: *Arch. Int. Med.*, xxxi, p. 807; *J.A.M.A.*, lxxxi, p. 503; *J.A.M.A.*, lxxviii, p. 266 (1922).

² Hager and Magath: *Ibid.*, lxxxv, pp. 1352-5; *Ibid.*, January 28th, 1928, p. 267.

In dealing with the theories of stone formation, it is difficult to separate them into water-tight compartments; one is so closely interrelated to the other. Thus Osborne and Mendel's¹ experimental production of stones on diets deficient in fat-soluble vitamins has been explained as due to a general debility or lowered vitality brought about by the deficiency of the vitamins, with a resultant invasion of the bladder, production of alkaline urine and consequent deposition of phosphates leading to calculus formation. Again, Fujimaki's² findings that the urine of animals kept on a diet deficient in vitamin A and having bladder calculi was alkaline and that, when the same animals were fed vitamin A, the urine became acid and the bladder stones disappeared, may be traced to an infection brought about by a deficiency of vitamin A which might have been got over by supplying an adequacy of the vitamin. Thus it is seen that the infection theory and the dietetic theory have slowly merged, the latter giving rise to the former.

Even in this infection theory, all organisms do not cause stone; special strains of organisms are necessary to establish the requisite conditions for stone formation. Thus, while, streptococci from cases of nephrolithiasis are able to cause stone formation, streptococci from arthritis do not.

Benjamin Moore³ does not believe in the causation of stone as arising out of infection. But the incidence of phosphatic calculi both in humans and in animals, suggests that infection of the urinary tract may also be a potent factor in the causation of stone. It should be emphasised here that infection need not be an essential factor in the causation of stone; for McCarrison has found in his experimental studies several cases of stones without cystitis or other inflammations of the urinary tract.

(2) *Dietetic or Faulty Metabolism Theory*.—Though dietetic deficiency may be a causal factor, it is stated that it does not directly lead to stone formation. Infection sets in and stone results. Lack of fat-soluble vitamins, especially vitamin A, has been credited with leading to stone formation. Lack of vitamins B and C is not concerned in such formation; nor is poverty of protein in the diet a directive factor. Fujimaki even

¹ Osborne and Mendel (1917): *J.A.M.A.*, lxi, 32.

² Fujimaki (1926): *Japan Med. World*, vi, No. 2, p. 1.

³ Benjamin Moore (1911): *Brit. Med. Jour.*, vol. i, p. 737.

succeeded in dissolving the formed stones by administering sufficient fat-soluble vitamins. Van Leersum,¹ and Perlmann and Weber² have also produced stones in rats fed on a vitamin A deficient diet.

Faulty metabolism is a factor of even greater importance. It may, in most instances, be brought about by any dietetic deficiency, or as in some instances by an excess of either vitamins, particularly vitamin D, or mineral salts. On no other basis can the occurrence of oxalate, urate, and cystine stones be explained. The chemical substances which go to make up the stone vary under different conditions, and are dependent in part upon the aetiological factor. Owing to an excessive ingestion of purine-rich bodies, like glandular organs, or owing to the imperfect oxidation of the uric acid, an intermediate product in purine metabolism, the excretion of uric acid may become enormous. Under favourable conditions, or under conditions simulated by the excessive excretion of uric acid, stones may develop. Again, in the case of oxalate stones, the oxalate may possibly be derived from the indulgence of foods rich in oxalates or more likely from the incomplete oxidation of carbohydrates. Oxalic acid is an intermediate product in the metabolism of carbohydrate; it is capable of being further oxidised into carbon dioxide and water. But under conditions of embarrassed oxidation or increased reducing conditions, oxalates are excreted in large amounts. As there is always an excess of calcium in the urine for combination with the oxalic acid, the oxalic acid in stones is always associated with calcium. This may also be due to the fact that magnesium oxalate is more soluble than the calcium oxalate.

(3) *Physico-chemical Theory*.—This is by far the most important theory and it is the one that can explain adequately the intricate process of stone formation. The physico-chemical aspects of stone formation is a problem which has received and is receiving considerable attention. It is recognised that normal urine contains both colloids and crystalloids in true solution. Great importance has been attached to the role of the urinary colloids in calculus formation. The actual mechanism underlying the process still lacks adequate explanation. One school

¹ Van Leersum (1927): *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 873-4.

² Perlmann and Weber (1930): *Muench. Med. Woch.*, lxxvii, 680-1 (Surg. Clinic, Univ. Berlin).

of thought considers that the urinary salts are 'protected' from coalescing with one another by the colloids present. A second school postulates instead that the colloids form the binding matter which under certain pathological conditions serves as the scaffolding for holding the solid salts in the fully developed stone. There are besides other theories as to the function of the urinary colloids in stone formation. The theoretical ideas underlying these pictures appear to be very nebulous. All the investigators on this aspect of the problem have but recognised two factors in the causation of stone; the urinary salts (e.g., uric acid, phosphate and oxalate of calcium and magnesium etc.) constituting the 'bricks' and some organic matter, possibly fibrin or some other urinary colloid, constituting the 'mortar'. There is yet a third which is either dimly felt or overlooked by them. They have failed to recognise that mere 'bricks' and 'mortar' cannot by any stretch of imagination bring into existence the completed building. They want a mason or possibly several 'masons' to put the 'bricks' and 'mortar' alternately in regular succession and in a pre-arranged manner. Likewise in the formation and growth of stone, the urinary salts and the colloids require the services of a 'mason' in some motive force, either electrical or mechanical, that binds the urinary salts on to the colloids. On this basis, it is possible to explain the changes in the crystalline morphology of the urinary salts brought about apparently by the colloids, but presumably by the motive force.

Keyser,¹ one of the protagonists of the 'protective-mechanism-theory' believes that stone formation is due to a disturbance in the normal protective colloidal mechanism of the urine, either in holding water-insoluble substances in solution or in precipitating crystals in separate entities. Spitzer and Hillkowitz² who have bestowed considerable thought on this subject, postulate that the protective action of urinary colloids is of very delicate balance. The colloidal state is very unstable and there is always the tendency to assume the more stable condition by falling out of suspension. This can be brought about by a variety of ways: (1) an intrinsic reduction in the protective colloid content of the urine; (2) an enormous increase

¹ Keyser: *Annals of Surgery*, February 1923; *Archives of Surgery*, vol. vi, pp. 525-53.

² Spitzer and Hillkowitz: *J.A.M.A.*, vol. lxxxii, p. 1731.*

in the crystalloid content of the urine which should be much more than what could be managed by the existing amount of the protective colloids; and (3) by the presence of other colloids of opposite electric charge. Thus, with the removal, or, the inefficient functioning of the protective colloid mechanism, the urine will become subject to the laws obtaining in aqueous solutions. The urinary salts would then get precipitated out easily; this supplies the necessary material for the building up of the stone. There is also the binding matter in the irreversible colloids that have been thrown out of suspension.

The other explanation of the action of the protective mechanism is by its influence on the crystalline morphology. Rainey,¹ and later Ord and Shattock² have established the physical principle that colloidal matter modifies crystalline morphology. Ord showed that non-coalescent crystals of calcium oxalate could be changed to the coalescent form by an alteration in the amount of colloid and salt present in the urine; and Shattock showed the coalescent forms constituted the structural units of calculi. Working in this direction, Keyser arrived at the following conclusions as to the possible mechanisms of stone formation in the urinary tract :—

(1) Normal urine contains a normal amount of crystalloid excreted *plus* a normal quantity and quality of urinary colloid yielding a solution of crystalloid or deposit of crystals in isolated non-coalescent forms.

(2) Stone may be due to an excessive quantity of crystalloid excreted *plus* a normal quantity and quality of urinary colloid resulting in a deposit of fusing atypical non-isolated crystalline units.

(3) Stone may also be due to a normal quantity of crystalloid excreted *plus* a deficient protective activity of urinary colloids brought about by either a deficient quantitative or qualitative excretion of urinary colloids, or by the precipitation of normal urinary colloid, or by masking its protective activity by foreign colloids in exudates of specific bacterial infection, by foreign colloids excreted as the result of abnormal metabolism or produced locally by the action of some toxic metabolites.

¹ Rainey (1895): *Trans. Path. Soc.*, London, xlv, pp. 91-132.

² Ord and Shattock (1911): *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.* (Path. Sect.), iv, pp. 110-

(4) Stone may also be due to excessive quantity of crystalloid excreted *plus* deficient protective activity of urinary colloids yielding excessive deposit of fusing non-isolated crystalline units.

Apart from these hypotheses as to the role of the colloids, the following points deserve attention:—

(a) The influence of the urinary colloids in increasing the solubility of the sparingly soluble substances present in the urine, chiefly uric acid, calcium oxalate and calcium phosphate.

(b) The state in which the substances that go to form urinary calculi are present in urine and deposited.

(c) The influence of the colloids in altering the morphological characters of the crystalline substances present in the urine.

(d) Lastly, the nature and general characteristics of the urinary colloids.

Taking the first point, it is known that the solubilities of sparingly soluble substances are considerably increased by small amounts of colloids of the type of gelatin. This property of such colloids has been invoked to explain the high concentration of substances in the urine. The concentration is at times as high as 20 or 30 times the concentration obtaining in distilled water. Csapo's¹ work on the influence of proteins on the solubility of calcium phosphate supports this idea. Hastings, Murray and Sendroy,² working on similar lines found that in such supersaturations the sparingly soluble compounds are bound to some substances which hold them in solution in an unionised form. Pauli and Stenzinger³ also report an increased solubility of the sparingly soluble salts in the presence of proteins. Ascoli,⁴ however, attributed this increased solubility only to the crystalloidal substances present in the urine rather than to the colloids. He finds that normal urine and dialysate, but not the dialysed urine, have considerable solvent power with respect to uric acid. Hohler⁵ too finds that colloids are superfluous or at least of secondary importance in so far

¹ Csapo (1927): *Jour. Biol. Chem.*, vol. lxxv. p. 509.

² Hastings, Murray and Sendroy (1926-27): *Jour. Biol. Chem.*, vol. lxxi, pp. 723, 783 and 797.

³ Pauli and Stenzinger (1929): *Biochem. Z.*, ccv, pp. 71-103.

⁴ Ascoli (1928): *Biochem. Z.*, cc, pp. 95-107.

⁵ Hohler (1919): *Z. Klin. Med.*, lxxxviii, p. 14; *Zentr. Biochem. Biophys.*, xxi, pp. 354-5.

as an explanation of the great solubility of uric acid in fluids of animal origin is concerned. The author's work,¹ carried out chiefly with uric acid and calcium phosphate, tends to confirm Ascoli's result, no great increase in the solubilities being found on the addition of gelatin. Varying concentrations of gelatin 0.01%, 0.02%, 0.04% and 0.08% were employed and in no case was an appreciable increase in solubility of either uric acid or calcium phosphate observed.

Secondly, the state in which the sparingly soluble substances are present in the urine is obviously of considerable importance in relation to their abnormal solubilities. This will be discussed shortly under the X-Ray diffraction studies of calculi.

The third and the fourth points are still under investigation.

Apart from the above, some other aspects of the physico-chemical processes of stone formation have been studied. Schade² observes that supersaturation *per se* is not the true cause of stone formation. For instance, normal urine leads only to sediment formation and not to stone formation. He distinguishes three kinds of stones, pure colloid stones, pure crystalloid stones and mixed colloid-crystalloid stones. The first type of stones occurs when there is an excess of irreversibly precipitated colloids (fibrin and other albuminous substances); supersaturation need not be present. For the second type of stone, supersaturation is a necessary pre-requisite. Also, conditions should be favourable for the 'guttulate' separation of the crystalloids. As the mass of the guttulate particles increase, their kinetic activity decreases, which leads to the formation of spherulites. These two types of stones are very rare, while the third is very common. In the third type, it is believed that the colloids determine the striations. The presence of irreversible colloid explains, according to him, both the formation and layering of the stones. As to the function of the irreversible colloids in the urine, it is stated that, in their absence, the urinary salts are thrown out in crystalloidal precipitation, i.e., with absolutely no tendency for them to unite with one another and form a concrement. Only when, through morbid processes in the system, irreversibly separating colloids, such

¹ The author is indebted to Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, Professor of Physical Chemistry, Calcutta University, for facilities afforded to carry on this work in his laboratory.

² Schade, H. (1928): *Colloid Chemistry, Theoretical and Applied*, Edited by Jerome Alexander, p. 629.

as fibrin or other protein, are present in the urine, can transformation of the loose, crystalloid sediment to a stone take place. A small amount of an irreversible colloid is often enough for this purpose; Schade succeeded in transforming the sediment formation into that of stone formation by as low a concentration of fibrin as 0.007 per cent.

It is also believed that adsorption and surface tension may influence stone formation. Surface tension is assumed to be the controlling factor in deciding the form in which the salt will precipitate from a supersaturated solution. Under normal conditions, the mucous membrane and the physiological fluid bathing it are supposed to have a zero surface tension between them; thus there is no tendency for the precipitate to be adsorbed by (or rather adhere to) the healthy mucous membrane. In pathological membranes, profound colloidal changes are supposed to lead to a high surface tension between the membrane and the fluid bathing it, with the formation of an efficient adsorbing surface. Joly¹ assumes that urinary colloids adsorb the crystalloids in solution and thus increase their solubility, and this adsorption is due to the lowering of interfacial tension between the colloid-liquid interface due to the presence of urinary salts.

Most of the theoretical considerations detailed above do not bear close scrutiny. A systematic study of the subject, at present under investigation by the author, includes the composition of the normal urine, of the deposit formed after the urine has been left at rest, of the ultra-filtrate and the residue left on ultrafiltration; also a study of the changes in the composition necessary for the separation of the various substances present in urinary calculi; the inter-relationships between the electrolyte and the colloid matter in the urine with a study of the Donnan Equilibrium; and lastly the role of the mucous membrane on which the deposition takes place. The results, as far as these can be communicated up to the present, are as follows:—

The composition of normal urines from persons of different nationalities—English and American—was collected from the literature and compared with the author's data. It was

¹ Swift Joly (1929): *Stone and Calculous Disease of the Urinary Organs*.

found, in general, that Long and Frank Gephart's¹ data represented a much more concentrated urine than either Hawk's² or Cushny's.³ However, magnesium and uric acid in Long and Frank Gephart's data are very much higher. The author's figures differed from the foreign data in the following regards: chlorides and ammoniacal nitrogen were found in much higher concentration, while the uric acid content was very low. The concentration of calcium, magnesium and phosphate was much the same as that of the foreign data.

With the available data of the chemical composition of the urines—the author's, Cushny's, Hawk's and Long and Frank Gephart's representing in all nine specimens of urines—the equivalent ionic concentrations of the several constituents were calculated; therefrom the sum of the basic radicals expressed as the total of $\text{Na} + \text{K} + \text{Ca} + \text{Mg} + \text{NH}_4$, and the acidic radicals expressed as the total of $\text{Cl} + \text{PO}_4 + \text{SO}_4$ worked out. In every instance, the two were almost equal.

The processes happening in ultrafiltration as also in the natural sedimentation of urines were studied. For ultrafiltration, Zsigmondy's nickel-plated ultrafilter was used with collodion in glacial acetic acid. In ultrafiltration studies, the pH and conductivity measurements were made on the fresh urine, the ultrafiltrate and the residue in the ultrafilter at different stages of the process. The pH was measured both colorimetrically and by the quinhydrone electrode. The specific conductivity of the ultrafiltrate was greater than that of the urine and that of the residue; that of the residue was slightly less than that of the urine itself; the lowering of specific conductivity of the residue was most pronounced when it was highly concentrated. Corresponding to this decrease in conductivity, the residue showed a higher pH. The conductivity of the ultrafiltrate was correspondingly increased, though there was not observed any decrease in pH, presumably due to buffer action. During various stages of ultrafiltration, a chemical analysis of normal urine, its ultrafiltrate and the residue in the ultrafilter was made, particularly with reference to the uric acid and phosphate contents. These two ingredients were chosen for special consideration because of the impression that has gained currency that uric acid and

¹ Long and Frank Gephart (1912): *J. Amer. Chem. Soc.*, xxxiv, p. 1229.

² Hawk (1921): *Practical Physiological Chemistry*, Seventh Edition.

³ Cushny, A. R. (1926): *The Secretion of Urine*.

urates, and phosphates, which are supposed to be in not very stable combination, will be thrown out easily. Contrary to this popular belief, it was found that there was practically no difference in the uric acid and phosphate contents of the ultrafiltrate, the residue and the fresh urine. Even concentration of the residue in the ultrafilter did not make any difference in the uric acid and phosphate concentrations.

A more detailed study of the compositions of fresh urine and its ultrafiltrate showed that the latter contained less of chlorides and slightly more of calcium.

Urine was allowed to sediment for over 24 hours, when the clear supernatant liquid was decanted off and centrifuged at high speed. The clear liquid was analysed for as before and the figures obtained compared with those of the bottom liquid, i.e., the urine containing the whole of the sediment. The composition of the two, as also their pH, was much the same. The conductivity of the supernatant liquid was slightly more than that of the urine with the sediment, a result similar to those obtained in the ultrafiltration experiments. In particular, the uric acid and phosphate contents of the two were almost the same.

SCATTERING OF LIGHT IN URINES¹

It has already been pointed out that urine contains both colloids and crystalloids and that these colloids are believed to play an important role in the formation of calculi. The mechanism governing the process of calculus formation, the function of the colloids in normal and pathological urines, and the size and shape of these colloidal particles have not as yet been satisfactorily understood. It was thought that the scattering of light in urines, normal and pathological, would give some information as to the size and shape of the particles, and hence depolarisation values were determined. The experiments designed to this end, as also those designed to find out, if any, the relation between the size and shape of the particles and the particular pathological condition of stone formation were not very successful.

¹ Ranganathan, S. (1931): *Ind. Jour. Physics*, vol. vi, Part V, p. 463.

² The author is indebted to Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., N.L., for affording facilities for carrying on this work.

X-RAY DIFFRACTION STUDIES OF CALCULI¹

The state in which the substance or substances that make up the urinary calculi are deposited has not been known with any certainty. So far, only chemical and physico-chemical methods have been attempted, but the results obtained by different investigators were not consistent. The above methods of investigation are but crude before purely physical methods and of these, X-ray diffraction studies afford a more definite method of deciding whether the substances in the stones are deposited in the colloidal or crystalloidal state. It is already known that crystals in a finely powdered state give rise to sharp and well-defined rings while colloidal substances give diffuse bands; crystals not powdered will give numerous 'Laue' spots.² Hence the present investigation was undertaken. And as this is the first attempt to study calculi by means of the X-ray, great interest is naturally attached to the present work. The results obtained are encouraging.

The diffraction patterns obtained for the vesical calculus and uric acid showed some interesting features in common. Pure uric acid gave rise to four rings; the first ring being made up of two rings touching each other, the second ring very sharp but of feeble intensity, the third very intense and little broad, and the fourth very faint and sharp. Compared to the outer edge of the first ring, the inner edge was fainter. The stone investigated was composed of uric acid and urates, magnesium ammonium phosphate and a little calcium phosphate; it contained a good percentage of ash. This stone gave rise to only two rings. The innermost ring in the uric acid pattern was very broad and faint whereas in the stone pattern, it was quite sharp and narrow. The latter did not seem to be made up of two rings. But the mean radii of the rings in both were exactly the same. The second ring seen in the uric acid pattern was not observed in the stone pattern. The third ring was quite sharp; yet its intensity was not as much as that in uric acid, and, hence, probably, the second and the fourth, the two comparatively faint rings, did not make their appearance.

The spacings, expressed in Angstrom units, of the two rings obtained with the stone show unmistakably that they correspond

¹ The author is indebted to Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., N.L., for affording facilities for carrying on this work.

² Clark (1927): *Applied X-Rays*, p. 178.

to the uric acid component of the stone. Though the stone contained besides the uric acid, a good percentage of magnesium ammonium phosphate and a little calcium phosphate—components containing elements of comparatively higher atomic weight—possibly on account of insufficiency of exposure, the ash rings were not excited. But the one definite result arrived at from X-ray study of the vesical calculus is that its uric acid component is deposited in a crystalline state, as shown by the identity of spacings of the rings obtained with the stone and with pure uric acid. Schade and Boden¹ believe that the uric acid is held in the urine in its colloidal state, while Lichtwitz,² and Gudzent³ are opposed to the existence of such a colloidal state. Haskins⁴ is inclined to believe that at least a part of the uric acid is held in the colloidal state. As the state of uric acid in the stone is likely to give a clue to the state of its existence in the urine, it is assumed on *a priori* considerations that the uric acid exists in the urine in its crystalline state. Likewise, in the cattle stone examined, the sharp rings obtained in the diffraction pattern show that the substances that go to make up the cattle stone are deposited in the crystalline state. The absence of uric acid in cattle stones is also indicated in the X-ray analysis.

PART V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem of the Urinary Calculus, with particular reference to India, the conditions under which it arises, the mechanism of its formation and the rationale of its prevention, have been dealt with in the preceding pages. Human stones were found to consist of a mixture of uric acid or urate, calcium oxalate and calcium phosphate and sometimes magnesium ammonium phosphate. They are rarely made up of any one constituent. The human kidney stones form a class apart not only in their origin and physical characters but in their composition as well. They are all essentially calcium oxalate stones. The

¹ Schade and Boden (1913): *Ztsch. Physiol. Chem.*, lxxxiii, 347-80; lxxxvi, 238-43.

² Lichtwitz (1914): *Ztsch. Physiol. Chem.*, lxxxiv, 416-8.

³ Gudzent (1914): *Ztsch. Physiol. Chem.*, lxxxix, 253-4.

⁴ Haskins (1916): *Jour. Biol. Chem.*, xxvi, 205-15.

'Nuclei' of urinary calculi were carefully studied and much of the confusing and contradictory statements in literature about it clarified. There was observed one fundamental difference between the composition of the experimentally produced stones and human stones. The former fell into two distinct categories:—phosphate stones where the phosphate existed invariably as magnesium ammonium phosphate, and calcium stones where the calcium existed either as the carbonate or as the hydroxide. The former set of stones were produced on deficient diets, the chief deficiency being vitamin A, while the latter occurred only on diets deficient in vitamin A and excessively rich in lime. It was thus brought out that the addition of lime to vitamin A deficient diets profoundly altered the composition of the stones produced. Evidently this was due to the diversion of the course of the ingested lime from its normal route.

Results of great physiological interest were arrived at as a result of the studies on calcium and phosphorus metabolism on such stone-producing diets. An inverse relation between the urinary calcium and phosphorus was observed. From the results of the above metabolic studies, it was at once apparent that the statements in text-books that calcium is excreted both by the kidney and the large intestine, the greater part by the latter route, and that diets rich in calcium cause but slight increase in the urinary excretion of calcium, require considerable qualification. Under normal conditions, most of the calcium of the diet, excepting that actually retained in the system, is excreted through the bowels. But on diets deficient in fat-soluble vitamins and containing an excess of lime, a good part of the calcium is excreted through the kidneys. The above studies also conclusively proved that mineral imbalance (here the imbalance between calcium and phosphorus) is a factor of even greater importance in the production of stones than deficiency of vitamin A, which, no doubt, is one of the predisposing causes of stone. Mere balancing of the mineral constituents of a vitamin deficient diet confers on the animals good appetite and growth, almost approximating that of the normally-fed animals; provision of adequate amounts of fat-soluble vitamins to diets imbalanced as regards their mineral constituents did not confer such beneficial results. But by far the best approximation to the stock diet was obtained when the balanced diet

contained in addition adequate amounts of fat-soluble vitamins. It was also shown that comparatively little fat-soluble vitamins was needed to maintain good growth, if the diet be balanced as regards their mineral constituents. The value of the ratio, $\text{CaO retained}/\text{P}_2\text{O}_5 \text{ retained}$, on the several diets investigated suggests that it might serve as a reliable criterion of the biological efficiency of a diet. Conformity of this value to the theoretical is a necessary pre-requisite to the efficient functioning of a diet.

An exact counterpart to the investigations on rat stones was provided in the problem of cattle stones. The cattle stones have a uniform composition, consisting mostly of calcium carbonate. They approximate closely the calcium carbonate stones produced experimentally. The experimental diets—deficient in vitamin A and rich in lime—were almost identical as regards their chemical composition with the diets of cattle that suffered from stone. In view of the results of the calcium and phosphorus metabolic studies, it can be suggested that the problem of cattle stone in India could be solved by maintaining the mineral balance, chiefly calcium and phosphorus, and providing adequate amount of vitamin A, through green fodder, in the diet of cattle (McCarrison, 1931).

The physiological significance of the absence of uric acid in rat and cattle stones and its frequent occurrence in human stones is discussed; it has been traced to the high 'uricolytic index' of the rat and cattle. The theoretical possibility of the production of uric acid stones in rats has been explored with negative results.

Discussing the causation of stone, the three important theories, the infection, dietetic and physico-chemical theory of protective colloid mechanism have been dealt at length. Especially on the physico-chemical aspects of the problem, the relevant portion of the author's work is set forth briefly. Methods of studying the problem by means of the 'scattering of light in urines' and the 'X-ray diffraction studies of calculi' have been fully explored. The state in which the substance or the substances that go to make up the urinary calculi has now been established beyond doubt by means of the X-ray study.

THE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND SONGS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR

BY

P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.LITT., D.PHIL.

Synopsis

In times gone by, marriage was an elaborate ceremony among the Syrian Christians (Nazrani Mappalas) of Malabar, and numerous rites had to be performed with the accompaniment of songs and dances. The festivities lasted many days and gave free play to the artistic sense of the people. Some of the rites can be traced to ancient Malabar customs and others are definitely of Syrian (or Mesopotamian) origin. This is no wonder, seeing that this ancient community is the result of a racial mixture between the Malayali converts (believed to be of the Apostle Thomas) with the Syrian colonists who settled in the country for trade between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D.

The following account in Malayalam contains a brief description of the ceremonies, with quotations from the ancient songs used in connection with them. The ceremonies await the analysis of sociologists and ethnographers; and the songs and dances deserve to be carefully analysed by scholars versed in ancient Malayalam and Tamil. The present writer collected these songs twenty years ago when he was a College student, and a work written on the subject by him before 1920 was published recently under the title 'The Christian Literature of Kerala.'

Many of the customs described above have lately gone out of vogue. They are obviously unsuited to the new social and economic environment, and will soon be forgotten. It is therefore necessary to record them at this juncture. The customs of other communities are also in the same plight, and hence the urgent need for ethnological and sociological studies in Southern India.

FINANCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

BY

P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.LITT., D.PHIL.

(For a Summary, see pages 11-12.)

\$ 1. REVENUE POSITION

THE revenues of the Government of India have been undergoing important changes, of late. Customs duties which have in recent times supplied nearly 65 per cent of the Central Government's revenue are by no means a stable source. Import duties are the mainstay of the customs revenue. Of the imports, sugar and cotton piece-goods brought in the largest revenue in the past, but the adoption of a protective tariff has cut down revenue under both these heads. Sugar brought in Rs. 10.68 crores even as late as 1930-31, but produced only Rs. 3.75 crores in 1934-35 and the budget estimate for the current year is considerably less. Cotton goods which brought in Rs. 7.7 crores in 1924-25, produced Rs. 4.46 crores in 1933-34. Matches were responsible for Rs. 1.03 crores in 1921-22, but to-day this hardly figures in the import revenue. In spite of such radical fall in imports, customs revenue is still maintained at about Rs. 51 crores, but we must remember that this is due to the increase of rates and the emergency surcharges levied since 1931. The extent of the new burdens placed on imports can be seen from the fact that whereas in 1929-30, a revenue of Rs. 41 crores was raised on imports valued at Rs. 234 crores, the same amount of revenue was raised in 1932-33 when imports had fallen to Rs. 129 crores. The surcharges are but temporary and will have to be removed sooner or later. Further, an enquiry into the present system of revenue tariff is contemplated, and such an enquiry may result in a fall of rates. Although in some cases the fall in rate may be accompanied by an increase in revenue, that may not be the case in regard to many items.

As for export duties, a part has already been assigned to the jute-growing provinces, and another part will be lost when Burma is separated. We must also remember in this connection that countries in Europe are working towards self-sufficiency, and the future, at least the immediate future, of

world trade looks gloomy. Nor are there any sure signs yet of a revival of prices.

In these circumstances, it would be hazardous to build hopes on the customs revenue being maintained at the present high level. Nor is such heavy indirect taxation defensible in theory, seeing that the burden of it is unequally distributed. High protectionism is in fashion in America and elsewhere. India is also launching on the same course. Protection is a double-edged sword; if it is successful, the customs revenue will be lost, and if it is not, the consumer will have to bear the burden. There is a view that the loss in customs revenue resulting from protection can be made good by imposing excise duties, but it is no easy task to raise an adequate excise revenue from a nascent industry, and for some time at any rate, the excise duty will remain inadequate for filling up the gap. The sugar excise duty is estimated to produce a revenue of Rs. 1.50 crores, but the loss of revenue that has resulted from protection is as much as Rs. 9 crores (as compared with 1930-31).

Income-tax revenue has been keeping up, in spite of the depression, but there would have been a fall, had not rates been put up and surcharges imposed in 1931. Incomes below Rs. 2,000 were also brought within the scope of the tax. The profits of companies assessed to income-tax fell from Rs. 53 crores (average of 10 years ending March 1930) to Rs. 29 crores in 1932-33, and a corresponding fall must have occurred in personal incomes as well. Nevertheless, the total revenue under income-tax showed an increase from Rs. 16.6 crores (average of five years ending March 1930) to nearly Rs. 18 crores in 1932-33. No doubt, when business recovers, incomes assessable will increase again, and income-tax revenue will go up, even if the surcharges are removed; but by then the proceeds of the tax will have also to be shared between the Central Government and the provinces. The time and the nature of such assignment have not been fixed, but the provinces will make every effort to secure for themselves as large a slice as is available at as early a date as possible.

It is true that during the first half of the current financial year, both customs and income-tax have recorded a slight improvement on the estimates of March 1935, but no conclusions can yet be made about the outturn for the whole year. If

such improvement takes place, the surcharges imposed in 1931-32 will have to be reduced if not altogether removed, as they (especially those on customs) are regarded as a heavy burden on industry and commerce. Large inroads would be made in income-tax and customs revenues, if the surcharges of 1931 are removed.

The breakdown of non-tax revenue has been the most serious financial result of the trade depression. Under various heads,—railway contribution, opium sales, provincial contributions, etc.—the Government of India had been receiving large sums before 1927, but most of them have steeply declined and some have altogether disappeared. The revenue from these items fell from Rs. 30·45 crores in 1923-24 to Rs. 5·77 crores in 1933-34.

ITEMS	<i>Non-Tax Revenue in the years</i> (In crores of Rs.)		
	1923-24	1929-30	1933-34
Net revenue from commercial departments (chiefly railways) ...	8·97	5·24	—·56
Net revenue from opium ...	1·66	2·55	·88
Net revenue from currency and mint ...	2·14	2·00	·74
Interest receipts ...	3·16	4·40	1·63
Extraordinary receipts ...	2·60	1·89	·36
Other revenues ...	2·72	3·38	2·72
Provincial contributions ...	9·20	...	...
Total ...	<u>30·45</u>	<u>19·46</u>	<u>5·77</u>

Railways perhaps tell the most pitiable tale. This source of non-tax revenue which besides paying its way contributed handsomely to the general revenue has lately been accumulating deficits, amounting in four years (1931-32 to 1934-35) to Rs. 32 crores. The actual position seems to be even more disquieting, and it would appear that if a proper accounting system had been adopted and items legitimately chargeable to revenue had been charged to revenue and not to capital as now, the deficit would have been found to be even higher. For the current year, the estimated deficit is only Rs. 2 crores, but judging from the actuals of the first few months, the deficit may be larger unless considerable improvement takes place in the remaining months of the year. The Percy Committee estimated the revenue from railways at Rs. 5 crores annually, but in order to have such a surplus, the gross traffic receipts from railways must reach the figure of Rs. 113 crores. Even

in 1928-29 such receipts amounted only to Rs. 103½ crores. Indeed an economic recovery in India will increase railway earnings, but world conditions give no immediate prospect of any pronounced recovery. Further, the competition between roads and railways which has greatly affected railway earnings may increase rather than diminish, since it is in the interest of the provincial governments which control road transport to maximize the revenue from that source.

Salt has been a steady source of revenue in the past, and the budget estimate for 1935-36 under that item is Rs. 8.73 crores, which is Rs. 2 crores more than the Percy Committee's forecast. It is suspected that this increase is due to some temporary influences, and further a strong political party in the country is intent upon reducing this tax radically and would even like to see it abolished. With the Damocles' sword hanging on it, how can Government rest assured that the large revenue from salt will continue to come in?

The foregoing survey has perhaps brought it out that, although it is repeatedly said that the Government of India has most of the elastic sources of revenue, various circumstances have made nearly all those sources rather unreliable, and any immediate increase of central revenue is unlikely.

\$ 2. THE EXPENDITURE POSITION

But while revenue is shrinking, expenditure is on the increase. Apart from the existing expenses, Rs. 75 lakhs will be required for enlarging the central legislature and Rs. 1.05 crores for subventions to the new Provinces of Sind and Orissa (Rs. 75 lakhs + Rs. 30 lakhs). Further, the separation of Burma may reduce Indian revenue by Rs. 3 crores. Thus expenditure may at least increase by Rs. 1.80 crores and revenue may diminish by Rs. 3 crores, and assuming that revenue and expenditure remain as now, there may be a deficit of about Rs. 4.80 crores, when the Reforms are put into operation.

Expenditure (crores of Rs.)		Revenue (crores of Rs.)	
1935-36 Estimate	... 77.22	1935-36 Estimate	... 77.28
+ additional expenditure	... 1.80	Loss by separation of Burma	... 3.00
		Total Revenue	... 74.28
		Deficit...	... 4.74
Total ...	<u>79.02</u>	Total ...	<u>79.02</u>

But the above assumptions may prove too optimistic. The estimate of Rs. 1·80 crores for the inauguration of federation takes into account only the principal items. When constitutional reforms are put into operation in a country like India, expenses are liable to be underestimated, and this must be particularly so when (as now) a substantial transfer of power is made from a system of government controlled by officials to one progressively controlled by a people who have been for long feeling the need for a more liberal expenditure on social services. The new status that India is entering upon will create new needs, whether essential or ornamental, and such needs cannot all be estimated beforehand.

There are also other factors which may upset our estimate of expenditure. Two devastating earthquakes in two successive years have upset the Finance Member's calculations. The Quetta earthquake (1935) must have cost Government at least Rs. 1 crore. Similarly, certain fortuitous circumstances which have been helpful in the past may not continue to help. In the last four years, when the finances of Government were exposed to a severe strain, the copious exports of gold from India came to their rescue by maintaining the rupee exchange and by enabling Government to meet its dues in London. Already gold worth about Rs. 260 crores has gone out, and it is too much to expect that gold exports will remain for long at their present level. If they cease or fall off rapidly, and if in the meantime the balance of trade in India's favour has not improved, the Finance Member will have a very difficult problem to face.

\$ 3. SCOPE FOR RETRENCHMENT

It is generally believed that there is still considerable room for retrenchment in the Central expenditure. There is the standing complaint about military charges; then, there is the popular view that the Central Government will have fewer functions in future and that its needs must therefore be limited.

This latter view is now widely held; but to my mind it is against the whole trend of development in federal constitutions. In the old days when transport was slow and economic life functioned in narrow spheres, defence was the only function of a federal government. But to-day economic life is functioning on a world scale, and each country is compelled to have a

well co-ordinated economic policy. . Politically, State autonomy may be a desirable thing, but economically it might lead to most injurious consequences as is evident from recent happenings in Australia and elsewhere. Most federal constitutions have taken account of this change in economic life and the scope of federal government has widened and its expenditure has largely increased in respect of functions primarily regarded as provincial, viz., education, public health, agriculture, industries and economic development generally. President Roosevelt discovered to his cost what a stumbling block State autonomy is to the economic advancement of the U.S.A. and there is a general desire in that country for a radical change in this respect.

India can benefit by what other countries have learnt by bitter experience. We must avoid the evils of a rigid federal structure—double taxation, overlapping tax jurisdictions, duplication of administrative machinery, multiplicity of tax formulas and forms, and inequality of fiscal arrangements.¹ In many ways the financial arrangements we are adopting may be an improvement on those of other federations. We must also recognize that the best interests of the nation are served by the federal government regulating and co-ordinating economic activities throughout the country. In commerce, the Centre has an important function to fulfil, and it may be a costly one too, as international trade is now becoming more and more subject to agreements and manipulations. In industry, and even in agriculture, not only research but a careful co-ordination of provincial activities must be undertaken by the Central Government. The same is true of education and public health. No doubt the Provincial Governments will have to bear the main burden of the nation-building services, and provincial expenditure will have to increase largely; but let us not forget that the Centre will have also to discharge some important functions in respect of them and that at least its present resources will be required for the purpose. Not only will Federal aid be necessary, especially to those Provinces 'where the available sources of revenue are never likely to be sufficient to meet any reasonable standard of expenditure',² but the

¹ Adarkar, *Principles and Problems of Federal Finance*, p. 63.

² Report of the Joint Select Committee, p. 161.

Federal Government will have also to incur additional expenditure on the regulation of external commerce, banking, shipping and certain industries, on agricultural and industrial research, and on marketing organisations. When the circumstances within and outside India are calling for a unified economic policy in this country, it would be fatal to curtail the scope of the Central Government's activities.

It is true that India's defence expenditure has been maintained at too high a level. Sir Walter Layton estimated it at 31½ per cent of the total central and provincial expenditure; although the proportion must have fallen since, owing to the recent cuts in military charges, India's defence expenditure is still high, in comparison with its civil charges, which are rather low. The disparity between military and civil charges in India is indeed striking. But it may be said that in defence the thing that matters is that you must keep up your armaments on the scale adopted by your neighbours and possible enemies. India is like a man who in the insecure times of old had to have a wall of hard stone although he lived in a mud-house himself. If his means improved, his house would be better built, but he would not be wise in taking away the stone wall till his neighbours took off theirs. India's defences have to be strong until disarmament becomes a reality.

We may remember in this connection that since the World War, considerable economies have been effected in defence expenditure. It fell from about Rs. 70 crores in 1921-22 to Rs. 55·10 crores in 1929-30, and although it was then stabilized at that amount the depression called for emergency economies and the expenditure last year (1934-35) came to Rs. 44·38 crores. A cut of about 11 crores in four years is no small achievement, although it was partly due to the diminished cost of stores. The Finance Member has warned the Assembly that 'the large reduction of defence expenditure in recent years had been secured to some extent by emergency measures of a temporary character', and that the new figure 'could not be regarded as representing a new permanent level of defence expenditure'.¹ When prices rise again, the expenditure may also increase. Even assuming that new ways of economising might be discovered in future, will not the savings be absorbed in aerial

¹ *Budget Statements for 1934-35 and for 1935-36.*

and naval defences? In the present state of things, one cannot build much hopes on any great fall of defence expenditure in the near future. When India obtains a higher political status, the burdens of defence may increase rather than diminish.

\$ 4. PROSPECTS

Taking all these circumstances into account, one fears that the Central Government needs all its present revenue, and more, if it is to function properly. Hopes are entertained in certain quarters that a substantial part of the income-tax revenue will soon be assigned to the provinces, but in the light of the situation sketched above, one cannot see how this hope can be fulfilled in the immediate future. On every ground, it is essential that the Central Government should have a strong financial position when inaugurating the Reforms.

No doubt the provinces are in a bad way. Some of them have inadequate resources, and most of them have had unbalanced budgets recently. The *per capita* expenditure on education and public health in the thickly populated provinces of Bengal and Behar is deplorably low, and must be raised. Great expectations have been held out to the people in regard to nation-building services and these expectations will have to be fulfilled in some measure. It is certainly in the interest of the country that provincial resources should increase. The Central Government has lately made a generous gesture by making a grant to the Provinces for rural development. The Provinces would perhaps prefer an assignment from income-tax revenue to a grant, but the amount of such assignment cannot be large for some years. New resources will have to be tapped. Some of the resources (e.g. income-tax on agricultural incomes) can be tapped directly by the provincial governments, but others (e.g. death duties, terminal taxes) must be levied by the Central Government although the revenues will be handed over to the Provinces. The Central Government can also benefit by imposing surcharges or *centimes additionnels* on such levies. This step will soon become necessary both for the Centre and the Provinces.

The burden of taxation is fairly high in India, but it may not be so high as in many advanced countries. We have not got the statistical material necessary for an accurate estimate

of the burden, but it has been computed that the ratio of total taxation to national income is higher in the U.S.A., Great Britain and even Japan.¹ India is indeed a poor country, but, as Layton says, 'it is at the same time a country in which there are large accumulations of wealth on which the burden of Government rests very lightly'. Land revenue may yield more, if it is attuned to the principle of ability. Nor are there death duties. Commodities of common use like tobacco, on which much revenue is raised in Europe, are still untaxed or lightly taxed in India. Social ceremonies (like marriages) deserve to be taxed, on every ground. Increase of taxation had been hitherto unpopular because it was felt that the revenue was not properly spent, but now that provincial autonomy^c is becoming a fact, the public must be in a position to control expenditure more effectively. The country is calling for more roads and schools, clean water to drink and sure water supply for the fields; and expenditure on these items will be productive in every sense of the word. In the present state of the country, wise public expenditure is the royal road to increased economic welfare and to greater social harmony. As Layton has pointed out, 'taxation may be the only practicable means of creating a better and more secure livelihood'.² Such taxation will not reduce the income of the people but will increase it; it will enhance production and not diminish.

Although the economic depression has diminished money incomes, production has not fallen, but has increased. As I showed in a paper submitted to the Economic Conference last year, even in the period 1920-31 during which population increased in an unprecedented degree (about 11 per cent), agricultural production increased by 16 per cent and industrial production (as indicated by ten organised industries) increased

¹ The percentage of national income (central, provincial and local) taken as taxation in different countries has been estimated as follows by Prof. Findlay Shirras. *Poverty and Kindred Economic Problems*, pp. 48-49. The estimates may not be quite accurate, but they are adequate for purposes of comparison.

United Kingdom	...	(1929-30)	22·2 per cent.
France	..	(1928)	20·9 "
Germany	...	(1925)	20·1 "
U.S.A.	...	(1928)	10·7 "
Japan	...	(1925)	12·8 "
Canada	...	(1927)	9·5 "
Australia	...	(1924)	13·3 "
India	...	(1929-30)	5·9 "

² *Simon Commission Report*, Vol. II, p. 208.

by 51 per cent. Since 1929, production has diminished in most countries, but in India agricultural production has been maintained, and industrial production increased by 44 per cent (between 1928-29 and 1934-35). The only other country which recorded similar progress during the period was Japan (45 per cent). In Great Britain, the increase was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and in France, Germany and U.S.A., there was a decline of about 25, 15 and 20 per cent respectively.

Some details of Indian industrial production will be interesting in this connection. In 1900, hardly 500 million yards of cotton piece-goods were produced in India; in 1934-35, the amount produced was 3,400 million yards; hardly any pig-iron was made in 1900; in 1934-35, 1,343,000 tons of pig-iron and 834,000 tons of steel were made in the country. Even more striking progress was made in sugar and cement. In 1928-29, only 99,000 tons of sugar was produced in India; in 1934-35, in spite of the destruction of many mills in Behar, production amounted to 637,000 tons. Thus, sugar production has increased six-fold in six years.

These are the bases of India's real income and taxable capacity. When production increases, the outturn of existing revenues must increase, and a larger taxable capacity will be generated. With better employment, there will be greater demand for goods, mostly goods produced at home; and therefore trade and economic activity in general will increase. On the whole, the provincial governments derive greater benefits from increased production than the Central Government. Customs will have a temporary benefit by the increased importation of machinery, but will be adversely affected when imports fall off in consequence, as has happened in sugar and cotton piece-goods. Income-tax will increase, but not immediately, and by the time it increases, a substantial assignment will have to be made to the Provinces. Railways will benefit, but roads are a formidable competitor and increased road traffic will benefit the Province chiefly. Stamps, registration fees, etc. will increase and enhance provincial revenue; even the provincial liquor excise will swell when new factories arise in a region; and land revenue collection will become easier.

The whole trend of economic development to-day is in the province's favour. When economic internationalism functioned, India was linked to it as a primary producer and as a

steady consumer of textiles and iron goods; but to-day, with the growth of economic self-sufficiency in most countries, India's position in world economy is undergoing a radical change. The demand for India's primary products abroad has weakened; and India's demand for cloth, sugar, iron goods and other ordinary commodities from outside has also greatly fallen off. In the days when foreign trade loomed large, customs revenue had a wide scope, but when machinery and a few luxury goods become the principal lines of import trade, the scope for levying import duties will naturally narrow down. Indeed the Central Government can impose excises, but it will take time and when they increase, the provinces will have also a share in it. Thus, while the industrial development of India depends very largely on Central policy and direction, the chief beneficiaries of industrial progress will be the Provinces and the effect on Central revenue will be largely adverse. In these circumstances, the self-interest of the Provinces requires them to see that the Central Government's finances are strengthened and not weakened; for thereby they will pave the way for the plentiful increase of their own resources in future.

To conclude: **The unsteadiness of tax revenues, especially customs duties, the failure of non-tax revenues and the uncertainty of gold exports have made the financial position of the Government of India far from prosperous and have aroused pessimistic views about the prospects of inaugurating the Reforms. This may make it difficult for the Central Government to make any large assignments of its revenue to the Provinces, as was expected when the Peel and Percy Committees made their forecasts. Most of the Provinces have deficit budgets and the whole country is looking forward to an increase of expenditure on nation-building services; but it is too much to expect that the resources needed will come to any great extent from the existing revenues of the Central Government. India's credit depends largely on the financial position of the Central Government, and at a time like the present when the Reserve Bank is just beginning to function and when important constitutional reforms are contemplated, it is essential that its financial position should be strong. Whatever the Central Government can spare may be given to the Provinces in the form of assignments from the income-tax revenue, but these cannot be large and will have to be supplemented by**

fresh taxation. The striking increase of production in India even in a period of unexampled depression gives one the hope that fresh taxable capacity is being created and that it could be safely tapped in the near future.

THE DOUBLE-ACCENTED VEDIC COMPOUNDS

BY

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I HAVE already shown¹ that in Rv. V. 78, 7, the tatpuruṣa compound *dāśa-māsyāḥ* logically accented its first member and in Āpastamba Mantra Pāṭha while in one place it was double-accented², in another place it bore the accent on the last member³.

In fact, we find a large number of double-accented compounds in the R̥g Veda, some belonging to the unepithetised class as शचीपति⁴, and some to the epithetised class, besides a few Dvandva compounds.

Some examples of these double-accented compounds I choose at random and give below.

sāhas-as-putrām (Rv. V. 11, 6.)

bṛh-as-pātiḥ (Rv. I. 62, 3.)

vān-as-pātiḥ (Rv. I. 90, 8.)

brāhman-as-pātiḥ (Rv. I. 18, 4.)

sādas-as-pātim (Rv. I. 18, 6.)

sād-as-pāti (Rv. I. 21, 5.)

gnā-s-pātiḥ (Rv. II. 38, 10.)⁵

gnā-s-pātnībhiḥ (Rv. IV. 34, 7.)⁶

jā-s-pātiḥ (Rv. VII. 38, 6.)⁷

rātha-s-pātiḥ (Rv. V. 50, 5b; X. 64, 10.)

indā-s-pātiḥ (Rv. I. 53, 2.)

jāgat-as-pātiḥ [Av. VII. 17, 1; *kāthaka samhitā* XIII.

16 (200, 8.)]

¹ In my paper 'Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds' published in the *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, Volume VIII. Part II.

² *dāśa-māsyāya* (A.M.P. II. 11, 15.)

³ *dāśa māsyāḥ* (A.M.P. I. 13, 9.)

⁴ Rv. VIII. 15, 13. The pada text reads शची॑ ३॑ पति॑

⁵ The pada text reads ग्राः पतिः॑ ।

⁶ The pada text reads ग्राः पत्नीभिः॑ । (See *J. O. R. M.* Vol. I., 1927.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja : 'Linguistic Notes', p. 21.)

⁷ But *jā-s-pātim* (Rv. I. 185, 8.)

bhāradvājī-pūtra (Ś B. 14, 9, 4, 30.)

śavas-as-pātim (Rv. III. 41, 5; VI. 44, 4.)

dāsyave-vṛkah (Vālakhilya 3, 2.)

prāti tyām (Rv. I. 19, 1.)

sū jigyūṣah (Rv. I. 17, 7.)

citrāya-rādhase (Rv. I. 17, 7.)

*apām-nāpāt*¹ (Rv. II. 35, 1; 2; 3; 7; 9; 10; 13.)

It is clear that in the double-accented compounds like वनस्पतिः (Rv. I. 90, 8.) with *pāti-* as the second member, syntactical in origin, the first member has a genitive case form².

Scholars like Garbe³ once believed that both *vānaspāti* and *rāthaspāti* probably owed their *s* to the analogy of *bṛh-as-pāti*.

Bartholomae, however. (vide 'Arisches' Bezenberger's Beitrage, Volume 15, page 15. Compare also Lanman: "The stem *vān* is supported only by *vāmsu*, found twice, with irregular accent. SV. i. 74 has a wretched variant, *vanā*." "A statistical account of noun inflection in the veda." J.A.O.S. Volume 10, page 353) went farther with Lanman in recognising the stem *vān-* of which therefore, the regular genitive singular is *vānas-*, but he was nevertheless inclined to treat *-s-* in *rāthaspāti* as due to analogy.

Wackernagel⁴ and Macdonell⁵ followed suit in thinking that in *vān-as-pāti-* the first member may be the genitive singular of *van-* wood, not so much in view of the genitive plural form *vanām* (for this form can be explained even if we assume the existence of a stem *vāna*) but particularly in view of the fact that we have the locative form *vāmsu*.

But these scholars too persisted in maintaining that *-s-* in *rāthaspāti* must be inorganic, for obviously it is impossible to assume the existence of a stem *rāth*.

¹ Cf. also Wackernagel:—*Altindische Grammatik* II. i, sections 41 and 103.

² Vide. Macdonell's *Bigger Vedic Grammar*, page 96.

³ Garbe: 'Das accentuationssystem des altindischen nominal compositums' page 490. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*. Volume XXIII. [This volume was borrowed for me from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, through the kindness of the Librarian, the University Library, Madras.] Cp. also Oswald Richter: 'Die unechten Nominal komposita des Altindischen und Altiranischen' page 17. *IndoGermanische Forschungen* volume IX.

⁴ Wackernagel: *Altindische Grammatik* II. i. page 247.

⁵ Macdonell: *Bigger Vedic Grammar*, page 96. Footnote 6.

Bearing in mind that the genitive singular termination *-as*¹ varied with *-s* in vowel declension, (i.e. when the nominal stem ended in *i-* or *u-* etc.), it may be assumed that in '*ráthaspáti*' perhaps the stem was *rátha-* to which the genitive singular termination *-s* (the weakened form of *-as*) was tacked on. Likewise in *vánas-páti* also, *vána-* may be assumed to be the original stem to which the termination *-s* was added, instead of assuming *van-* to be the original stem even here. (In *vamsu*, no doubt *van-* is the stem.) This assumption is warranted by the fact that side by side with the stem *van-* there was also the stem *vána-* in the vedic language (cf. Brugmann *Grundriss English Translation*. Vol. II. section 24, page 40). In classical language, only *vana-* was preserved and the stem *van-* was lost. Thus in a satisfactory manner, we may dispense with the assumption that *s* in *ráthaspáti* is inorganic and due to analogy.²

But the feminine form *gnās-pátni-* is however anomalous.

The compound *sádas-páti-* probably stands by haplogy for **sádasas-páti-*. 'The only new instance of double accentuation of a compound with *-páti-* after the Rv. seems to be *nṛms-páti-* (MS).'³

There are two other double-accented compounds; *nābhā-nēdiṣṭha* which seems to contain an old locative in the first member and *ās-pātra-* (T.S. II 5.9.3.) where the uninflected stem appears.

It is indeed interesting to note that though *brāhmānās-páti-* is not treated as a compound in Pada text, it is so treated in the Dvandva *indrā-brahmanas-patī* (Rv. II. 24, 12.).

Again it is of some significance to observe that *जास्पति* (Rv. I. 185, 8) is the only Tatpuruṣa in the Rg.-Veda in which double-accentuation does not take place when *-páti-* is preceded by *s*. 'The only other instance in the Rv. of a *tatpuruṣa* with case-ending in the first member and yet singly accented is *divo-dāsa-* name of a king. Elsewhere occur *apsu-yogá-* (Av. X 5, 5.),

¹ * *es* or * *os* or * *as*.

² Scholars like Macdonell being perhaps much influenced by forms like Sanskrit *हरः* seem to feel that the genitive singular termination *-as* varied with *-s* in vowel declension, only when the nominal stem ended in *i-* or *u-* etc. But I suggest that perhaps it can be assumed that even with regard to *a* declension the same principle may hold good.

³ Vide Macdonell's *Bigger Vedic Grammar*, page 96, footnote 7. Cf. also Wackernagel II. i, p. 248d.

amhasas-pati—(VS), perhaps *mātūr-bhrātrā-* (MS. 1. 6. 12.)
‘mother’s brother’ (the MSS read *mātur-bhrātrā-*¹).

All the double-accented compounds like *बृहस्पतिः* are comprehended by Pāṇini’s sūtra उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् (P. VI. 2. 140.) Pāṇini’s explanation of स् in compounds of the type of *वनस्पतिः* is that it is merely an augment. पारस्करप्रभृतोनि च संज्ञायां (P. VI. 1. 157).

तद्बृहतोः करपत्योः चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च (vārtika).

(The word *brhāt* ordinarily bears the accent on the last syllable, but in the compound *brhaspāti-* the *t* of *brhāt* is elided and the accent is moved back to the first syllable.)

Pāṇini has framed another sūtra too to comprehend the genitive compounds² like the following :—

*वाचस्पतिः*¹ (Rv X. 81, 7a ; VS. VIII, 45 a ; XVII, 23 a ; TS 4.6. 2.5 a ; MS. 2.10. 2 a [page 133, line 18. Schroeder’s edition, second book] KS. XXI, 13a ; XXX, 5 a ; XVIII, 2 ; Ś B, 4.6. 4.5.)

दिवस्पुत्राय (Rv. X. 37, 1.)

दिवस्पृष्टं (Rv. III. 2, 12.)

तमसस्पारम् (Rv. I. 92, 6.)

इळस्पदे (Rv. I. 128, 1.)

दिवस्पयः (Rv. X. 114, 1.)

रायस्पोषम् (Rv. X. 17, 9.)

Considering the connections and surroundings of compounds with *-pāti* as the second member, they are certain to appear as

¹ Macdonell’s *Bigger Vedic Grammar* page 96, Footnotes 4 and 5.

Schroeder says : ‘so corrigirt ; inden MSS मातु० ohne accent. Vide his edition of *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, Book I, Page 106, Footnote 3.

² षष्ठाः पतिपुत्रपृष्टपारपदपयस्पोषेषु (P. VIII, 3. 53.)

old formations. *śubhāspāti* for instance, occurs several times in the R̥g Veda, always as epithet of the *Aśvins*. *Gnās-pāti* and *Gnās-pātni* are evidently old; they occur only in connections with *Tvaṣṭar*, and such a feminine as *gnās-pātnī* would be impossible, from a newly coined word.¹ *divas* in *divo-dāsam* (Rv. I. 112, 4 b; IV. 26, 3 d; VI. 61, 1 b; VII. 18, 25 c.) too seems to occur only in composition for besides this compound we have *divas-pr̥thivyaū* 'heaven and earth'. To this base *divas*-which is only found at the beginning of compounds, corresponds well the Latin *dies*- in *dies-piter*.²

The analogy of *apām-ndpāt* is followed by *tānū-nāpāt*. (*tanū-* has acute on the final but in the compound the accent is moved back to the first syllable. Thus *tanū-* behaves like *br̥hāt-* in compounds with regard to the shifting back of accent).³ E. W. Fay thinks that the double accent in the compound suggests that it is a *Dvandva* (Cf. *J.A.O.S.*, Volume 16, Proceedings, page clxxiv).

Another important double-accented compound is नराशंसः (Rv. I. 142, 3; II. 38, 10; I. 13, 3; 106, 4;) Skandasvāmin and Venkaṭamādhavārya take it as a determinative.

Says the former commenting on Rv. I. 13,3. 'नराशंसं शंसिः स्तुत्यर्थः नरैः प्रशस्यत इति नराशंसो अग्निः तं नराशंसं ।' And says Venkaṭamādhavārya in his commentary :—नराशंसं नरैः शंसनीयमग्निं ।⁴

[There is a close resemblance between double-accented compounds of this type and the following passage from the

¹ M. Bloomfield is the only scholar who is somewhat inclined to think (rather ingeniously) that *s* before *-pāti* may be a trace of *spa*, a more ancient form of the root *pā*. Vide *J.A.O.S.* Volume II, Proceedings, page 5.

² Vide Bopp's, *Comparative Grammar*, Volume III, para 973.

³ तनूनपादुच्यते गर्भः (Rv. III. 29, 11.) In only one place, this compound accents the first syllable of the second member alone in A. V. तनूनपात्

(V. 27, 1.)

⁴ Vide page 92 of 'The R̥k Samhitā with the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin and the Dīpikā of Venkaṭamādhavārya, edited by K. Śāmbaśiva Śāstri, Curator of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum. Trivandrum Sanskrit series No. XCVI. Śrī Setu Lakṣmī Prasādamālā. No. VIII.

Atharva Veda where a particle and a following verb are both accented *hi śānti*. (Av. VI. 112,3.)]¹

नराशंसं is one of the earliest of the loosely formed compounds between whose two component parts other words were also interposed.²

In Rv. IX. 86,42, the Samhitā text reads *īyate nārā ca śāmsam daīvyam ca dhartāri*³. [Cf. also *nairīmca Saṇḍm* (yasna 57. Verse 3. Zend Avesta which corresponds to *nārā ca śāmsam* Skt.)] The pada text reads *īyate nārāśāmsam ca daīvyam ca dhartāri*.

Again in Rv. X. 64,3, the Samhitā text reads *nārā vā śāmsam pūśnam āgoḥyam* and the pada text reads *nārāśāmsam vā puśnam āgoḥyam*.

Probably these interposed words च and वा originally brought out the dependency of the second member to the first which is the determinative element (the meaning here is clearly नराणां शंसः as Sāyaṇa says under Rv. I. 13,3.) This view is supported by the fact that च itself, without always losing its

¹ ते प्राग्धातोः (P. I. 4. 80).

छन्दसि परेऽपि (P. I. 4. 81).

व्यवहिताश्च (P. I. 4. 82).

² Pāṇini says that in the non-Vedic or classical Sanskrit language प्र and other particles come always before the verb, but that in the Vedic language such particles may come either before the verb or after it, and that sometimes in the Vedic language other words may intervene between such particles and the verb. Vide 'Were the Vājasaneyī Samhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa unknown to Pāṇini' by K. B. Pathak, B.A., Ph. D., page 84, Volume 11 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

³ Compare Rg-Veda Prātisākhya, II. 43.

शुनश्चिच्छेपनिदितं नरावाशंसं पूषणम् ।

नराचशंसं दैव्यं ता अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता ॥

See Uvaṭa's commentary on this.

³ A corresponding instance in the Atharva Veda is the following where द्रव is introduced in parenthesis between पिब and its object *ehimasyā drāvā piba*. (A.V. XX. 5.5).

signification 'and' or meaning distinctly 'if', is not very infrequently made use of to assist in indicating the conditionality or dependency of a clause, whose verb is then left orthotone in the Atharva Veda. An instance is स चा॒तिसृ॒जेजु॒हु॒यान॒चा॒तिसृ॒जेन॒ जु॒हु॒यात्¹ 'And should he give permission, let him sacrifice; and should he not give permission, let him not sacrifice.'

Sometimes, indeed, the particle almost precisely equals यदि, as in the following passage: हिं॒स्ते अ॒दत्ता॒ पु॒रुषं॒ या॒चितां॒ च॒ न दि॒त्स॒ति² 'ungiven she harms a man, if he will not give her when demanded'.³

Of equal importance is the loosely framed double-accented epithetised compound शुनःशेपः (Rv. I. 24, 12.)

The Samhitā text of Rv. V. 2, 7 reads śūnaś cic chēpam niditam but the pada text reads śūnaḥ śēpam cit niditam.⁴

An example of the loosely formed Dvandva compound of this type is dyāvā-prthivī⁵ (Rv. I. 160, 1a; 115, 1; 35, 9b). Compare for instance Sāyana's comments on Rv. I. 159, 1. प्र॒द्यावा॒ य॒ज्ञैः पृ॒थि॒वीं Says Sāyana:—द्यावापृथिवी द्यावापृथिव्यो । दिवो द्यावादेश आद्युदात्तः । पृथिवोऽशब्दो ङीष्तोऽतोऽदात्तः देवताद्वन्द्वे चेत्युभयपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् ।

¹ Atharva Veda, XV. 12.3.

² Atharva Veda, XII. 4.13.

³ Vide Article IV in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*—'Contributions from the Atharva Veda to the theory of Sanskrit verbal accent' by William D. Whitney.

⁴ Vide Rgveda Prātisākhya XI, 8.

अनानुपूर्व्यपदसंध्यदर्शनात्

पदव्यवेतं च पदव्यवायि च ।

ततोऽपरे द्विक्रममाहुराश्रयात्

कृताविलुप्ताऽत्र हि वर्णसंहिता ॥

Uvaṭa makes clear the meaning of the word आश्रयात् through लक्षणात् and says लक्षणे शास्त्राश्रयः कारणं । शुनःशेपं चिदित्येतयोः पदयोरन्योन्येन संधिरदृष्टो भवति ॥

⁵ Prthivīdyāvā occurs only once in the Rg Veda in III. 46, 5. Cf. Delbruck S.F., Vol. V. Page 98.

समासमध्ये पदांतरपाठः छांदसः. See also Yāska's comments on Rv. II. 41, 20. द्यावा नः पृथिवी इमं सिध्नमद्य दिविस्पृशम् यज्ञं देवेषु यच्छताम् ॥ Says Yāska:—द्यावापृथिव्यौ न इमं साधनमद्य दिवि स्पृशं यज्ञं देवेषु नियच्छताम्. [Nirukta IX. 38.]

Another interesting double-accented Dvandva compound in the Rg Veda is नक्तोषासा¹ which the pada text reads नक्तोषसा । Skandasvāmin's comment on it is as follows:—नक्त इति रात्रि नाम उषा अपररात्रिकं ज्योतिः नक्ता चोषाश्च नक्तोषसा. Venkaṭamādhavārya translates the compound as अहोरात्रे².

Probably on analogy with compounds like अद्यानून³ where the last syllable of the first member is lengthened, the penultimate syllable of this compound नक्तोषसा is also lengthened, for the retention of the last syllable of the first member (even if it were lengthened) in this compound is impossible, since the resultant of अ or आ with उ would be ओ according to the well-known rule of euphonic combination. Hence to secure uniformity with similar compounds, it might have assumed the form नक्तोषासा here.

Significant indeed are the double-accented compounds whose components are separated by an interposed word.⁴ Brugmann's transpositional theory⁵ of the origin of Bahuvrīhi compounds has already been taken into account and given its due importance.⁶

But according to some⁷ the rise of the Bahuvrīhis is to be accounted for in another way. They say that perhaps through predicative or appositional use of groups of words characterising

¹ Rv. I. 13, 7.

² See page 95, 'The Rksamhitā with the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin and the commentary of Venkaṭamādhavārya.'

³ Rv. I. 13, 6

⁴ On account of this fact, it might be assumed that the pre-Vedic language a short time before the composition of the Rg-Veda was a highly analytic one.

⁵ Vide Brugmann's 'Comparative Grammar, Volume II, page 88.

⁶ Vide my paper, 'The Accentuation of Determinative Compounds' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Volume VIII, part II.

⁷ Cf : Wackernagel :—*Altindische Grammatik* II, i, section 112.

a substantive, the epithetised compounds arose. Wackernagel exemplifies this use by the following passages from the R̥gveda *urúh kákṣo ná gāṅgyáh*¹. 'Like the broad shoulder dwelling on the Ganges,' that is, for *urú-kakṣah* 'Broad shoulder' as a proper name; *sá jāyase mathydmānaḥ sāho mahát*² 'thou art born a great power' (= *mahā-sahāḥ* 'one having great power'); *tvācam kṛṣṇām arandhayat*³ 'he delivered over the black skin' (that is, 'those having a black skin,' 'the black skins') *dróghāya ciḍ vácasa ānavāya*⁴ 'to *Ānava*, deceitful speech,' that is, 'who utters deceitful speech' (compare *drogha-vāc* 'uttering deceitful speech') and *narām ná śámsaḥ*⁵ 'praise of men' as representing an earlier stage than *nāra-śámsa* 'receiving the praise of men' as a Bahuvrīhi. Appositional Bahuvrīhis, Wackernagel thinks, similarly arose from explanatory clauses, as the following *īndra-jyeṣṭhā devāsaḥ*⁶ 'the gods having Indra as their mightiest' from *devāḥ īndra jyéṣṭhāḥ* 'the gods—Indra their mightiest'⁷.

An unconsummated Bahuvrīhi with *rūpam* may be found in Rv. I. 114, 5 *varāhām aruṣām kapardīnam tveṣām rūpām*.⁸

• I suggest that it may be possible to find through a study of the Vedic double-accented compounds, a tie of union even between views as contrasting as those of Brugmann and Wackernagel—the transpositional theorist and the juxtapositional theorist (if such terms are permissible).

A reconciliation seems to be possible between the two camps; neutral observers are likely to see bonds between the two parties. These links by which the two seemingly irreconcilable points of view with regard to the origin of Bahuvrīhis can be brought to team work, are sought to be clearly indicated in the subsequent paras.

It might be that at one stage in the pre-Vedic period, there was no way of distinguishing one class of compounds from another, except perhaps through context for we may be sure of

¹ Rv. VI. 45, 31.

² Rv. V. 11, 6.

³ Rv. I. 130, 8.

⁴ Rv. VI. 62, 9.

⁵ Rv. II. 34, 6. Compare also *sámso narām* (Rv. VI. 24, 2).

⁶ Rv. I. 23, 8a.

⁷ See also section 291 of Macdonell's *Bigger Vedic Grammar*.

⁸ Vide Batakriṣṇa Ghosh's review of 'The use of the cases in Vedic Prose' by Sukumar Sen, Page 169. Volume X, No. I. of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

the fact that compounds then arose only through sheer juxtaposition of words¹ and each of them being an independent unit, should doubtless have borne the accent.

At this stage, even finite verbs occurring in the middle of the principal clauses (though these clauses might even contain prepositions which are separated from the finite verb) should not have been enclitic, but borne the accent.

The following passages may probably point to such a conclusion.

ādabdhacakṣuḥ pāri viśvam babhūva², āha krā-tāv āsaḥ.³

ādāha svadhām ānu pūnar garbhatvām eriré! dādhanā nāma yajñīyam.⁴

Pāṇini's explanation for the accentuation of the verb in the last two instances is on a semantic basis. तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् (P. VIII 1. 39.)

The finite verb in subordinate clauses as it is well known is accented. Some of the instances are the following:

पुत्रा यदभवत्सूरहेभ्यो मघवा विश्वदर्शितः (Rv. I. 146,5).

यदग्ने स्यामहं त्वं (Rv. VIII. 44,23).

¹ In Lithuanian, the consciousness of the original independence of the constituents of all compounds is still alive. Cf.—page 16 'Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian' by Frederick Turnbull Wood. Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America. Number VII. December 1930.

² A. V. XIII. 2.44.

³ A. V. I. 34,2.

⁴ Rv. I. 6,4 ; A. V. XX. 40,3 ; 69,12. Of six passages in which *āha* is found in the first Aṣṭaka of the Rgveda, I. 6,4. is the only one where it exercises a power to accent the verb. Sāyaṇa's remarks on this passage are the following :

एरिरे । अन्तर्भावित ण्यथाद् ईरगतावित्यस्मात् अनुदात्ततः परस्य “लिटस्त-
ज्ञयोरेशिरेच्” (P. III. 4.81). इति ईरेच् । चित्वादन्तोदात्तः । सह सुपा
(P. II. 1.4.) इत्यत्र सुपेतियोगविभागादाडा सह तिङ्समासेऽपि समासस्येत्य-
न्तोदात्तत्वम् “इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः” P. III. 1.36.) इत्याम् न भवति ।
मन्त्रत्वात् अहशब्दयोगान्निघाताभावः । “तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायां”

(P. VIII. 1.39.) इति निषेधान् । [Vide also page 416. Article IV.

Contributions from the Atharva Veda to the theory of Sanskrit Verbal accent' by William D. Whitney. Volume 5. *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*.]

युवा यदो¹ कथः (Rv. V. 74,5).

कुविदंग नमसा ये वृधासः पुरा देवा अनवद्यास आसन्

(Rv. VII. 91,1).

(See also Atharva Veda XX. 24,2; 4; where the particle कुविद् exercises an influence to accent the finite verb. These two passages are the only instances in the Atharva Veda where this particle occurs.¹)

nét tvám sabhāyām āha tvām vāda. (Av. VII. 38,4).

यद्वाऽवमे वृजने मादयासे (Rv. I. 101,8.)

पुत्रासो यत्र पितरो भवन्ति (Rv. I. 89,9.)

These instances are covered by Pāṇini's sūtra

निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेच्चेच्चण्कच्चिद्यत् युक्तम्².

Similarly we have the following instances where the particle हि, influences to accent the verb.

आ हि ष्मा याति³

आ हि रुहतं⁴

These instances are covered by the sūtra हि च,⁵

The sūtra अभ्यस्तानामादिः⁶ is intended to cover passages like the following अप नः शोशुचत् (Rv. I. 97,1).

The accentuation of the verb *atti* is optional in the following passage by the sūtra एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाम्याम् (P. VIII. 1.65

¹ *Ibid.* page 418. [As Whitney observes one cannot see how the accentuation after *kuvid*, any more than after *hanta*, marks the clause as dependent. Vide *A. J. P.* Vol. XIII, page 298. Cp. also *S. F.* Vol. V, page 551.]

² Pāṇini VIII. 1.30.

³ Rv. IV. 29,2.

⁴ Rv. VIII. 22,9.

⁵ Pāṇini VIII. 1.34. Sāyaṇa brings इदं वो वामशन्ति हि (Rv. I. 2, 4) under this sūtra of Pāṇini. But we can bring the passage under the sūtra यद्धितुपरं छन्दसि (P. VIII. 1.56.) also.

⁶ Pāṇini VI. 1.189.

where the anuvṛtti of विभाषा is made from चादिलोपे विभाषा (P. VIII. 1.63).

तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति (Rv. I. 164,20.)

Instances like यत्कामास्तेजुहुमः (Rv. X. 121,10) are comprehended by Pāṇini's sūtra यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम् (P. VIII. 1.66).

Delbruck¹ observed that the dependent clause in Sanskrit is oftenest one of necessary condition, and oftenest precedes the clause on which it depends. 'In such a case,' he goes on to observe, 'the practice of our own languages shows that the verb of the dependent clause has the superior emphasis.' And this is to² be inferred according to him from such an example as the following :

WAS MAN NICHT NÜTZT, IST EINE SCHWERE LAST, 'what one uses not is a heavy burden'—where ist (is) is unemphatic as compared with Nützt (uses).

Whitney² points out how Delbruck here fails to observe that his dependent verb is one which, owing to the content of the word, and not at all to the form of the sentence, is the emphatic predicated element, while his independent verb is the mere copula, unemphatic for that reason and for no other³. Whitney goes on to show that in every other like case, the emphasis of the verb depends on the relation of its significant content to the sum of significance of the sentence, and not in the least on its occurrence in a clause of the one kind or of the other. Whitney proceeds then to give his own view that the whole aspect of the phenomena of verbal accentuation is to him that of a historic verity which those who handed down to us the R̥g Veda did not themselves understand or, for the most part, even try to understand—much less try to regulate on such shadowy principles as Delbruck thinks to recognize.

¹ In 1871, in the first part of his *Syntactische Forschungen* (pp. 96-98) [vide Whitney page 278 'On Delbruck's Vedic Syntax.' *A. J. P.* Vol. XIII].

² Vide his review of Delbruck's *Vedic Syntax*, *American Oriental Society's Proceedings*, April 1892, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Volume 15.

³ Whitney shows the flaw in Delbruck's theory thus: if Delbruck's sentence reads instead, WAS UNS NICHT NÜTZLICH IST, BELASTET UNS, 'what is useless to us burdens us', the relation of the two verbs in respect to emphasis would seem to be reversed; the independent one would be obviously better entitled to the accent!

Delbruck in his later work¹ says the accentlessness of the verb of the independent clause is 'merely the external sign of the fact that the verb appears as a relatively dependent member of the sentence, attaching itself to a noun, a preposition in such a way as to limit these ideas.' Whitney points out clearly how this statement of Delbruck seems little short of absurd and no theory built upon such a foundation can possibly be anything but a failure. 'The sentence consists of subject and predicate; and one of these is just as primary and just as secondary as the other. A subject, noun or pronoun, is even more meaningless without a verb to tell what it is there for than is a verb without a subject, since a subject can be on the whole much more easily inferred for it from the circumstances. But not only a preceding subject, even a preceding object, or adverb, or prefix takes away the accent from the verb in the Sanskrit sentence; and that the verb is a "relatively dependent" word as compared with its own modifiers, that it is attached to a preposition in order to limit the meaning of the preposition, is a view which no reasonable person can fairly be expected to accept on Delbruck's authority.'

But after all is said, it seems to me that we can not do anything better than to assume that as perhaps the preposition was felt to possess a tendency to modify the sense of verbs, the latter were made enclitic when used along with preposition for the observed fact is as Brugmann records² that the finite verb was enclitic to a large extent, always if the temporal particle *é, the augment, immediately preceded it and also because many prepositions were originally adverbs like *ápa*, *prá* and *pára* in Vedic Sanskrit.³

But as Whitney shows Delbruck's statement that 'the verb has only in exceptional cases a primary value for the sentence and that then it is moved back, toward the beginning of the sentence' is hardly satisfactory.

¹ *Altindische Syntax (Syntactische Forschungen V)* by Delbruck, section 29, page 50. Die Nichtbetonung des Verbums im Hauptsatze ist nur das äussere zeichen für die Thatsache, dass das Verbum als ein relativ unselbstständiges glied des satzes erscheint, welches sich an ein Nomen, ein Pronomen eine Praeposition derartig anschliesst, dass es diese Begriffe näher bestimmt.

² *Comparative Grammar*, Volume I, section 669. Vide *infra*.

³ Vide *infra*. All prepositions must have been originally adverbial in character before they became adnominal. The temporal particle *é is certainly a preposition as indeed it denoted a time (the Past). In this connection it is well to remember that Pāṇini's name कर्मप्रवचनीय suggests the original character of the prepositions being adverbial.

A certain order of the clause having become established as normal, any deviation from it is made a means of the different distribution of emphasis, to the members moved either backward or forward. But the Sanskrit verb, however it may change position, gets no accent unless it be placed at the very head ; nor do the other members, though moved to the end, lose their accent.

As Whitney indicates though there is a certain measure of truth in the statement that the sentence is naturally a diminuendo, beginning strong, to attract the attention of the listener, and then toning gradually down to the end as Delbruck claims, in a first direct address, it seems wholly out of place as applied to continuous discourse, as for instance in a hymn, or a piece of exposition.

And as regards the accented verb of the dependent clause, a double expression viewed as a single one is furnished us. First, if the dependent clause precedes the other, the diminuendo of the whole sentence has not become complete when the dependent verb is reached, and hence that the verb has not become entirely toneless. And then this non-tonelessness, originally a result only of the position, of the clause, is historically generalised into a means of distinction of all dependent clauses which express an incomplete sense or involve a suspension of sense as compared with the main clause.

Thus we see the glaring inconsistency in Delbruck's theory in that it states that a verb in general is not accented because it is dependent ; but this dependent member, if it belongs to a clause which is a dependent member, attains independency and gets an accent. A result, too, quite the reverse of that in German as Whitney says, where the dependent verb, instead of being made emphatic, takes its position at the very end, which signifies tonelessness !

Whitney seems to be perfectly right in totally rejecting Delbruck's explanation of the problem of Sanskrit Verbal accentuation both in its earlier and later form.

But the three passages¹ quoted above though they may not be conclusive and may not decisively prove our point, still would

¹ A. V. XIII. 2, 44.

A. V. I. 34, 2.

R. V. I. 6, 4 ; A. V. XX. 40, 3 ; 69, 12.

Vide *supra*.

give us at least for the time being some sense of relief for doubtless it appears to one 'that a form of the finite verb which one is wont to regard as the very life of the sentence, as by itself capable of constituting a sentence complete in all its parts, which so often combines in itself ideas and relations that in another language, or in other parts of the same language, appear as independent words or accessory clauses that this, of all other words, should lose its independent tone, and be reduced to the subordinate position of an enclitic in the sentence, is certainly strange enough; and consequently, one might, at first sight almost feel justified in denying its truth.'¹

The Vaiyākaraṇas recognise two kinds of सामर्थ्य—एकार्थीभाव and व्यपेक्षा. In समास we have the former, that is, in the formation of compounds a sort of semantic unity is secured between the constituents of the compound as a result of a kind of semantic amalgamation and fusion.² व्यपेक्षा exists between any one word and another in a sentence. In other words, a sort of semantic unity is secured through several words that compose a sentence through some kind of semantic agglutination परस्पराकाङ्क्षारूपा व्यपेक्षा (Kaiyaṭa's प्रदीप Bombay Nirṇaya Sāgar edition, Vol. II, page 314.)

Here we have to keep clear the notions of three distinct unities in our mind, viz. the semantic unity, the inflectional unity and the accentual unity. In this connection, it is best to remember what W. V. Humboldt says regarding the accentual unity: 'The unity of the word is produced by the accent. This, by itself, is of a more spiritual nature than the sounds, and it is therefore called the soul of speech, not only because it is really the element which carries intelligibility into speech, but because it is, more

¹ Cf. Bopp's 'Comparative Accentuation of Greek and Sanskrit languages' by W. D. Whitney, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Volume V (1856), page 214.

² Kaiyaṭa defines it thus in his प्रदीप. यत्र पदान्युपसर्जनीभूतस्वार्थानि निवृत्तस्वार्थानि प्रधानार्थोपादानाङ्गर्थानि, अर्थान्तराभिधायीनि वा स एकार्थी भावः Bombay Nirṇaya Sāgar edition. Vol. II, page 314.

than other factors in speech, the immediate expression of feeling' (cited by Götting, *Accent der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 8. Cf. also Maurice Bloomfield: 'Historical and Critical Remarks introductory to a Comparative Study of Greek accent' in the *American Journal of Philology*, Volume IV. 1883, page 21.)

In double-accented compounds like *vānas pāti* in general we have only the semantic unity between the constituents of the compound. As invariably in these compounds, the inflectional unity is not secured, we find consequently that the accentual unity also is not secured. Here is the parallelism to the व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्य that exists in every independent word of a sentence—a relation of one word to another semantically correlated.

As only a semantic agglutination occurs in every sentence between word and word, every word we should expect as a matter of course to retain its individual accent. So logically the finite verb should also possess its own accent even in the principal clause, not to speak of the subordinate clauses where the accent of the verb is preserved. An explanation I shall attempt to offer following the lines of arguments indicated by scholars like Maurice Bloomfield to account for the phenomenon of enclisis of the finite verb in the principal clauses and now having examined to some extent one phase of sentence accentuation, let me enter into an interesting discussion on the other phase, viz. vocative accentuation. I shall dwell on this at some length in the subsequent paras. of this paper.

Just as finite verbs must have been accented even in principal clauses at one time in the pre-Vedic language, even so should the vocatives have retained their own word accent. We have for instance आदित्यासः¹.

Sāyana comments upon it as follows:—

हे आदित्यास आदित्या देवाः । व्यत्ययेनाद्युदात्तत्वाभावः । यद्वा आदित्यानामिम आदित्याः तस्येदमित्यर्थे प्राग्दोष्यतीयो ण्यप्रत्ययः ।

There are a few cases in the R̥g Veda where an interior vocative co-ordinate with an initial accented one from which it is disjoined, has its own accent, not following the general rule by

which it should lose its accent¹; an example is *sū putra ādu sūnuṣe* (Rv. x. 86, 13b.) In *ā prā yāta māruto viṣṇo āsvinā* (Rv. viii. 27, 8a.) all successive interior vocatives are accented.

In Rg Veda vii. 59, 1c. three accented vocatives follow an interior un-accented one,

तस्मा अग्ने वरुण मित्रार्यमन् मरुतः शर्म यच्छत ॥

One can safely hazard a conjecture here that even this first vocative should have accented at an earlier stage, and the loss of its accent can very well be regarded as an error of the tradition. In Rg Veda ii. 27, 14a, all the vocatives where each is an independent invocation are accented: *ādite mitra varuno tā mṛta*. In Rg Veda i. 117, 18 an accented vocative follows two un-accented vocatives *शुनमन्धाय भरमङ्गयत्सा वृकोरश्विना वृषणा नरेति* ॥²

Venkaṭamādhava says: *नरेति परिदेवनासूक्तम् आमन्त्रितमुच्चैर्लौकिका वदन्ति । तत्कृतो निपात इत्युक्तं ॥* (Paper manuscript Venkaṭa Mādhava Bhāṣyam Adyar, library, Vol. I. page 320.) The examples of co-ordinate epithets of the same subject where each is alike accented are the following:—

āsvinā yājvarīriṣo drāvatpāṇī śubhaspati pūrubhujā canasyātam (Rv. I. 3, 1.).

bṛhadbhāno yadvīṣṭhya³ jātavedo vicarṣaṇe⁴ ōjīṣṭha trātar

¹ See for instance: *imāṁ me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī sūtudri stōmam sacata pāruṣṇyā* (Rv. X. 75, 5b.) 'We are probably to read *pāruṣṇyā* (instrumental) instead of *pāruṣṇyā* as the corresponding cases in the other half of the verse indicate.' Vide Article 2. 'On the accentuation of the vocative case in the Rg and Atharva Vedas.' By Willabe Haskell, Ph.D., of New Haven. Volume II. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

² Mādhavabhaṭṭa gives this instance in support of his favourite semantic theory which I am discussing at great length in a paper entitled, 'The Accentual Variation in relation to Semantic Variation.' Mādhavabhaṭṭa says:

अङ्गयच्छुनमन्धाय सा वृकोरिति वक्ष्यति ।

नरेति तत्राद्युदात्तमेवं हि परिदेवनम् ॥

Rgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii. 4. "Here the accentuation indicates that *nārā* alone is the cry of the she-wolf, and that *āsvinā vṛṣaṇā* are the utterance of the poet; if all the three vocatives belong to the former, we can hardly avoid amending the reading to *āsvinā vṛṣaṇā nārē 'ti*." Vide page 60. 'On the Accentuation of the vocative case in the Rg and Atharva Vedas' by Willabe Haskell, Ph.D., of New Haven. Presented to the Society, October 25th, 1877.

J.A.O.S. Volume 11.

³ Rv. I. 36, 15 d.

⁴ Rv. I. 78, 1b; VI. 16, 29b; 36b; VIII. 43, 2b;

*āvitaḥ*¹ (*āgne . . .*) *māndra svādḥāva ṛtajāta sūkrato*² (*sā . . .*)
*vāsupate vāsudāvan*³ (*varuṇa*) *sāmraḥ ṛtavaḥ*⁴ *āmbitame*
*nādītame (dēvitame śārasvati)*⁵ (*agne*) *sūścandra dāsma*
*viśpate hāvyaavāt*⁶ (*māruto*) *tūvīmaghāso āmṛtā ṛtajñāḥ*
*sātyaśrutaḥ kāvayo yūvāno (bṛhadgirayah),*⁷ (*Vīrāsaḥ*)
*māryāso bhādrajānayaḥ*⁸ *sūjāte āśvasūnrte*⁹ *sāhasramuṣka*
*tūvinrmna sātpate*¹⁰ (*agne*) *vāsiṣṭha sūkra dīdivaḥ pāvaka*¹¹
*śīprinn ṛṣivaḥ śācīvaḥ*¹² (*śubhas-pati*) *dāsrā hīranyavartanī*¹³
*(āsvinā) pūruścandrā nāsatyā*¹⁴ *dhījavanā nāsatyā*¹⁵ *śācigo*
*śācipūjana*¹⁶ *śāvapate gōpata ūrvarāpate*¹⁷ (*mahemate*) *sāhasrote*
*śātāmāgha*¹⁸ *śātāmūte śātakrato*¹⁹ *sānitaḥ sūsanitar ūgra citra*
*cētiṣṭha sūnrta*²⁰ (*śataktrato*) *prācāmānyo āhamsana* (Rv. VIII.
 67, 9d.)

*tūviśuṣma tūvikrato śācīvo Vīśvayā mate*²¹ *ūrjo napād*
*bhādraśoce*²² *ūrjo napād āsvamiṣṭe*²³ (*āgne*) *māndra sūjāta*
*sūkrato 'mūra dāsmātithe*²⁴ (*subāho svangure*) *pṛthusto pṛthujā-*
*ghane (śūrapatni)*²⁵ *ūttānaparṇe sūbhage dēvajāte sāhasvati*²⁶
(maghavan) *dhātār vidhātāḥ*²⁷

Rv. I. 3, 1. can be effectively contrasted with ऋतेन
 मित्रावरुणावृतावृधावृतस्पृशा । (Rv. I.2. 8.)²⁸ [See Sāyana's commentary
 under both.]

At one time in the pre-Vedic period each word should have
 been an independent unit and the language should highly have
 been an analytic one, like the modern English, so much so even

¹ Rv. I. 129, 10d.

² Rv. I. 144, 7b.

³ Rv. II. 6, 4b.

⁴ Rv. II. 28, 6b.

⁵ Rv. II. 41, 16b.

⁶ Rv. V. 6, 5c.

⁷ Rv. V. 57, 8b; c.

⁸ Rv. V. 61, 4b.

⁹ Rv. V. 79, 1-10e.

¹⁰ Rv. VI. 46, 3c.

¹¹ Rv. VII. 1, 8b.

¹² Rv. VIII. 2, 28c.

¹³ Rv. VIII. 5, 11b; cf. 8, 1c;

¹⁴ Rv. VIII. 5, 32c.

¹⁵ Rv. VIII. 5, 35c;

¹⁶ Rv. VIII. 17, 12a.

¹⁷ Rv. VIII. 21, 3b.

¹⁸ Rv. VIII. 34, 7b.

¹⁹ Rv. VIII. 46, 3b.

²⁰ Rv. VIII. 46, 20a; b;

²¹ Rv. VIII. 68, 2 a, b.

²² Rv. VIII. 71, 3 b.

²³ Rv. II. 6, 2 b.

²⁴ Rv. VIII. 74, 7 c, d

²⁵ Rv. X. 86, 8 b.

²⁶ Rv. X. 145, 2 a, b.

²⁷ Rv. X. 167, 3 d.

²⁸ 'The only exception in the Rg-Veda to the general rule for the accent of initial vocatives is the above passage, where such a vocative, standing between two unaccented vocatives, is itself unaccented. It must unquestionably be regarded as an error of the tradition.' Vide Volume II, J.A.O.S., page 58.

euphonic combinations might not have occurred. There are doubtless historic survivals of this practice even in later times.¹

That mode of mental action, their deficiency in which especially puts language out of the reach of other animals, which is the power of distinct reflection on the facts of consciousness, of analysing impressions, and perceiving that the parts are capable of receiving distinct signs was perhaps very clearly manifest in the language of the pre-Vedic period. Hence the problem of the origin of the double-accented compounds in the Veda can be stripped much of its difficulty and mystery.²

¹ Cf. Pāṇini's sūtras निपात एकाजनाङ् (I. 1. 14.) and ओत् (I. 1. 15.)• which comprehend instances like

इ इन्द्रः (इ expresses wonder)

उ उमेशः (उ expresses the idea of वितर्क)

आ एवं नु मन्यसे ।

आ एवं किल तत् ।

अहो ईशाः ।

See also page 51 of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. Bālaṃanoramā edition.

² It is interesting to see the पूर्वपक्ष given by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (I. 1, 2) that even the *phoneme* इ has a full meaning. Says he :—अर्थवन्तो वर्णाधातु प्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् (Vārtika 9). धातव एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो दृश्यन्ते । एति अध्येति अधोत इति । प्रातिपदिकान्येकवर्णान्यर्थवन्ति आभ्यां एभिः एषु प्रत्यया एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः औपगवः कापटवः । निपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः अ अपेहि । इ इन्द्रं पश्य । उ उत्तिष्ठ । धातुप्रातिपदिक प्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति ॥ *Mahābhāṣya*. Kielhorn's edition. Volume I, page 30, lines 2 to 6. In his *Praudhamanoramā*, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita refers to this passage under Pāṇini's Sūtra I. 2, 45. Says Dīkṣita :—

तथा च प्रत्याहाराह्निके अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति प्रघट्टके अध्येति अधोत इत्यन्ते-कारोऽर्थवानिति भाष्ये स्पष्टमेवोक्तम् ॥

These passages show how the state of analysis of the language at one time prior to the composition of the Veda was still further extended in later times in purely a theoretical way by grammarians to find ample scope for scholastic discussions.

At this analytic stage of the pre-Vedic language independent words might have been glued to form compounds in a loose manner, all the three unities indispensable for the emergence of full-fledged real compounds not being secured.

Sometimes, however, probably to indicate that the words in sheer juxtaposition form a compound, signifying a unitary concept (i.e., securing a semantic unity between them), the last syllable of the first member when that syllable is short is lengthened, [Whitney: *Sanskrit Grammar*. Section 247] as in नूनु (Rv. I. 17, 8) or as in अद्यानूनं च (Rv. I. 13, 6.) where नूनं seems to gain a special signification (forming of course a compound with अद्य) according to Skandasvāmin:—नूनशब्दोऽत्र समुच्चयार्थचशब्दश्रुतेः अद्य इत्येतेन स (ह? माहा) रार्थस्य समुच्चया (र्थ) स्य योग्यत्वात् पुराशब्दार्थे । अद्य च पुरा च इदानीं पूर्वस्मिंश्च काल इत्यर्थः¹

[The Greek and German *nun* (which remains only an adverb as it does not affect the case of nouns) meaning 'NOW' corresponds to Skt. नूनं ।]

Probably in the later stages of the Vedic language there came into existence many compounds of the type of *vanas-pati* and *dravino-dā*.²

These (the old models as well as the new formations) are the so-called unreal or case compounds in which the prior member appears in an oblique case-form and hence in general accent both the members. Such unreal or case compounds are opposed to the stem compounds in which the constituents are more closely fused together and which give up one accent in favour of the other.³

Viewing the double-accented compounds such as

nū-nū (Rv. I. 17, 8.)

adyā-nūnām (Rv. I. 13, 6.)

Mitrā-vārunāv (Rv. I. 35, 1.)

¹ Vide page 94. *The Rksamhitā with the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin and Venkatamādhavārya*.

² Brugmann: *Comparative Grammar*. Volume II, pages 31 and 40.

³ Cf. page 15. *The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian*. By Frederic Turnbull Wood. Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America Number VII. December 1930. Compare also Wackernagel:—

Altindische Grammatik II. i, sections 41 and 103.

Dyāvā-prthivī (Rv. I. 35, 9.)

nārā-śámsam (Rv. I. 13, 3 ; 18, 9.)

where the last syllable of the first member is lengthened, I am tempted to suggest (of course with much hesitation) that perhaps to show that the two words in sheer juxtaposition signifying a unitary concept form a compound, the last syllable (if short) of the first member might have been lengthened. In *Mitrā-várunāv*, it may be purely accidental that the first member *Mitrā-* as we find in the compound is in its dual form. E. W. Fay suggests that *mitrā-* was but an epithet, in the nom.-voc.¹

In this matter, parallels are not wanting in the related languages. In Avestan the thematic vowel of the prior member is lengthened in many compounds. Cf. *vaēdyā pati*, *ahurōt kaēša*.²

-ē- became a composition vowel in Greek compounds where it was felt to be necessary to avoid a succession of four short syllables *καλαθηφόρος*. This statement, to be sure, is only true in so far as it concerns compounds the final members of which begin with a consonant. (Cp. pages 21 and 22 of '*The Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian*.')

Furthermore, before the suffixes—*τερος* and —*τατος*, adjectives which have a short penult lengthen their *-o-* ending to *-ō-*: *σοφώτερος*, *σοφώτατος*, but *δεινότερος* (Hirt: *Indo-Germanische Grammatic*, 4, 79.)

Again it is a matter of common knowledge that in Sanskrit there is a lengthening of the final stem vowel in the feminine forms of words in *-mant*, *-vant*, (which is perhaps caused also by "the effort to put the original stem into word-rhythm with the suffix *-mati*, *-vati*."). Note *anjanāvati*, *amarāvati*, etc.³ The stem vowel *-a-* of masc. *-o-* stems in Lithuanian is lengthened and stressed upon the addition of the derivational suffix *-vimsis*. cf. *darbā vimsis* 'activity' (*dárbas* 'work').⁴

¹ Vide footnote 2, page 430, *A.J.P.*, Volume 15. Cf. Delbruck, *S.F.*, Vol. V, Section 58, page 98.

² Vide A. Bezzenberger:—*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Litauischen Sprache*, 106. For composition vowel, see Wackernagel: *Das Dehnungsgesetz Griechischen Nominal Composita* 16 ; 10ff ; 5.

³ Cf. H. H. Bender: The suffixes *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit and Avestan 47-8. Baltimore, 1910.

⁴ Cf. F. T. Wood: On the declension of substantive compounds in Lithuanian. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 50, 160.

Perhaps at one time, prior to the composition of the Veda, the impression that the prepositions (which were all originally adverbial in character) had exercised much influence in modifying the sense of verbs, should have gained considerable ground so much so that finite verbs used in association with the prepositions in principal sentences might have been enclitised. This assumption is borne out by the fact that finite verb was enclitic to a large extent, always if the temporal particle **é*, the augment immediately preceded it. e.g., **é- dr̥ket*. Skr. *ádṛśat* Gr. *ἔδραχε* ¹ **é- dr̥kom*.² Brugmann regards the augment *é* as a temporal particle.

‘Apparently already in the period of the Indo-Germanic primitive community an agglutination had taken place here which obliterated the feeling for *é* as an independent word. Further, the verb in the principal sentence might have been frequently appended with the low tone to those adverbs which appear in the separate languages as prepositions* *pró bherō* = Skr. *prá bharāmi*. So also the passive participles and verbal abstracts with suffix *-ti* had the tone on the prefix, e. g., **pró- bhr̥to-s* **pró bhr̥ti-s* (Skr. *prá-bhr̥ta-s*, *prá bhr̥ti-s*) beside **bhr̥tó-s* **bhr̥ti-s* (Skr. *bhr̥tá-s*, *bhr̥tí-s*). More rarely the verb was welded into unity with living case forms.’

Probably later on, ‘apart from such definite categories of words with which the verb showed a special preference for enclitic connection, the verb in principal sentences in general came to have the low tone.’ Perhaps at a later stage this phenomenon of enclisis spread to the interior vocatives too. [But initial vocatives and initial finite verbs as well as the finite verbs in subordinate clauses in Sanskrit, however, were not enclitised.]

Jacob Wackernagel,³ showed that the Greek verbal recessive accent is nothing more than this enclisis of the finite verb extended to all kinds of sentences, subordinate as well as principal, but at the same time modified by that peculiar law of

¹ Brugmann : *Comparative Grammar*, Volume I, Section 669, page 534. (See also Volume II, Section 19, page 37.)

² Brugmann : *Comparative Grammar*, Volume IV, Section 462, page 8. See also Zimmer : *Weber Gurupūjā kaumudī*, p. 83.

³ 23rd Volume of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, page 457, fg. (‘*Der griechische verbal accent*’)

Greek according to which enclisis can not extend beyond three moræ.

‘While the Sanskrit verb is inclined in independent paratactic clauses, (except when it stands at the beginning of the clause) and the verb in hypotactic clauses or at the beginnings of paratactic clauses, etc., is orthotone, the Greek has forgotten and given up this original distribution of orthotonesis and enclisis, and has spread the analogy of inclined forms over the entire finite verb.’ The phenomenon of enclisis should certainly be a pre-historic one.¹

Finite verbs in Veda are not only not enclitised at the beginning of a pāda, but they are allowed to be accented even if they stand at the head of their own particular clauses in the sentence.

In Rg Veda, then, I. 79, 11, we read यो न॑ अग्नेऽभिदास॑त्यं॑ दूरे प॑दोष्ट सः । ‘whoso, O Agni, near or far, would do us harm, let him fall!’ In X, 101, 8, again, मावः॑ सु॒स्रोच्च॑मसो दृ॒हता॑ तं । ‘let not your bowl of offering spill, hold it firm.’ In I. 31, 17, आ सा॑दय ब॒र्हिषि॑ यक्षि॑ च प्रि॒यम् ‘cause them to take seat upon the *barhis*, and make acceptable offering’. In I. 94, 4, भ॒रामे॑धं कृ॒णवा॑मा ह॒वीषो॑ ते । ‘we will bring fuel, will make libations to thee.’

As Whitney says, ‘here the several verbs *padīṣṭā*, *dṛmḥata*, *yāksi*, *kṛṇāvāma* retain their accent in virtue of the general principle of the accentuation of a verb when it occupies an initial position (even in a clause).²

Whitney observes that the only instance anywhere noted of a violation of the principle is Rk. I. 134, 3, प्र॒चक्ष॑य रोद॑सो वास॑योष॑सः ; where, if *ródasī* is to be connected with the preceding verb, as the sense seems to demand, and as the commentator also understands it (says Sāyaṇa: रोद॑सो वा॒वापृ॑थिव्यौ प्र॒चक्ष॑य । प्र॒कर्षे॑ण प्र॒व्याप॑य ।

¹ Vide Bloomfield: ‘Historical and Critical Remarks—Introductory to a Comparative Study of Greek accent.’ Vol. IV (1883), *A.J.P.*, pages 27, 58 and footnote 1 on page 58.

² Cf. ‘Bopp’s Comparative accentuation of Greek and Sanskrit languages by Whitney in Volume V (1856) of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, page 218.

प्रकाशयेत्यर्थः । तत्प्रकाशार्थमुषसो वासय । उषः कालानपि यथावत्स्थापय ।

प्रभातं कुर्वित्यर्थः ।) the following verb ought to have been accented, *vāsāya*: that it is not so accented is simply an error in the tradition, as Whitney maintains.¹ The classes of the accented finite verbs so far enumerated coupled with the not infrequent instances of a more isolated character, and less reducible to rule² go only to strengthen the belief that at one stage prior to the composition of the Veda, even finite verbs in the principal clauses should have been, in all probability, accented. •

Just as the finite verbs came to be enclitised in principal clauses, words in the genitive case depending on vocatives came to form as it were single words or phrases with it, and shared in its accent.³ Thus, for example, 'O son of strength' is *sūno sahasaḥ* or *sāhasaḥ sūno* if initial, and *sūno sahasaḥ* (the enclisis of interior vocatives might at the beginning be simply due to an extension of the practice of enclitising finite verbs in principal clauses) or *sahasah sūno* if interior. (Brugmann: Grundriss I. ii, section 1074, page 957.)

Such cases are calculated to be about 180 in the R̥g Veda, the dependent genitive preceding the vocative in about three-quarters of them. The cases in which such a genitive has an independent accent are only two or three.⁴

Brugmann⁵ conjectures that this practice in Sanskrit as in other languages, if it did not occasion, at any rate helped the formation of improper compounds. Cp. e. g., Skr. *jās-pati-s* 'lord of the family' Gr. *δεσ-πότης*. Voc. *-πο* 'housemaster'. Gr. *Διός-χουροι* 'sons of Zeus', Latin *Juppiter, Diespiter*—

The view that an internal vocative is a mere parenthesis in the sentence, uttered, like any other parenthesis, in an undertone or mono-tone, for the attention of the person addressed seems to have been already gained (since otherwise the name would be

¹ Cf. 'Bopp's Comparative accentuation of Greek and Sanskrit languages' by Whitney in Vol. V. (1856) of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, page 217.

² That they are such has been pointed out by Whitney. *Ibid.*, Page 218.

³ Cp. सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्सरे (P. II. 1. 2.)

⁴ Vide *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 10, Proceedings, page 152. 'On the accent of vocatives in the R̥g-Veda', by W. Haskell. Cp. also Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* Section 314 d. Also see 'Agglutination and Adaptation', (p. 417. *A.J.P.*, Vol. 15). E. W. Fay.

⁵ Vide *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I. Section 672, page 538.

first called and have a full tone on it) might have been largely responsible for the enclisis of interior vocatives.¹

The third class of compounds (according to Brugmann's classification)² whose first part was an old adverbial word was perhaps the earliest in the pro-ethnic period. Verbal prepositions were probably the first to be compounded with verbal nouns and past passive participles like *āpi-hita-s*³ *āpa-citi-s*⁴, *abhi-vṛtam* (Rv. I. 35, 4.) *prā-yatam* (Rv. I. 154, 3.) *puró-hitam* (Rv. I. 1, 1.) *sú-kṛtas* (Rv. I. 35, 11.) *sú-kṛtam* (Rv. I. 85, 9.)

In these compounds, the accent perhaps acted as the principal unifying agent of elements which were at one time separate.⁵

'Primitive emotional man was doubtless prone to blurt out his reactions to things without reflecting that the listener could not understand him unless he knew what was being reacted to. Until a look of incomprehension was seen on the listener's face would such a speaker add the name of the thing that was being reacted to as *kṛtam* in *sú-kṛtam* ('skilfully fashioned'). It would be a far more sophisticated and intellectual method to name the stimulus first and to add the reaction afterwards as we would have in modern English.'⁶

We see the stimulus named first in some later Sanskrit compounds for instance *kṛta-kṛtyaḥ* which is covered by Pāṇini's sūtra निष्ठा⁷ But the Vārtika जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परानिष्ठा वाच्या read under this sūtra and Pāṇini⁸, VI. 2 170, take into account the compounds where the *niṣṭha* participle stood as the second member.

It will be a mistake to suppose that the earliest Indo-Germanic compounds of the type *puró-hitam* *sú-kṛtas* were the determinative compounds of the descriptive class, for such an

¹ Vide 'Bopp's Comparative accentuation of Greek and Sanskrit languages' by W. D. Whitney, *J.A.O.S.*, Volume 5, page 214.

² Brugmann : *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. II, Section 10, page 23.

³ *Ibid*, Section 15, page 30.

* *ēpi-dhṛto-s*

* *āpo-giti-s*.

⁵ F. T. Wood : 'Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian', page 16.

⁶ Vide A. H. Gardiner : *The Theory of Speech and Language* page 277, para 69.

⁷ P. II. 2.36.

⁸ Vide my paper 'Five stages of determinative Compound Accentuation in the pre-Vedic period as surmised by their historic survivals in Vedic Sanskrit.' Volume IX, Part II, page 125. *J.Q.R.M.*

assumption would be against reason. As I maintained,¹ a long time should have elapsed between the stage of dependent determinative compound formation and the stage of descriptive determinative compound formation; and the descriptive compounds must be later in origin.

But possibly it can be maintained that the earliest compounds might have been of the type—*puró-hitam* if it is assumed that in that remote period of prehistoric times the thing meant by the first member should have been presented to the minds of the speakers of the language, not as an attribute but as a thing itself. Very likely these compounds might have been on a par with that class of determinative compounds which later on came to be designated as the व्यधिकरणतत्पुरुष in the separate history of Sanskrit.

At a further stage in the pro-ethnic period (be it remembered only after the stage of dependent determinative compound formation), the earliest compounds of the type *puró-hitam* should have passed into a new phase when the thing meant by the first member could not have been presented to the minds of the speakers of the language as a thing, but must have been presented as an attribute. This should have been the stage of descriptive determinative compound formation which with ample justification I maintained² as later in origin.

For the sake of convenience, the first phase of the earliest compounds of the type—*puró-hitam* may be denoted as the determinative Karmadhāraya phase and the second phase as the descriptive Karmadhāraya phase.

In all probability in pre-Pāṇinian times, the word Karmadhāraya signified only the latter phase. Both Pāṇini and the author of BṚHADDEVATA might have borrowed this word as well as *tatpuruṣa* from a common source. But Pāṇini, with his gifted insight, noting carefully the close similarity between *determinative Karmadhārayas* and *descriptive Karmadhārayas* very likely did not favour the idea of taking *Karmadhāraya* compounds as constituting a class different from the *tatpuruṣa*

¹ Vide *J.O.R.M.*, Volume VIII, Part II.

² Vide 'Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds', Vol. VIII Part II, *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*.

class. Pāṇini brought *Karmadhārayas* as well as *Dvigu* under *tatpuruṣa*, as special varieties of the last. Hence his sūtras are :—

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः (P. I. 2. 42.)

द्विगुश्च (P. II. 1. 23.)

In this we see Pāṇini's superior genius for 'psychologists are agreed that the ability to detect similarities is one of the most valuable qualifications for the extension of knowledge and the integration of the ideal world which is the creation of thought. The recognition of analogies is, therefore, a matter of consequence in the development of science and to the genius who is extraordinarily apt at discovering resemblances which escape the notice of most men, progress is due. Noting an analogy however implies the recognition of differences as well as agreement, although the latter may for the moment appear to receive more emphasis. In this sense the operation prepares the way for further classification.'¹

But the author of *Brhaddevata* perhaps following the still more ancient tradition takes *Karmadhāraya* and *Dvigu* as two separate classes of compounds different from the *tatpuruṣa* class.²

But it is most probable, that the word *tatpuruṣa* in pre-Pāṇinīan days might have comprehended only the determinative *karmadhāraya* compounds and the descriptive *karmadhāraya* compounds, more especially the latter, for most (if not all) of the original determinative *karmadhāraya* compounds must have passed into the second phase and become the descriptive *karmadhāraya* compounds by the time of the compilation of the *Samhita* portion of the *R̥g Veda*; and these descriptive compounds in their turn, soon after, should have been transmuted into a new class, the *bahuvrīhi*. Having this in view alone, I observed³ that in all probability, in times very much earlier than the

Vide page 139, Chapter IV—'Analogy'—from *The Heroic Age of Science.—The conceptions, ideals, and methods of Science among ancient Greeks* by William Arthur Heidel, Research Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Wesleyan University Research Associate of the American Council of Learned Societies of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

² Vide *Brhaddevata* II, 105, quoted in my paper published in *J.O.R.M.*, Volume VIII, Part II.

³ 'Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds', *J.O.R.M.*, Volume VIII, Part II,

author of Brhaddevatā, the word तत्पुरुष connoted the sense of the व्यधिकरणतत्पुरुष only and so it does perhaps in the sentence अव्ययीभावतत्पुरुषद्वन्द्वबहुव्रीहयः in Uvaṭa's commentary on I, 27 of Kātyāyana's Vājasaneyā Samhita Prātiśākhya. This may be an old way of enumerating the different classes of compounds in order and very likely Uvaṭa might have made a confusion between the pre-Pāṇinian tatpuruṣa and Pāṇinian tatpuruṣa—and this confusion is clearly seen in *ṭippaṇi* of the said Prātiśākhya.¹

That we are justified in drawing a line of demarcation between the determinative karmadhārayas and descriptive karmadhārayas is amply borne out by the following evidences.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, commenting on the sūtras नञ् (P. II. 2.6.) न कोपो नञः (P. VI. 3.73.) and तस्मान्नुडचि (P. VI. 3. 74.) says the following in his *Siddhāntakaumudī*:

अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहायं विकल्प्यते । 'रक्षोहागमलध्वसंदेहाः प्रयोजनं' इति 'अद्रुतायामसंहितम्' इति च भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् तेन अनुपलब्धिः अविवादः अविघ्नम् इत्यादि सिद्धम् ।

The Bālamānoraṃ commentary has the following comment on it:

अर्थाभावे इति । रक्षेति । पस्पशाह्निकभाष्ये इदं वाक्यम् । 'रक्षाच ऊहश्च आगमश्च लघुच असंदेहश्च इति द्वंद्वः । 'परवल्लिङ्गः' इति पुंस्त्वम् । अत्र संदेहाभाव इत्यर्थः असंदेहशब्दस्य असंदेहा इति प्रयोगात् तत्पुरुषो विज्ञायते । अव्ययीभावे रक्षोहागमलध्वसंदेहमिति स्यात् । अद्रुतायां असंहितमिति । "परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता" इति सूत्रे पठितं इदं वार्तिकम् । अद्रुतायां वृत्तौ संहिताभाव इत्यर्थः । अत्र अव्ययीभावे सति असंहितमिति प्रयोगात् अव्ययीभावेऽपि अर्थाभावो नञा गम्योभवतीति विज्ञायते । अन्यथा तत्पुरुषे सति परवल्लिङ्गत्वात् असंहितेति स्यात् । ततश्च नञागम्ये अभावे तत्पुरुषाव्ययीभावयोः विकल्प इति स्थितम् । तेनेति । अनुपलब्धिः इत्यत्र अविवाद इत्यत्र च तत्पुरुषः अविघ्नमित्यत्र अव्ययीभावश्च सिध्यतीत्यर्थः ।

¹ 'Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds', *J.O.R.M.*, Vol. VIII, Part II.

The sentence अपचसि त्वं जाल्म which serves as an illustration of the operation of वार्तिक “नञो नलोपस्तिडिक्षेपे” read under Pāṇini's sūtra “नलोपो नञः” (VI. 3. 73.) wrests from वासुदेवदीक्षित the following significant comment:

“नञ्समानार्थकेन अ इत्यव्ययेनापि सिद्धमिदमिति वार्तिकं विफलमेव ।
केचित्तु अस्मादेव वार्तिकात् अव्ययेषु अ इत्यस्य पाठः अप्रामाणिकः इत्याहुः

Nāgeśa's comments, in his *Laghuśabdēndu śekhara* on Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's “अर्थाभावे अव्ययीभावेनायं विकल्प्यते।” are really very significant.

Says he पूर्वपदार्थप्राधान्ये अव्ययीभाव उत्तरपदार्थप्राधान्ये अयं-मित्यादि रीत्या इति भावः ।

न्यायसिद्धेऽर्थे लिङ्गमप्याह । रक्षोहेति । असंदेहा इत्यस्य अरोपितः संदेहः इत्यर्थः संदेहाभावः प्रयोजनमिति यावत् । अव्ययीभावेन द्वन्द्वे हि परबल्लिङ्गेन इति अनुपपन्नमिति भावः । इदं पस्पशायां भाष्ये । असंहितमिति संहितासंज्ञासूत्रे भाष्ये वार्तिकम् । द्रुतभिन्नायां मध्याविलम्बितवृत्तौ संहिताभाव इत्यर्थः ।

The ṭippanī on Nāgeśa's *Śabdendusēkhara* has the following significant observation on this: ‘अनुदरा कन्या’ इत्यादावरूपत्वादि-नोदराभावमारोप्य नञ्समभिव्याहारे आरोपितोदरबुद्ध्या तन्मूलरूपत्वादौ विश्रामः । (Vide also page 649 of Nāgeśa's *Laghumañjūṣa* Chowkambha Series).

The view that the thing meant by नञ् presents to the mind not as an attribute but as a thing itself, is not peculiar to any particular system or school of Indian thought.

द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायाभावाः । सप्तपदार्थाः

I. Annambhaṭṭa's, *Tarkasaṃgraha*. अभाव is considered as a पदार्थः. अभाव is considered to be a reality (and hence a thing) by the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas.

Cf. द्रव्यं गुणस्तथाकर्म

सामान्यं सविशेषकम् ।

समवायस्तथाऽभावः

पदार्थीः सप्त कीर्तिताः ॥

Kārika 2 of Kārikāvalī of विश्वनाथ. Commenting upon this Kārikā, Viśvanātha says in his *Muktāvali*:

एते च पदार्थाः वैशेषिकनये प्रसिद्धाः । नैयाभिकानामप्यविरुद्धाः,
प्रतिपादितं चैवमेव भाष्ये¹

(Vide *Muktāvali*: page 50. Bālaṃanoramā Series, No. 6.)

Perhaps in their origin, the negative compounds might have been genetically affirmative ones.² Later on, they might have undergone a transformation by which they could have been no longer felt as predications first affirmed, and then subjected to refusal; but language might have changed the idea of negation in these compounds into attributions rejected from the very start.³

It has been shown that the earliest compounds in the proto-ethnic period were probably the determinative Karmadhārayas (the prepositional compounds or the अव्ययीभावसमास of the Sanskrit Grammarians).⁴

¹ The भाष्य referred to is the Vātsyāyanabhāṣya.

² Perhaps this is meant by the महाभाष्यकार's phrase प्रसिद्धार्थपरित्याग (under नञ् सूत्र). (See also page 649 of Nāgeśa's *Laghu mañjūṣā*).

³ Cp. *The Theory of Speech and Language* by Alan H. Gardiner, Chapter V, para 72.

This is probably the अप्रसिद्धार्थपरिग्रह of the महाभाष्यकार.

⁴ Along with the general inclination towards the oxytonisation of the final member in Sanskrit compounds (cp. Justi: *Über die zusammensetzung der nomina in den Indogermanischen Sprachen* 75), the view that the second member is semantically more important than the first (compare Mādhavabhaṭṭa's *Rgvedānukramaṇī*, Part I. i. iii. verses 14, 15 and 16).

अन्तोदात्तोऽव्ययीभावः

सोऽनुकामान्तर्पयेथाम् ।

प्रतिदोषङ्गृणानश्च

तादृशाः सन्ति चापरे ॥

अनुकामं विभक्त्यर्थे

नानोऽर्थोऽस्ति कश्चन ।

Doubtless, some of these prepositional compounds were transmuted into the *bahuvrīhi* (possibly passing through an intermediate stage corresponding to the compounds of the tatpuruṣa class). The following are perhaps some of the instances: *āpa-bhī-s* 'fearless, having fear away.' Latin *ab-normis*. Gothic *af-guds* 'Godless, ('having god away') in opposition to *ga-guds* 'piows' properly, 'having god with' *nir-mala-s* 'spotless' properly, 'having the spots out.'

Old High German *ur-hērzer*, *ur-luzēr*, *ur-mōt* 'spiritless' *ur-wāfan* 'unarmed, defenceless.'

The preposition *sa* 'with' which occurs only as prefix, is employed in Sanskrit to express persons or things which possess that which the final substantive expresses, e.g., *sā-kama-s* 'with wish,' i.e., 'being with the circumstance of the wish, having a satisfied wish.'¹

Again there are the following compounds:—*ānu-rūpa-s* and *anyā-rūpa*.'

It is well known that the epithetised compounds where the prefix *su* stands for adjective, logically accent the last member. But this kind of logical accentuation is not preserved in Sanskrit in the same class of compounds where *dur* stands for adjective.

पश्चात्कामस्य यद्वास्तु
तथाप्यन्तो सरो भवेत् ॥
प्रतिदोषङ्गृणानोऽत्र
वीप्सां शोतयति प्रतिः ।
दोषाशब्दो वाचकश्च
ततस्तस्मिन्स्वरः स्थितः ॥)

might have exercised an influence to shift the accent from the first member to the second member in some of the prepositional compounds like अनुऽकामं (Rv. I. 17, 3.) and प्रतिऽदोषं (Rv. I. 35, 10.) in the later Vedic period.

Perhaps this tendency to end-accentuate the prepositional compounds was so powerfully active that at a later stage it came to be definitely believed that the normal accent of the अव्ययीभावसमास is the accent on the last member alone.

¹ Vide Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, Volume III, para 983.

Instances are *dūr-ātman* 'having a bad soul', *dūr-bala-s* 'having bad strength'.

There is room for the surmise that these (prepositional compounds in their origin) might have once passed through an intermediate tatpuruṣa stage (for side by side with *dūr-ātman*, *dūr-bala-s*, we have tatpuruṣa compounds like *dūr-dīnam*, which literally means 'hard day') when it is very likely that the accent on *dūr* alone was retained. Eventually as they passed into a new class—the Bahuvrīhi, probably owing to the prevalence of the view then that only in tatpuruṣa compounds the second member should be accented, the first member might have come to retain its accent, though we can not explain how the logical accent of the tatpuruṣa compounds like *dūr-dīnam* was not tampered with.

However, compounds formed with *su* as the first member, not only logically accent the first member if the compound is a tatpuruṣa, (as in *sū-prīta-s* 'much beloved', *sū-nīti-s* 'good behaviour'), but also quite logically accent the last member if the compound is a Bahuvrīhi as in *su-parṇā-s*.

It is significant that the Greek epithetised compounds formed with the prefixes *δυσ* and *εὖ* corresponding to Sanskrit *dur* and *su* quite logically accent the last member alone.¹

To sum up, then, after the formation of the prepositional compounds in the pro-ethnic period there would have occurred a slow emergence of the pure tatpuruṣa compounds (which originally did not include the descriptive class) and compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class should have originated at a still later stage.

Compounds like शचोपतिः are perhaps relics of those earliest loose compounds in the pro-ethnic period which arose through sheer juxtaposition of two separate words, considered to be independent and distinct units.

At a considerably late stage in the pre-Vedic period, the Dvandva compounds should have had their origin and the older Dvandva compounds like *dvā-daśa*² had a case form for the initial member. Brugmann conjectures that except these, there were no compounds of the co-ordinating class, at one time in

¹ Cf. Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, Volume III, para 984.

² *dvā-dekṃ*.

pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic. Cf. *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. II, page 90, Section 49.

It has been already shown ¹ that the accentuation of the compounds of this type was due to analogy with those tatpuruṣa compounds which preserved the original logical accentuation. It is to be noted that the Dvandva compounds with a stem for initial member only arose when compounds containing a case were remodelled on the analogy of the older subordinating class, which had the simple stem. This process of conversion may often be traced with certainty in historical times as Brugmann ² says e. g., *parjanya-vāta* instead of *parjanya-vāta*; *pūrva-pūrvas* for *pūrvas-pūrvas* and the like. It is true that the use of the stem instead of a case cemented the combination more firmly. It is best to remember what Brugmann ³ says here :

‘Such a process would all the more be natural because many compounds of the subordinating class approach very closely to the co-ordinating compounds in regard to the particular relation subsisting between their parts, and there was no sharp distinction between the two groups Both subordinating and co-ordinating substantives are found with epithetised meaning.’⁴

hiranya-keśa-s

adhara-hanū-s

a-putrā-s.

Parallel to these is the tatpuruṣa *ā-kumāra-s*

The Dvandva compounds—a special feature of classical Sanskrit were no doubt developed on analogy with the tatpuruṣa compounds.

Perhaps, some of the oldest pre-historic double- accented compounds survived in the R̥g Veda like *Mitrā-vāruṇā* and as these had the sense of co-ordinating compounds, they were probably classified together with the later Dvandva. Perhaps too, due to analogy, some more like compounds were formed during

¹ Vide ‘Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds’, *J.O.R.M.*, Volume VIII, part II.

² *Comparative Grammar*, Volume II, page 90.

³ *Ibid.*, Volume II, pages 90 and 91.

⁴ Brugmann : *Comparative Grammar*, Volume II, pages 90 and 93.

the Vedic period and as these exceptionally double-accented compounds came to be increasingly formed, the force of analogy (with the accentuation of the earlier determinative compounds of the pro-ethnic period by which the prior member would receive the accent) would have been considerably weakened with regard to these exceptional cases and this would have resulted in a systematic and consciously accepted phenomenon of double-accentuation of all similar Dvandva compounds. Hence is the following sūtra of Pāṇini :— देवताद्वन्द्वेच (P. VI. 2. 141.)

It is this double-accent, I argued as the normal of the Dvandva compounds, on a strictly semantic basis.¹

Enough has been said in my paper, 'Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds' (*J. O. R. M.*, Vol. VIII, part II), about the origin of the epithetised compounds in the pro-ethnic period from out of the earlier tatpuruṣa compounds. Perhaps, as some co-ordinating compounds containing substantives were found with epithetised meaning, on analogy with earlier Bahuvrīhis which logically should have accented the last member, in the pro-ethnic period, these Dvandvas too might have come to accent their last member and this practice might have spread to other Dvandvas also on further analogy in the Vedic period whence it came to be regarded as the normal accent.

In all probability, an explanation as the one offered by Mādhavabhaṭṭa² with much force might have appealed to the Vedic bards and they might have come to believe that the normal accent of the Dvandva compounds must be the accent on the last syllable of the second member.

कार्ययोगो यदि द्वन्द्व
उभयोरपि दृश्यते ।
स्थिते पूर्वपदस्यार्थे
द्वितीयस्यापि सङ्ग्रहः ॥

¹ Vide my paper 'Five stages of determinative compound accentuation in the pre-Vedic period as surmised by their historic survivals in Sanskrit' *J. O. R. M.*, Volume IX, part II, page 123.

² *Rgveda-Sukramāṇī*, Part I, i. iii, verses 7 and 8

अन्तोदात्तस्ततो द्वन्द्व

इन्द्रवायू बृहस्पतिं

ऋक्सामाम्यामभिहिता-

विहेन्द्राग्नी उपङ्गये ॥

इन्द्रवायू बृहस्पतिं (Rv. I, 14, 3.)

ऋक्सामाम्यामभिहितौ गावौ (Rv. X. 85, 11).

विहेन्द्राग्नी उपङ्गये (Rv. I. 21, 1.)

It is not unlikely that the end-accentuation of later determinative compounds too might have analogically influenced the Dvandva compound accentuation in the same direction.

One thus sees a rationale in the enumeration of the different classes of compounds in the order found in Uvaṭa's commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śuklayajurveda Prātiśākhya*, already cited, as indicating the various stages of formation and evolution of the different classes of compounds in the pro-ethnic period. We can read a great meaning in Uvaṭa's statement which he and his predecessors in the field would not have dreamt of in their wildest dreams.

By way of passing, it may be remarked that Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita also in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī* arranges Pāṇini's sūtras in the same order in the समासप्रकरण with a very slight alteration—putting Dvandva after Bahuvrīhi.

PLANKTON RECORDS FOR THE YEARS 1929 & 1930

BY

R. GOPALA AIYAR, M.A., M.Sc.

K. SANKARA MENON, M.A.

AND

M. G. K. MENON, M.A.

The following tables are records of Plankton collections made by the Zoological Department of the Madras University during the years 1929 and 1930.

A good portion of the work was done in the Laboratory attached to the Madras Aquarium and the authors wish to express their sense of indebtedness to Dr. B. Sundararaj, Director of Fisheries, for the facilities given them for working there.

The methods employed in the collection and examination of the Plankton are described in a 'Preliminary Account of The Madras Plankton'¹ and it only remains here to explain the symbols used to indicate the relative abundance of the different organisms.

In the case of the smaller forms, their numbers in 1 c.c. of the preserved sample were counted and, as shown below, letters² were employed to indicate their presence within certain numerical ranges.

r.....	1—5.
f.....	5—20.
c.....	20—100.
p.....	100—200.
s.....	200 and above.

With regard to the larger forms, like Hydromedusae, as grave errors might arise if relative abundance of these forms

¹ Menon, K. S. 1931, 'A Preliminary Account of the Madras Plankton'. *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. IV, pp. 489-516.

²

r. — rare	}
f. — few	
c. — common	
p. — plenty	
s. — swarms	

were to be judged from such small samples, their numbers in the total catches as a whole were estimated and the same symbols were used.

It will be noted that records are not available for certain months of the year. Thus collections were not made during May and part of June in 1929, these being vacation months. It has also not been possible to include records for Hydro-medusae during the months of January, February and March in the same year. In the year 1930 it will be seen that only desultory collections were made in October. In November the monsoon prevents regular plankton collection work.¹

Conclusions arrived at from a study of the Plankton as a whole have already been given in three papers² from this Laboratory. Here we have merely recorded the collections made during the two years in the form of tabulated statements mentioning also the dates of the catches without any remarks in the hope that workers in the same field will find the information given of some use.

¹ Further collections have been made in subsequent years and when these are worked out it is hoped it will be found possible to present a more detailed list of the plankton fauna of this coast.

² (i) 'A Preliminary Account of the Madras Plankton'. By K. Sankara Menon, *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. IV., pp. 489-516.

(ii) 'The Hydromedusæ of Madras'. By M. G. K. Menon. *Bull. Madras Govt. Museum*, New Series, N. H. Section, Vol. III, No. 2.

(iii) 'Preliminary Observations on some Polychæte Larvæ of the Madras Coast'. By R. Gopala Aiyar, *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. V., No. 1.

1929	JANUARY												FEBRUARY															
	8	10	11	13	15	17	18	19	21	23	25	27	28	1	2	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	
Siphonophora—(Contd.)																												
104. <i>Porpita porpita</i>	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	f	...	f	...	...	...	...
105. <i>Physalia physalis</i>	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
106. <i>Cannophysa</i> sp.	
Scyphomedusae																												
107. <i>Nausithoe punctata</i>	
Zoantharia																												
108. <i>Arachnactis albida</i>	f	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	f	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	f	c	f	f	
109. <i>Semper's larva</i> (long)	c	f	f	...	f	...	c	...	f	...	r	...	f		
110. " " (round)	f	f	r	...	r	...	...	...	...
Ctenophora																												
111. <i>Pleurobrachia globosa</i>	...	f	f	f	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	f	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...
112. <i>Beroe flemingi</i> ?	f	f	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
113. <i>Ocyroe</i> sp.	
Platyhelminthes																												
114. <i>Muller's larva</i>	f	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...	f	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	r	...	
Nemertinia																												
115. <i>Pilidium</i> larva	...	f	f	...	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	r
Annelida																												
<i>Archannelida :</i>																												
116. <i>Polygordius</i> larva	...	f	r	r	...	r	...	f	...	f	r	...	r	r	r	...	f	r	...	f	...	f	...	r	r	r	...	
117. <i>Chaetogordius</i>	f	r	f	r	...	r	...	...	r	r	...	r	...	...	...	r	f	r	...	r	...	...	...	...
<i>Polychaeta :</i>																												
118. <i>Tomopteris</i> sp.	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	
119. <i>Autolytus</i> sp.	
<i>Polychaete larvae :</i>																												
120. <i>Nephtyid</i>	...	r	r	...	f	...	f	r	...	...	f	...	f	f	...	r	...	...	r	f	r	f	f	f	f	c	f
121. <i>Capitellid</i>	...	r	r	...	r	f	c	c	f	c	c	f	c	c	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...
122. <i>Phyllodocid</i>	...	f	c	f	f	f	f	c	...	c	c	f	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	f	r	r	...	r	r	r	...	
123. <i>Eunicid</i>	...	f	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	f	r	...	r	f	...	...
124. <i>Polynoid</i>	...	f	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	t	...	...	...	r	...	...
125. <i>Nereid</i>	f	...	f	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	f	f	r	r	r	f	...	r	f	f	r	r	r	...	
126. <i>Spionid</i>	...	c	c	f	f	f	c	c	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	c	c	f	f	f	c	f	...	
127. <i>Polydroid</i>	...	f	r	...	f	r	...	f	r	...	r	r	f	...	...	...	...	...	r	f	...	...	f	r	...	r	...
128. <i>Chaetosphaerid</i>	f	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	
129. <i>Magelonid</i> (<i>Magelona papillicornis</i>)	...	f	f	r	...	f	r	...	f	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	r	r	f	f	f	...
130. <i>Mitraria</i>	...	f	f	f	f	r	...	...	f	r	r	r	r	r	r	f	f	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	r	...	...
131. <i>Chaetopterid</i>	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	...
132. <i>Terebellid</i> (<i>Loimia medusa</i>)	...	f	f	f	f	r	...	r	...	f	r	...	...	f	f	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	f	f	...
133. <i>Sabellarian</i> (<i>Sabellaria spinulosa</i>)	...	r	f	...	f	r	r	...	f	f	r	...	r	r	...	r	f	f	...	
Chaetognatha																												
134. <i>Sagitta</i> spp.	...	f	f	f	f	c	f	r	r	f	r	f	f	c	c	c	c	f	r	r	f	f	c	f	r	f	f	...

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

1929	JULY											AUGUST																		
	1	2	3	7	9	12	16	17	23	24	25	26	1	2	3	5	7	9	11	14	16	19	20	23	25	27	29			
Protozoa—(Contd.)																														
55. <i>Peridinium</i> sp.	...																													
56. <i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. sub-sala	...									f		f	...		r	r	...	f	r	r	f	r	...			r	r	r		
57. <i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. sub-sala forma lineata	...																													
58. <i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. sub-sala forma hiemale	...																													
59. <i>Ceratium massiliense</i>	...	f	f	f	f	c	c	...	c	f	f	f	f	f	r	r	...			r	f	r	r	f	r	r	...	r		
60. " <i>breve</i>	...																													
61. " <i>schmidti</i>	...																													
62. " <i>trichoceras</i>	...										r						r				r		r			r	...			
63. " <i>furca</i>	...									f		r					r			r		r	r							
64. " <i>fusus</i>	...																													
65. " <i>reticulatum</i>	...																													
66. <i>Glenodinium</i> sp.	...																													
67. <i>Tintinnus</i> sp.	...	c	c	c	c	c	f	...	f	f	c	c	c	c	f	f	f	f	c	f	c	c	c	c	f	f	f	f		
Hydromedusae																														
68. <i>Hybocodon</i> sp.	...																													
69. <i>Sarsia</i> sp. (1)	...																													
70. " sp. (2)	...																													
71. <i>Halitiara formosa</i>	...																													
72. <i>Merga violacea</i>	...																													
73. <i>Amphinema dinema</i>	...																													
74. <i>Leuckartiara octona</i>	...																													
75. <i>Cytaeis tetrastyla</i>	...																													
76. <i>Bougainvillia fulva</i>	...									r	r	...	r	...	r	f	f	r	r	r	r	f	c	c	c	c	f	...		
77. <i>Köllikeria constricta</i>	...																													
78. <i>Proboscoidactyla ornata</i>	...																													
79. " <i>conica</i>	...																													
80. <i>Staurodiscus tetrastaurus</i>	...																													
81. <i>Eucopa</i> sp.	...																													
82. <i>Obelia</i> sp.	...					r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...						r	...	r	...	r	r	...	r	r	...		
83. <i>Phialucium multitentaculata</i>	...																													
84. <i>Eucheilota</i> sp. (1)	...																													
85. " sp. (2)	...																													
86. <i>Eutima mira</i>	...																													
87. <i>Phortis</i> sp.	...																r	r	r	r	...	f	f	f	f	r	r	...		
88. <i>Irenopsis hexanemalis</i>	...																													
89. <i>Eirene malayensis</i>	...	c	c	c	c	f	f	...																						
90. " <i>madrasensis</i>	...																													
91. <i>Octocannoides ocellata</i>	...																													
92. <i>Octocanna solida</i>	...																													
93. " <i>polynema</i>	...																	r		f	f	f	...	f	r	...				
94. <i>Aequorea macrodactyla</i>	...																													
95. " <i>pensile</i>	...																			f	r	r	...			f	...			
96. " <i>parva</i>	...																													
97. <i>Zygocanna buitendijki</i>	...																													
98. <i>Gonionemus suvaensis</i>	...																													
99. <i>Olindias singularis</i>	...																													
100. <i>Liriope tetraphylla</i>	...					r	r	...				r	...					r	r	f	f	r	r	...	r	r	r	...		
101. <i>Solmundella bitentaculata</i>	...																	r	r	f	r	...	f	c	c	c	f	f	c	...
102. <i>Cunocantha octonaria</i>	...																													
Siphonophora																														
103. <i>Diphyes dispar</i>	...	r	...	r	r	...	r	...	f	f	f	c	c	c	r	r	r	f	f	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	f	f	...	

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AUGUST ♦

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SEPTEMBER										OCTOBER										NOVEMBER										DECEMBER									
4	11	12	18	19	20	23	26	30	1	6	10	11	14	15	17	18	21	23	25	28	6	9	11	13	15	18	20	28	3	5	7	9	11	13	16	20	22		
c f r																																							
... f f ... f ... f f f ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r r ... r ... r r r ... f ... r ... r f ... r ...																																							
... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ...																																							
c f f f c f f f r r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r f ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ... r ...																																							
f f f r r ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ... f ...																																							
f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f f 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[illegible]

1930	JANUARY											FEBRUARY												
	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31	3	5	7	10	12	14	15	17	19	22	24	26	28	
Protozoa—(Conld.)																								
55.	<i>Peridinium</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56.	<i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. <i>subsala</i>	...	f	r	r	r	r	r	...	r	r	r	...	...	r	...	r	...	f	f	c	f	r	r
57.	<i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. <i>subsala</i> forma <i>lineata</i>	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58.	<i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. <i>subsala</i> forma <i>hiemale</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59.	<i>Ceratium massiliense</i>	...	f	f	f	f	r	f	...	r	r	r	...	r	r	r	f	r	r	f	f	f	f	f
60.	<i>breve</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	...	...	...
61.	<i>schmidtii</i>	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
62.	<i>trichoceras</i>	...	...	r	r	r	...	...	...	r	r	r	...	r	r	r	r	...	r	r	...	r	...	...
63.	<i>furca</i>	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
64.	<i>fusus</i>	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r
65.	<i>reticulatum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...
66.	<i>Glenodinium</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
67.	<i>Tintinnus</i> sp.	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	...	r	r	f	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...
Hydromedusae																								
68.	<i>Hybocodon</i> sp.	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
69.	<i>Sarsia</i> sp. (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70.	" sp. (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
71.	<i>Halitiara formosa</i>	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
72.	<i>Merga violacea</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	f	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	...
73.	<i>Amphinema dinema</i>	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
74.	<i>Leuckartiara octona</i>	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
75.	<i>Cytaeis tetrastyla</i>	...	r	f	...	f	...	p	...	...	r	f	r	r	...	r	...	r	r	...	r	r	...	...
76.	<i>Bougainvillia fulva</i>	...	...	r	f	...	f	s	...	r	r	f	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
77.	<i>Köllikeria constricta</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
78.	<i>Probosc. idactyla ornata</i>...	...	...	...	...	p	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	r	...	...	...
79.	" <i>conica</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
80.	<i>Staurodiscus tetrastaurus</i>	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
81.	<i>Eucopa</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
82.	<i>Obelia</i> sp.	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	f	f	...	r	...	...
83.	<i>Phialucium multitentaculata</i>	...	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	f	f	f	...	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	...
84.	<i>Eucheilota</i> sp. (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
85.	" sp. (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
86.	<i>Eutima mira</i>	...	...	...	r	r	f	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
87.	<i>Phortis</i> sp.	...	f	f	r	...	r	f	...	f	...	r	r	p	f	...	p	...	p	r	r	r	s	s
88.	<i>Irenopsis hexanemalis</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
89.	<i>Eirene malayensis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
90.	" <i>madrasensis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
91.	<i>Octocannoides ocellata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
92.	<i>Octocanna solida</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
93.	" <i>polynema</i>	...	f	f	...	...	...	...	f	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	...	f	...	...
94.	<i>Aequorea macrodactyla</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
95.	" <i>pensile</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	r
96.	" <i>parva</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	p	r	...
97.	<i>Zygocanna buitendijki</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
98.	<i>Gonionemus suvaensis</i>	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	f	r	p	...	...	...	...	r	f	...	...	...	...	...
99.	<i>Olindias singularis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
100.	<i>Liriope tetraphylla</i>	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	f	...	r	f	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	r	f	...	...
101.	<i>Solmundella bitentaculata</i>	...	p	...	s	p	...	...	r	p	r	r	f	r	...	...	f	...	r	...	...	...	...	...
102.	<i>Cunocantha octonaria</i>	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siphonophora																								
103.	<i>Diphyas dispar</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c	c	c	f	f	r	...	...	...	...	r	c	...	c	...	...

1930	JANUARY												FEBRUARY											
	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31	3	5	7	10	12	14	15	17	19	22	24	26	28	
Siphonophora—(Contd.)																								
104.	<i>Porpita porpita</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
105.	<i>Physalia Physalis</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
106.	<i>Cannophysa sp.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scyphomedusae																								
107.	<i>Nausithoe punctata</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	p	..	..	..	f	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Zoantharia																								
108.	<i>Arachnactis albida</i>	..	..	..	..	f	..	c	..	f	r	..	..	r	r	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
109.	<i>Semper's larva</i> (long)...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	c	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
110.	„ „ (round)...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	r	..	f	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ctenophora																								
111.	<i>Pleurobrachia globosa</i>...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..
112.	<i>Beroe flemingi</i> ?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
113.	<i>Ocyroe sp.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Platyhelminthes																								
114.	<i>Muller's larva</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nemertinia																								
115.	<i>Pilidium larva</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..	r	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Annelida																								
Archiannelida :																								
116.	<i>Polygordius larva</i>	..	r	r	f	f	..	r	..	r	c	r	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	r	..	..	..
117.	<i>Chaetogordius</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..
Polychaeta :																								
118.	<i>Tomopteris sp.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
119.	<i>Autolytus sp.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Polychaete larvae :																								
120.	<i>Nephtych</i>	..	f	f	r	r	f	r	..	f	f	r	f	r	r	r	r	f	r	..	..	r	r	r
121.	<i>Capitellid</i>	..	f	f	f	c	f	c	..	c	c	c	f	f	r	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
122.	<i>Phyllodocid</i>	..	r	r	r	..	r	..	r	r	r	..	..	..	r	..	..	r	..	..	r	..	r	..
123.	<i>Eunicid</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	f	c	c	f	r	r	s	..	r	..	r	..
124.	<i>Polynoid</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	r	r	..	..	..	..	..	..
125.	<i>Nereid</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	r	f	r	r	..	r	..	..	..
126.	<i>Spionid</i>	..	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	s	f	f	f	f	r	..	r	..	..
127.	<i>Polydorid</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	f	..	f	r	..	..	..	..	..	..
128.	<i>Chaetosphaerid</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
129.	<i>Magelonid (Magelona papillicornis)</i>	f	c	..	f	r	c	f	c	c	..	..	..	f	f	..	r	r	r	..	..	..	..	..
130.	<i>Muraria</i>	..	r	..	r	..	..	r	r	r	..	r	..	..	r	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	..
131.	<i>Chaetopterid</i>	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
132.	<i>Terebellid (Loimia medusa)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	r	..	..	..
133.	<i>Sabellarian (Sabellaria spinulosa)</i>
Chaetognatha																								
134.	<i>Sagitta spp.</i>	r	r	r	..	r	r	..	r	r	r	r

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MARCH								APRIL								MAY																		
3	5	7	10	12	14	17	19	21	22	24	26	28	8	10	12	14	16	18	21	23	24	29	1	3	5	7	10	18	20	23	26	27	29	31
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...
...
...
c	c	c	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
p	p	p	f	f	...	r	...	f	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	r	r	...	r	r	...	...	r	r	...	...	...	r	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	c	c	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f
...	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	f	r	f	r	...	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	f	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	f	...	r	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
r	r	r	r	f	c	f	r	r	r	c	f	f	...	r	...	r	r	r	r	...	r	...	c	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	r	r	r	r	c	f	r	f	c	...	c	...	r	...	r	...	r	r	r	...	r	...	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	r	c	...	r	...	c	f	f	r	...	s	f	...	f	r	f	f	...	f	...	f	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	r	r	...	r
...	...	...	f	f	f	f	...	f	f	f	r	...	f	r	f	...	f	f	...	r	...	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	f	p	p	p	...	f	f	f	r	...	r	f	r	...	f	f	...	r	...	r	r	r	r	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
f	f	f	f	p	p	p	f	c	c	c	c	f	f	f	c	c	c	c	...	f	...	f	c	f	f	f	f	f	i	f	r	f	f	f
...	...	...	f	c	f	r	r	f	f	f	f	f	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	f	f	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r
r	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
r	r	r	f	f	f	...	r	f	f	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	f
...
r	r	...	f	f	...	r	...	r	f	f	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	f	r	p	f	f	c	...	c	f ₃	c	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	r	r
f	f	c	f	f	c	...	f	...	r	...	r	r	r	f	f	f	f	...	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	f	f	f	c	c

PLANKTON RECORDS FOR THE YEARS 1929 & 1930 127

[illegible]

1930	JANUARY												FEBRUARY												
	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31	3	5	7	10	12	14	15	17	19	22	24	26	28		
Schizopoda																									
186.	Schizopod (<i>Rhopalophthalmus egregius</i> , <i>Macropsis orientalis</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Decapoda																									
187.	<i>Lucifer</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Crustacean Larvae																									
188.	<i>Cirripede nauplii</i>	...	r	r	r	r	f	f	...	c	f	r	c	f	f	r	f	f	f	r	r	f	c	c	
189.	" <i>cypris</i>	...	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	r	r	r	f	r	r	...	r	...	...	r	r	r	r	r
190.	<i>Copepod nauplii</i>	...	r	...	...	r	...	...	...	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...
191.	<i>Stomatopod larvae</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	f	...	f	...	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
192.	<i>Penaeid larvae</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
193.	<i>Zoea larvae</i>	...	f	f	f	f	f	f	...	f	f	r	r	f	r	f	f	f	f	r	r	c	p	p	c
194.	<i>Phyllosoma larvae</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...
195.	<i>Megalopa larvae</i>	...	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	r	...	r	f	f	f
Mollusca																									
196.	<i>Glaucus forsteri</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
197.	<i>Ianthina communis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
198.	<i>Atlantia sp.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
199.	<i>Creseis acicula</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...
Molluscan Larvae																									
200.	<i>Lamellibranch</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
201.	<i>Scaphopod</i>	...	f	f	f	f	f	f	...	f	f	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
202.	<i>Gastropod</i>	...	r	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Echinoderm Larvae																									
203.	<i>Bibinnaria</i>	...	f	c	f	f	c	...	...	f	f	...	r	f	f	c	s	f	f	...	...	...	...	...
204.	<i>Brachiolaria</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	r	...	r	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
205.	<i>Ophiopluteus</i>	...	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	r	r	r	...	r	...	f	...	r	r	f	...	r	...	...
206.	<i>Echinopluteus</i>	...	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	c	r	f	...	f	...	f	f	f	r	...	r	r
207.	<i>Auricularia</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tunicata																									
208.	<i>Thalia democratica</i> (and other forms)	...	f	f	c	f	f	c	...	c	c	c	c	s	c	f	f	f	...	r	...	...	...	f
209.	<i>Appendicularia sp.</i>	...	f	f	f	f	f	f	...	f	f	f	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	r	...	...
210.	<i>Fritillaria borealis</i>	...	r	...	r	...	r	r	...	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	...	...	...
Enteropneusta																									
211.	<i>Tornaria larvae</i>	...	...	...	r	...	...	r	...	r	r	...	r	r	...	r	r	...	r	r	...	...	...	...
Cephalochordata																									
212.	<i>Amphioxus pelagicus?</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

PLANKTON RECORDS FOR THE YEARS 1929 & 1930 129

MARCH																																			
3	5	7	10	12	14	17	19	21	22	24	26	28	8	10	12	14	16	18	21	23	24	29	1	3	5	7	10	18	20	23	26	27	29	31	
r	r	f	c	c	s	s	s	c	c	f	f	f	c	c	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	...	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	f	r	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	...
r	r	f	c	c	c	c	...	f	c	c	f	r	f	c	c	f	f	f	f	f	...	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	...
...	...	r	...	...	r	f	...	f	f	f	r	r	r	c	c	c	p	p	c	c	c	c	c	c	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...
r	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
r	r	r	f	f	f	...	r	r	f	f	f	c	...	f	...	f	...	f	...	f	...	f	...	r	r	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	
c	c	c	f	f	f	...	r	f	f	f	f	c	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	c	c	c	c	c	c	f	f	f	f	f	c	f	
...	
r	r	r	f	f	f	f	...	r	r	r	r	f	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	
...	
...	
...	
r	f	f	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	...	r	f	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
r	f	c	f	r	f	f	...	r	r	r	r	...	r	r	r	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	
r	f	c	c	c	c	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	r	f	f	f	r	...	r	...	r	...	f	r	r	f	r	...	r	...	r	...	r	...	c	c	r	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...
...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	r	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	r	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...

1930		JUNE										JULY									
		4	10	11	13	18	21	25	30	2	4	6	10	14	16	18	20	24	26	28	
Diatoms																					
1.	<i>Coscinodiscus concinnus</i>	...	r	f	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2.	<i>excentricus</i>	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3.	<i>radiatus</i>	...	...	...	r	f	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4.	<i>lineatus</i>	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5.	<i>Planktoniella sol</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6.	<i>Bidulphia mobiliensis</i>	...	r	...	r	f	r	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7.	<i>regia</i>	...	...	r	r	f	f	...	...	f	c	...	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...
8.	<i>sinensis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9.	<i>granulata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c	p	c	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10.	<i>rhombus</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11.	<i>Rhizosolenia shrubsolei</i>	...	...	...	r	f	c	r	f	...	f	f	f	f	f	f	r	...	...	...
12.	<i>semispina</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	f	r	r	...	...	r
13.	<i>stolterfothii</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
14.	<i>calcar avis</i>	...	...	r	r	f	f	...	...	f	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15.	<i>alata</i>	...	...	...	f	c	r	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16.	<i>setigera</i>	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17.	<i>acuminata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18.	<i>robusta</i>	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19.	<i>Chaetoceras boreale</i>?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...
20.	<i>decepiens</i>	...	r	r	...	f	...	...	...	p	s	s	s	s	p	f	...	f	r	r
21.	<i>debile</i>	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	c	s	s	c	f	f	f	r	r	r	r
22.	<i>sociale</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23.	<i>spp.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24.	<i>Bacteriastrium varians</i>	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25.	<i>Bacillaria paradoxa</i>	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	c	c	c	f	r	r	...	...	...	...	...
26.	<i>Asterionella japonica</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c	p	c	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...
27.	<i>bleakleyi</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	c	...	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
28.	<i>Thalassiothrix nitzschoides</i>	...	f	f	r	...	f	f	...	p	s	s	f	p	c	f	r	r	...	...
29.	<i>Ceratulina bergonii</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30.	<i>Climacodium frauenfeldianum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
31.	<i>Climacodium biconcavum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32.	<i>Bellerochea malleus</i>	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33.	<i>Nitzschia closterium</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	c	f	f	f	f	r	...	...	...	...
34.	<i>seriata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c	c	c	c	f	f	r	r	r	...	...
35.	<i>Ditylum brightwelli</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36.	<i>Lauderia borealis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37.	<i>Detonula schroderii</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	...	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
38.	<i>Eucampia zodiacus</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39.	<i>Pleurosigma</i> sp.	...	...	r	r	r	f	...	...	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	r	r	...	...
40.	<i>Stepanopyxis</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c	c	c	c	f	f	f	r	r	r	r
41.	<i>Skeletonema costatum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
42.	<i>Trichodesmium erythracum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	s	...	...	...	...
43.	<i>thiebauti</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Protozoa																					
44.	<i>Acanthometron pellucidum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45.	<i>Noctiluca miliaris</i>	...	...	...	f	f	f	s	s	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46.	<i>Prorocentrum micans</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47.	<i>Dinophysis miles</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48.	<i>homunculus</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49.	<i>Ceratocorys horridus</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50.	<i>Ornithocercus</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51.	<i>Diplopsalis lenticula</i>	
52.	<i>Peridinium oceanum</i>	r	r	f	f	
53.	<i>depressum</i>	r	r	f	f	
54.	<i>ovatum</i>	

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[illegible]

1930				JUNE							JULY											
				4	10	11	13	18	21	25	30	2	4	6	10	14	16	18	20	24	26	28
Protozoa—(Contd.)																						
55.	<i>Peridinium</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56.	<i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. <i>subsala</i>	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57.	<i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. <i>subsala forma lineata</i>	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58.	<i>Ceratium tripos</i> var. <i>subsala forma hiemale</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59.	<i>Ceratium massiliense</i>	...	...	r	...	r	r	f	...	...	...	f	f	f	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
60.	" <i>breve</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
61.	" <i>schmidtii</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
62.	" <i>trichoceras</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
63.	" <i>furca</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
64.	" <i>tusus</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
65.	" <i>reticulatum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
66.	<i>Glenodinium</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
67.	<i>Tintinnus</i> sp.	...	...	f	...	f	c	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hydromedusae*																						
68.	<i>Hybocodon</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
69.	<i>Sarsia</i> sp. (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70.	" sp. (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
71.	<i>Halitiara formosa</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
72.	<i>Merga violacea</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
73.	<i>Amphinema dinema</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
74.	<i>Leuckartiara octona</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
75.	<i>Cydaea tetrastyla</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
76.	<i>Bougainvillia fulva</i>	...	...	f	c	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
77.	<i>Köllikeria constricta</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
78.	<i>Proboscoidactyla ornata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
79.	" <i>conica</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
80.	<i>Staurodiscus tetrastaurus</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
81.	<i>Eucopa</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
82.	<i>Obelia</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
83.	<i>Phialucium multitentaculata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
84.	<i>Eucheilota</i> sp. (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
85.	" sp. (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
86.	<i>Eutima mira</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
87.	<i>Phortis</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
88.	<i>Irenopsis hexanemalis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
89.	<i>Eirene malayensis</i>	...	...	p	...	...	...	s	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
90.	" <i>madrasensis</i>	...	...	s	s	...	...	...	...	c	f	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
91.	<i>Octocannoides orellata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
92.	<i>Octocanna solida</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
93.	" <i>polynema</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
94.	<i>Aequorea macrodactyla</i>	...	...	...	...	r	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
95.	" <i>pensile</i>	...	...	...	...	r	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
96.	" <i>parva</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
97.	<i>Zygocanna buitendijki</i>	...	...	r	c	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	f	...	...	...	...	...
98.	<i>Gonionemus suvaensis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	s	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
99.	<i>Olindias singularis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
100.	<i>Liriope tetraphylla</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...
101.	<i>Solmundella bitentaculata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
102.	<i>Cunocantha octonaria</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siphonophora																						
103.	<i>Diphyes dispar</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Records incomplete for October and November.

1930				JUNE							JULY													
				4	10	11	13	18	21	25	30	2	4	6	10	14	16	18	20	24	26	28		
Siphonophora—(Contd.)																								
104.	<i>Porpita porpita</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
105.	<i>Physalia physalis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
106.	<i>Cannophysa</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Scyphomedusae																								
107.	<i>Nausithoe punctata</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zoantharia																								
108.	<i>Arachnactis albida</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
109.	<i>Semper's larva</i> (long)	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
110.	" " (round)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ctenophora																								
111.	<i>Pleurobrachia globosa</i>	...	...	...	...	r	p	...	...	...	c	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
112.	<i>Beroe flemingi</i>?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
113.	<i>Ocyroe</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Platyhelminthes																								
114.	<i>Muller's larva</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nemertinia																								
115.	<i>Pilidium</i> larva	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Annelida																								
<i>Archiannelida :</i>																								
116.	<i>Polygordius</i> larva	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
117.	<i>Chaetogordius</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<i>Polychaeta :</i>																								
118.	<i>Tomopteris</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
119.	<i>Autolytus</i> sp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<i>Polychaete larvae</i>																								
120.	<i>Nephtyid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
121.	<i>Capitellid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
122.	<i>Phyllodocid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
123.	<i>Eunicid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
124.	<i>Polynoid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
125.	<i>Nereid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
126.	<i>Spionid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	r	r	r	r	p	p	p	p	f	p	c	...	...
127.	<i>Polydorid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	r	r	...	...	r	...	...	...	...
128.	<i>Chaetosphaerid</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
129.	<i>Magelonid</i> (<i>Magelona papillicornis</i>)	...	...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
130.	<i>Mittraria</i>	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...	...	r	f	f	f	f	f	f	c	c	p	p	...	...
131.	<i>Chaetopterid</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
132.	<i>Terebellid</i> (<i>Loimia medusa</i>)	...	...	...	...	c	s	...	f	...	f	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
133.	<i>Sabellarian</i> (<i>Sabellaria spinulosa</i>)	f	f	f	f
Chaetognatha																								
34.	<i>Sagitta</i> spp.	f	f	...	f	f	f	f	f	c	c	c	f	f	f

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[illegible]

1930			JUNE							JULY											
			4	10	11	13	18	21	25	30	2	4	6	10	14	16	18	20	24	26	28
Polyzoa																					
135.	<i>Cyphonautes larva</i> ...	...	r																		
Phoronidea																					
136.	<i>Actinotrocha larva</i> (1)	...																			
137.	" " (2)	...																			
Crustacea—Cladocera																					
138.	<i>Evadne sp.</i>	...				r					r			r							
139.	<i>Podon intermedius</i>	...				r	r														
140.	<i>Cladoceran</i>	...				c	r														
Crustacea—Copepoda																					
141.	<i>Nannocalanus minor</i> ...	...																		
142.	<i>Canthocalanus pauper</i>	...																			
143.	<i>Undinula vulgaris</i>	...	f																		
144.	" <i>darwini</i>	...																			
145.	<i>Eucalanus elongatus</i>	...																			
146.	" <i>attenuatus</i>	...																			
147.	" <i>crassus</i>	...	p	r												f					
148.	" <i>subcrassus</i>	...	f		f	f	r														
149.	<i>Paracalanus parvus</i>	...	f		r		f		f		f	f	f	f	f	f	f	r	r	r	r
150.	" <i>aculeatus</i>	...	f			r										f					
151.	<i>Acrocalanus longicornis</i>	...			r	r	f				f			r							
152.	" <i>gracilis</i>	...																			
153.	" <i>monacus</i>	...			r		f	c								f	f				
154.	<i>Calocalanus pavo</i>	...																			
155.	" <i>plumulosus</i>	...																			
156.	<i>Centropages furcatus</i>	...																			
157.	" <i>orsinii</i>	...					f														
158.	" <i>tenuiremis</i>	...	r				f														
159.	" <i>dorsispinatus</i>	...																			
160.	<i>Temora discaudata</i>	...	r																		
161.	" <i>turbinata</i>	...	r			f										r					
162.	<i>Candacia bradyi</i>	...																			
163.	" <i>truncata</i>	...																			
164.	<i>Calanopia elliptica</i>	...	r																		
165.	<i>Labidocera acuta</i>	...	r																		
166.	<i>Pontella danae</i>	...			f											r					
167.	" var. <i>ceylonica</i>	...			r																
168.	" <i>securifer</i>	...			r																
169.	<i>Acartia erythraea</i>	...	c	c		c	f	c	f		c	c	c	c	c	c	c	f	f	f	f
170.	<i>Tortanus barbatus</i>	...					f									r		c	f	f	f
171.	<i>Oithona rigida</i>	...	f		f	c	c	f	f		s	c	c	c	c	p	s	p	c	c	c
172.	" <i>plumifera</i>	...									f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
173.	<i>Eulerpina aculifrons</i>	...	c	c		f	f	r													
174.	<i>Macrosetella gracilis</i>	...																			
175.	<i>Microsetella rosea</i>	...					r														
176.	<i>Clytemnestra rosstrata</i>	...	r																		
177.	<i>Oncaea confiera</i>	...																			
178.	" <i>venusta</i>	...					r														
179.	<i>Corycaeus elongatus</i>	...	r																		
180.	" <i>furcifer</i>	...			f	f	c	r													
181.	" <i>obtus</i>	...				r															
182.	" <i>venustus</i>	...			r	f	f	f	r							f					
183.	<i>Sapphirina ovato-lanceolata</i>	...																</			

PLANKTON RECORDS FOR THE YEARS 1929 & 1930 137

[illegible]

PLANKTON RECORDS FOR THE YEARS 1929 & 1930 139

[illegible]

UNIVERSITY NOTES

Technological Courses

THE Committee appointed to advise the Syndicate on the question of introducing technological courses in the University has reported as follows :—

‘The two chief industries of South India are those connected with leather (hides and skins), and with seeds and oils.

LEATHER: This industry is most important for South India, and the export of hides and skins last year was approximately the same as in the year of depression some years ago.

Little or no assistance can be obtained from the members of the trade, which is not sufficiently well organised and developed at the present time and will not be sufficiently developed for at least ten years to require or be able to employ graduates of a University who have received a training in Leather Technology of a University standard. There are only two Firms in South India which would be prepared to employ a highly trained Technical Assistant and with these Firms a vacancy would occur very very seldom, only once in twenty years or so.

So far as leather is concerned, a rejuvenation of the Leather Trades Institute appears to be the best solution at the present time, the University to consider the question of the introduction of Leather Technology only ten years hence.

OIL SEEDS, SOAP, ETC.: The Kerala Soap Institute in Calicut is run as a commercial concern and is able, with the profits which it obtains from selling its products, soaps, etc., to pay for some of the experimental work which is being conducted in it. There are only four other concerns in South India in which seeds are treated on a scale sufficiently large to employ graduates in Technology. There is little hope for graduates trained by the University being employed at present in sufficient number to make it worth while for the University to open courses in Technology.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES: If some Chemical Industries are introduced in South India, the Honours graduates in Chemistry such as are turned out by the Presidency College suffice for purposes of employment in Chemical Industries, the subsequent

technical training being acquired in the Industrial Institute itself.

PRINTING: A training in Printing Technology would be useful. A preliminary apprenticeship is required which could be obtained at the Government Press, Madras, the Railway Printing Press, Royapuram, or the Diocesan Press, Vepery. If the University has a Printing Press of its own, most of the training could be given in its own Printing Press.'

New Courses

The Academic Council has approved of a scheme for Diploma in journalism and the details are under consideration. A Diploma in politics and public administration is also being considered.

Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit MSS

The University has decided to draw up a complete up-to-date catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, with a view to supplementing the work published in 1903 by Dr. Aufrecht. The work will be undertaken by a Board consisting of Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastri (Editor-in-chief), Dr. C. Kunjan Raja and Prof. P. P. S. Sastri. The University has addressed the Inter-University Board and the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference bringing to their notice this special work undertaken by the University and requesting their assistance.

Since the success of the undertaking is largely dependent upon the co-operation and help of scholars interested in Sanskrit, the Madras University would earnestly request scholars and Head of Institutions interested in Sanskrit and Indology to assist it by furnishing information on any or all the following points:—

- (1) Places where manuscripts are available, with particulars regarding owners and authors.
- (2) Lists of manuscripts.
- (3) Other suggestions for the preparation of the proposed new Catalogus Catalogorum.

It is requested that all communications regarding this matter may be addressed to 'The Editor-in-chief, Catalogus Catalogorum, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Museum Buildings, Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras.'

REVIEWS

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS. By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR. Published by the Calcutta University, 1935. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 4s. 6d.

The book represents the Kamala Lectures delivered by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. It is divided into thirteen chapters, and the main thesis of the learned author is to indicate the evolutionary character of the moral ideas of the Hindus. In other words it is contended, possibly rightly, that the Hindu ethical code was never rigid or stationary, unaffected by changes, political and economic in the march of time. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar has approached this subject in the light of comparative thought, and has pointed out, with ability and acumen, born of ripe experience, the contribution of Hindu thought to moral culture. While he is quite alive to the defects of Hinduism in certain particulars, he has succeeded in answering attacks recently made by Western writers on the cardinal principles of Hinduism. Among other interesting topics his clear exposition of the much misunderstood doctrine of Karma may be particularly mentioned.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar is one of those who genuinely feel the need on the part of the Hindus to adapt themselves to the changing conditions and tendencies of modern life. But still he is not in favour of effecting changes by the instrument of legislature, heterogeneous as it is in character. Every one will agree with his statement that 'legislation which is much in advance of public opinion is bound to be a failure'. In his thoughtful reflections of the drift of modern forces and their bearing on the future of Hindu society, the learned author puts forth an eloquent plea for the abandonment of two things, above others, (1) ritualism and ceremonial observances and (2) the institution of caste which may in his opinion go a long way to make Hinduism survive as a religion. But with regard to these particulars differences of opinion are bound to exist, and will exist.

V. R. R.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *Industrial Organisation of India.* By P. S. Lokanathan (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.).
2. *Hydrostatistics.* By A. S. Ramsey. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.
3. *Questions and Answers on Hindu and Mahomedan Law.* By J. Chinna Durai and G. Evelyn. London : Stevens & Sons, 1935. 6s.
4. *A Concise History of Britain.* By Robert M. Rayner, 1934. 6s. 6d.
5. *A Study of Economic Depression in Rural Kistna.* By Ch. Sitarama Sastri and C. Sriramanarasimhan. Madras Provincial Co-operative Union.

The following books were received from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. :—

6. *A First Trigonometry for Fourth and Fifth Forms.* By Jacob Morgan. 1936. 1s. 3d.
7. *A Class Book of Magnetism and Electricity.* 1936. 6s. 6d.
8. *The British Empire and Commonwealth—a History for Senior Forms.* By James A. Williamson. 1935. 6s.
9. *Intermediate Botany.* By L. J. F. Brimble. 1936. 8s. 6d.
10. *History of Rome down to the reign of Constantine.* 1935. 10s.
11. *The Ancient World.* By I. Tenen. 3s. 6d.
12. *Outline of English Verse.* By George Cowling.

POPULAR REPRESENTATION AND DEMOCRACY

(*The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Lectures, 1935-36.*)

BY

MR. S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A.,

LECTURE I

It is appropriate that these lectures should have been founded by his friends and admirers, in the name of a distinguished alumnus of the University, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, a politician, a statesman, and a patriot. I feel it a great privilege to be called upon to deliver the lectures this year. I have chosen as the subject of my lectures, *Popular Representation and Democracy*, not only because of the perennial importance of this subject to all students of political science, but also because of its great contemporary interest to Indian politicians and students of Indian politics.

It is not easy to define "democracy". But, for the purpose of these lectures, I treat democracy as a form of Government in which every citizen, if there is universal suffrage or, if the suffrage is in any other manner restricted, every other citizen has or feels he has a voice. The voice may be very little, but the consciousness of possessing it is very great. Its potential value, also under certain conditions, is equally great. From that point of view, Lord Bryce's definition is apposite. "Democracy is that form of Government in which the ruling power of the State is legally vested, not in any particular class or classes, but in the members of the community, as a whole. This means, in communities which act by voting, that rule belongs to the majority, as no other method has been found for determining peacefully and legally what is to be deemed the will of a community which is not unanimous."

The forms of democratic governments may vary, but the form, with which I will concern myself, is the form of Parliamentary or

representative democracy. The most salutary merit of representative government is the incalculability of popular judgment and the need for its continual canvassing. I recognise that there is a very important sense in which democracy is used often, as a state of society which will not tolerate governmental interference with the personal habits and normal occupations of the citizens. It also represents an aspiration for human equality, not only in the political, but also in the social and economic spheres. It has also much to do with the theory of equality of man. But I am dealing with democracy as simply and solely a form of Government, that is, government of the State by the many, in these lectures.

Of course, even in a system of government by the many, democracy may take different forms. Hereditary monarchy or dictatorship may alike be based on the general will of the people. We are concerned here only with representative democratic government, whose basis is the political equality of man. It may not be a fact, but that is the theory; and, after all, who knows? If discrimination in voting be the test, my own experience is that that discrimination is often found in strange places, and is conspicuous by its absence in places where you most expect it. At any rate, "belief in the value of the distinctive contribution which everyone has to make is fundamental to democracy. It gives real meaning to the doctrine of human equality. It implies that the welfare of all is the end of society, and it involves the repudiation of every form of restriction and privilege. Its animating force is faith in humanity, and in the moral worth of each citizen. The contribution which each makes is not indeed assumed to be of equal value. But the business of the democratic state is to guarantee that individual points of view shall find expression. The spontaneous activity of the individual is the end of government, and all are responsible for the active promotion of the common good. Participation in the management of public affairs is thus both a privilege and a responsibility."

The real test then of democracy is whether the government is so conducted as to show that the popular will is supreme in the really weighty affairs of the State, or, in the alternative, in the choice of men from time to time who will decide for the nation the really weighty affairs of the State. It is inevitable in the very state of things that, considering the complexities of human problems, there should be in all democracies, even in the most developed, a strong

element of aristocracy, but not an aristocracy based on wealth or birth or other accidents, but on character, ability, and service. This is really consistent with democracy, especially as this aristocracy can never be permanent in its composition, except by the worth of its members, and by the suffrage of the people. Indeed, the two ideas are reconciled in the following manner: Popular election serves, at least as well as any other system, in securing representative leaders, and serves better than any other system in confining the latter to their function of leadership. The doctrine holds on the one hand, that the rank and file are generally competent to make a relatively intelligent discrimination between candidates who intend to further the public interest, and others animated by individual or group self-interest; and, on the other hand, that no individual is ever so superior in wisdom and self-control, that he does not constantly need both the enlightenment and the restraint which come from the necessity of persuading the minds and wills, and maintaining the confidence and respect of the masses, whom he seeks to lead.

In representative democracy, the people do not directly rule. But they are the ultimate source of authority, and they exercise supreme control over the administration mainly by periodical elections, either at fixed periods, or whenever the representative assembly rebels against the government in power, or whenever there is a definite change in popular opinion which is reflected either by bye-elections, or by other well known methods. But we have no right to expect too much of democracy in this sense. After all, democracy is a matter of degree. What parliamentary democracy has so far achieved is that the work of the expert officials and of the Ministers who dictate policy and carry on the government shall be submitted at intervals to the bar of public opinion. This necessity for popular approval has been made more frequent, and the sensitiveness of the administration to public opinion is properly regarded as the hall-mark of democratic liberty.

The chief merit of parliamentary government, as opposed to almost any other form of Government, is that the Government is carried on by debate, fighting out differences of opinion and diversities of interests, by means of arguments in open conference, not by crushing them by physical force. Persuasion of the opponents, not intimidation by physical threats, is the aim. Parliamentarism therefore, stands as a definite method of settling

conflicts by arguments, and not by coercion. But, in order that this discretion may be real and may be representative of the current opinion of the people of the country, elections to these representative assemblies must be conducted in such a manner as to reflect the popular will. Hence the great importance of election, the suffrage, the constituency, the manner of voting, the method of representation, the relation between the representative and the constituency, both before and after election, and the nature of the control of the representative House by the electorate, and the means by which it will be in constant touch with public opinion, which may and will change.

In modern communities, the most difficult problem is the faithful representation of the will of the people in the organ of the government. Heroic remedies have been suggested, the most conspicuous example of which is direct democracy, i.e., people ruling themselves without elected representatives. Except in the form of the initiative and referendum, direct democracy does not obtain at all anywhere in the world of to-day. The size of the countries and their population, the complexity of the modern problems and the need for expert control and advice all alike make direct democracy impossible. Moreover, no direct democracy can carry on the day-to-day administration, control or carry out foreign policy, or exercise financial control. Hence it has come about that democracy of the modern world is generally representative democracy. Pure democracy, in which the politically qualified members of the community meet together to discuss and decide public questions, is suitable only for small communities with simple collective needs. It has never widely existed, and functions now only in a very few places. The initiative and the referendum can, even under the most favourable conditions, be employed only for relatively few questions. Further more,—and this is the most important criticism—they provide no opportunity for the essential function of deliberation. The most fundamental problem therefore, in organising modern democracy is that of securing a system of election, which insures the choice of representatives who reflect, as completely as possible, the varieties of interests and opinions among the people. The experience of those countries, where the referendum and the initiative have been or are in force, shows that those countries would be better off, if the voters concerned themselves more with exercising a choice of legislators, through the process

of nomination in their respective parties, a matter for which they seem to have a greater propensity, and which they are better able to do—to learn to choose some one, whom on the grounds of honesty, capacity, and consonance with their general point of view and interests, they can trust.

And indeed, this is inevitable. The people are not competent to legislate. Legislation is a very difficult and complicated process. I wonder, if even several members of the Legislature are competent to legislate. Above all, in such direct legislation, there is no scope for deliberation, discussion, or for compromise. And, after all, a general election is in fact considered by a large portion of the electorate of Great Britain as practically a referendum, on the question which of the two governments should be returned to power.

We, therefore, return to the important task of examining how a proper representative system may be devised, so that no citizen can have sound reasons to believe that he is being commanded, it may be in most vital matters, by a minority. In a democratic government, the right of decision undoubtedly belongs to the majority. But the right of representation belongs to all. The only stable foundation for a modern democracy is the habitual willing co-operation of all the principal elements of the community, and that co-operation can be retained only by giving all the principal elements genuine representation in all the Legislative Bodies. Perhaps the most important guarantee for the purpose of ensuring the harmonious functioning of democratic government, is the consciousness, on the part of the minority, that by education, propaganda, and persuasion it can convert itself into a majority, in course of time. If that consciousness is not created and maintained in the minority, anarchy must follow. This must be kept in mind, in devising systems of representative government.

The most important problem in connection with representative democracy is of course that of suffrage. I see no alternative to adult suffrage. Either men are equal, or they are not. If we act on the theory that men are not equal, then we have no use for democracy. But if we want democracy, we can act on no other theory than that of men being treated as equal. I have the high authority of John Stuart Mill, who says "there ought to be no

pariahs in a full-grown and civilized nation ; no persons disqualified except through their own fault. Everyone is degraded whether aware of it or not, when other people, without consulting him, take upon themselves unlimited power to regulate his destiny." He of course suggests that literacy and payment of taxes should be qualifications for franchise. I differ. Literacy and discrimination do not always go together. The illiterate persons are often discriminate. Moreover, the theory that payment of taxes alone gives the right to vote is an exploded one. Perhaps, it was right in the time when John Stuart Mill wrote. But, to-day, thanks to the inventions of science and the all-pervasive activities of the State, and the modern conception of obligations of the State to the citizen, I claim that every adult, unless he is a lunatic or an undischarged insolvent, should have an equal voice in governing, or rather in the choice of the government. Indeed, I see no other standard in conferring the suffrage, except the above. The poor man has perhaps no less stake in the country than the rich one. And, as for the popular passions governing the masses, recent experience of British elections shows that no section of the community is free from the gusto of such popular passions.

The elements of an electoral system are : (1) the method of recording the vote, (2) the method of determining the successful candidates, (3) the number of members to be returned for each constituency, (4) direct versus indirect election, (5) communal electorates, and (6) other means of minority representation, like proportional representation.

It is now assumed, as a matter of course, that voting should be by secret ballot. But, before 1872, voting was public in England. In India, voting is secret except for illiterates, genuine or otherwise. The system of open votes is insisted on by those who want to corrupt the illiterate by paying a price for their votes, or even the literate by making them declare themselves illiterate and openly vote for the particular candidate and earn their reward. There is an amount of sanctity attached to the secret ballot. I suggest that, so far as conditions in this country go, voting should be public ; or, in the alternative, three months after the election, the voting should be published to those whom it may concern, so that we may promote public political honesty. The problem of illiterate votes in India is bound to assume larger proportions, when the 35 millions proposed to be enfranchised

under the Government of India Act of 1935 begin to exercise their franchise. If secrecy is to be enforced, we must have recourse to the device of naming candidates by beasts, or flowers, or by giving them colours.

The next question is the nature of constituencies. Personally, I am all in favour of single-member constituencies. I know the argument against it in this country—that it will tend to encourage communalism and sub-communalism.

The remedy for it is for all organised parties to run candidates belonging to all communities on the party ticket, so that those who respond to the call of the party will feel that, in voting for "A" or "X" in a particular constituency, they are voting not only for that candidate, but for the entire list of candidates put up by the party, who will, in the nature of things, belong to all communities. Moreover, the single-member constituency is best calculated to encourage and maintain that living contact between the representative and his constituency, which on the one hand helps to keep the representative in touch with opinion in his constituency, and on the other hand encourages the constituency to keep alive political interest between one election and another, which is the *sine qua non* of the proper functioning of modern democracy. Lastly, the single member constituency, even in a huge country like India, is much more helpful to the poor candidate who cannot afford to spend the sums required for nursing, cultivating, and canvassing larger constituencies.

The next question is on what basis the successful candidates should be declared to have been elected. In the British system, single-member constituencies return candidates who obtain relative majorities. The system may be compendiously described as single member election by relative majority. But, for a long time now, measures have been discovered and are being since devised for securing more complete representation of the people, than is secured by the above system. It is often suggested that constituencies should be redistributed on a basis of equal electoral areas. This is an ideal to be arrived at, and I am hoping that, as a result of the deliberations of the Delimitation Committee, constituencies for the Provincial Legislatures, at least for the lower Houses, shall be so devised in this country as to insure more or less equal electoral areas. But, as the Royal Commission on Electoral Systems of 1910 found, there is not much warrant for the theory

that the varying sizes of constituencies account for the exaggeration of majorities.

As against relative majorities, there are some absolute majority systems. The second ballot—A candidate to be returned at the first election must receive an absolute majority of the valid votes cast. If no candidate obtains such a majority, a second election is held at which only the two candidates compete who received most votes at the first election.

The relative vote—here the voter is invited to arrange the candidates in the order of his choice by placing the figures, 1, 2, 3 . . against their names. Only first votes are reckoned in the first count. If no candidate is found to have obtained an absolute majority, the candidate who has received the smallest number of first votes is eliminated, and his voting papers are distributed according to his second preferences. If no candidate receives an absolute majority even then, the process is repeated, as often as necessary, until the desired result is obtained. The second ballot may be summarily dismissed as involving a most undesirable prolongation of electoral turmoil and disturbance, besides greatly increasing the expenses of the candidates. There is also a great difficulty in inducing the electors to come up again to vote a second time. It has also been the experience of other countries that the interval between the two elections offers undesirable temptations to bargaining and intrigue. These are the findings of a Royal Commission, and I entirely agree with them. The alternative vote is more encouraging. But while it prevents the election of the worst candidate, it does not secure the election of the best. Moreover, the uneducated elector will find a serious difficulty in exercising his vote under this system. There will be large failures to exercise the second preference on the part of voters. The more candidates there are, the less satisfactory the method will be. In Australia, the opportunities for party intrigue and the gratification of personal ill-feeling which are conferred both by the power of using and by that of withholding preferences, have been found to produce regrettable results. The system is not capable of satisfactory application to two-member constituencies. The Royal Commission recommended the alternative vote, as the best method for single-member constituencies. I do not agree. I feel the difficulties are insuperable or, at any rate, that the system will not yield better results than the relative majority system.

But the problem of minority representation still remains. The case for that is often exaggerated ; the present system in England is not unsuccessful. The majority rules with greater power to enforce its will than it in fact deserves, but minorities are heard. And, as I have said already, so long as the minorities have the right and opportunity to convert themselves into majorities, they cannot expect or ask for more representation under practical democratic government. All political minorities have found and will always find representation under that system. Other minorities do not deserve such representation.

I should, however, examine the devices suggested for securing what is called minority representation. First, the limited vote, which was recently suggested, I believe, by a brain wave of the Madras Government and the Madras Franchise Committee, which I hope will be rejected ultimately. It will not work successfully, and is found in very few countries. The next is the cumulative vote, which is found in the Bombay City for Assembly elections. But, as a means of ascertaining the wishes of the electorate, the Royal Commission points out that it suffers from the fatal defect of the limited vote and that its successful operation requires the implicit obedience of the electors to the directions of the party manager. A system which depends for its efficacy on such a requirement as this stands self-condemned.

Then, we have to examine the systems of proportional representation, *viz.*, the strict list system, the free list, and the transferable vote. The Belgian system is one in which candidates present themselves in groups or lists, and any vote given to any member of the group counts as a vote for the group. Proportional representation is then secured as between the groups, by dividing the available seats among them in proportion to the votes obtained by each group. This system has the advantage of simplicity. But it emphasises and stereotypes party divisions. The result has been the virtual extinction of small parties. Moreover, the person who is returned is not the choice of the majority of the supporters of the party, but only of the party organisation. Experience has shown that, only in the rarest cases, has the personal popularity of a candidate low on the list succeeded in upsetting the printed order. It cannot be accepted. The French system provides that the lists shall be arranged in alphabetical order, that the elector shall have as many votes as there are seats to be filled and may distribute

them among the lists exactly as he likes, or may accumulate his votes on one candidate. The total number of votes obtained for each list is added up, the seats are distributed among the lists, to those candidates returned from each list, up to the requisite number, who have obtained the largest number of votes. The Royal Commission concludes on this system that it will produce in Britain unreliable results in representation and much trouble and confusion in working, and that the comparative freedom of the elector is too dearly purchased in it, at the cost of the invaluable virtues of simplicity and decision.

Then, there remains only the Transferable Vote, or proportional representation on that basis. The practical considerations involved in the adoption of any system of proportional representation are the size of the constituencies which will have to be created, the question of expenses, and the provision to be made for bye-elections. The constituencies must be large enough to secure satisfactory results under this system. The Royal Commission recommends an average constituency of about seven members. The size of the constituencies need not present difficulties, which may or may not be overcome. But the question of bye-elections is a very difficult one. The Royal Commission says that no satisfactory solution of the problem has been put before it. The conclusion of the Royal Commission is, "The application of the Transferable Vote to a large electorate is, then, feasible. The possible intrusion of an element of chance might create some prejudice against it, and the undoubted difficulty of bye-elections certainly would; but the issues at stake are so large that, if the general case in favour of proportional representation and its effects, in and out of Parliament, were decided to be clearly made out, these defects are not serious enough to stand decisively in the way."

The claims made for proportional representation may be thus stated. "In the House of Commons, all parties, the majority, as surely as the minority, would find representation on the basis of their true strength in the country; small but respectable parties would be assured of a hearing, and the independent member would once more be added to the counsels of the nation. In the constituencies the elector would obtain greater variety of choice, greater freedom, and with freedom the education of an enlarged responsibility; the candidate would regain independence from the pressure of small sections, and the member an enlarged sphere of usefulness."

But as against this, it may be stated that the exaggeration of the majorities is, as a rule, no evil. Excessive majorities, of course, occur, but they are preferable to insufficient majorities. The object of representative government is not only to represent, but to govern. The greatest evil that can befall a democratic country is a weak executive ; and, if a strong one can only be obtained at the cost of mathematical accuracy of representation, the price should be willingly paid. For two-party government would be substituted the habitual practice of government by bloc. The Royal Commission concludes, "Whatever their ultimate results might be, we cannot doubt that the immediate effect of changes in electoral conditions, so radical as those involved in the Transferable Vote, would be a confusion in constituencies, extending possibly over more than one election, which would render the results produced, a less reliable index to the true state of feeling in the country, than the present system. The Transferable Vote is unreliable, because it tends to give a decisive effect upon party representation to votes given least for party reasons. In political elections, it is the balance of parties which is of primary importance. This balance, under the Transferable Vote, is the net total of the balances obtained in a number of multi-member constituencies, and these balances depend upon late preferences. The apparent verdict of the country will, therefore, be determined by the least satisfactory criterion which the system provides. For a considerable number of voters will not exercise their later preferences at all, and, of those who do, many will be influenced by other than party motives." This argument is almost conclusive in my opinion. The Royal Commission, therefore, comes to the conclusion, with one dissentient—"Reviewing the whole evidence and duly considering the gravity of the change involved, we are unable to report that a case has been made out before us for the adoption of the Transferable Vote, here and now, for elections to the House of Commons." I respectfully agree. They, however, recommend the adoption of the Alternative Vote, in cases where more than two candidates stand for one seat, in a single member constituency. Even this system has not yet been adopted, and I should hesitate to accept it for my country.

The arguments against proportional representation have been dealt with in detail by Herman Finer in his book on "The Theory and Practice of Modern Government." I merely state them very briefly here. (1) The loss of the psychological value of the small constituency, the care of which is vested, in a single member ;

(2) the maleficent soothing of that permanent anxiety of the party leaders, as they scan their own constituency in the light of present policy and approaching elections ; (3) giving added power to party leaders as compared with the local associations ; (4) tightening the disciplinary power of the party leaders over the individual member and (5) encouraging group divisions and secessions, and thereby jeopardizing the stability of the Executive. This danger is very great in India. This system gives a positive bonus to group separatism. "Moreover, those who propose proportional representation leave out of all account the political manners and conventions of a country—the sense of decency and political fair-play. No decent political party or group in a country can get on, on the principles of arithmetic, nor are politics determined once and for all by the General Election, but by a multitude of dynamic and spiritual factors, as efficient in the cause of good representative and responsible Government, as the General Election itself." Though there are definite and disturbing flaws in the single member constituency with a relative majority, it has some strong points which are indispensable to secure responsiveness and responsibility in Government. I lay particular stress on this. The conclusion is inevitable that any electoral system which gives rough numerical expression of the strength of main political tendencies, is the only one practically workable, as far as Parliaments are concerned. Moreover, the case for proportional representation and accurate mathematical representation of all parties, great and small, is grossly exaggerated. It would be useless for every little group to be represented ; the assemblies have not even the time adequately to discuss the views of three great parties in the State, on all the issues that arise. An electoral system, based wholly or mainly on the desire to give any and every small group the chance of returning a representative, would be a political futility ; for only by a rare stroke of luck would the representative get the opportunity of speaking. Personally, I do not mind these cranks getting a hearing. For, "the best way to discredit a fool is to hire him a hall." But, if any assembly were fully representative, no business could be done. The exigencies of Parliamentary time force men, therefore, to leave their small caves and enter larger combinations for the support of a common programme ; and, as they do this, the exactness of representation is seen to be a thing of neither great nor ultimate political moment.

From the point of view of India, the larger constituencies required, the complexities of the method, the non-existence of well

defined political minorities, and the existence of communal minorities are powerful arguments against the adoption of proportional representation.

This leads me on to say one word (in conclusion to-day) on the comparatively minor question of the candidates' expenses for the conveyance of voters, and for their feeding on the polling day. I know the puritanical theory on these matters. I know also that these theories are not often carried out, but in India, considering the size and poverty of the country, I suggest that, either a minimum scale of expenditure should be prescribed, or that public conveyances should be provided for voters, from public funds. This will encourage honesty in elections, and discourage corruption. This is a matter to be carefully considered by those in authority.

LECTURE II

I should like to begin this lecture by offering one or two more criticisms of the system of Proportional Representation.

I recognise that, with Proportional Representation on the basis of the single Transferable Vote, the effective candidature of independent men of repute, besides the official candidates, is made possible. But, we must recognise that these representative parliaments are elected mainly for the purpose of governing a country. While it is undoubtedly true that many battles have been won even by bad generals, no battle has ever been won by a good debating society. Moreover, we must take voters as they are, and provide for them. And, it does seem to me that there are complexities in Proportional Representation, which may baffle the average voter, even in a highly educated country, and certainly in ours. Again, we cannot forget the needs of a stable government based on the party system, and, if we are to have a stable government, it does seem to me that the method of single member constituency, either with relative majority or with an absolute majority, based on the system of the alternative vote, is now the best we can devise. Otherwise, there is every danger of fissiparous tendencies asserting themselves, of cliques being formed, and of the least popular candidates sometimes being elected. I should also like to say one word from personal experience of the working of Proportional Representation, on the basis of the single Transferable Vote. In the election by

Registered Graduates to the Senate of the University of Madras, it is least justifiable, because there can be no academic minorities, among these registered graduates. What often happens is that personal or communal minorities are created by adding to the electoral roll, and while undoubtedly the most popular candidates do get returned, some candidates do get returned, who will have no chance under the normal system. Therefore, it is easy to exaggerate the advantages of Proportional Representation.

After all, different representative systems have got to be judged also by the scope for corruption in those systems. We must so devise the systems, as to reduce to an absolute minimum such scope. I believe, in Proportional Representation, there is greater scope for corruption than in the ordinary system. Moreover, it cannot be forgotten that the system of Proportional Representation discourages public propaganda by meetings, by appeals in the Press, and encourages group canvassing, more or less privately. It is also found to affect adversely the evolution of a sound party system, because individuals will try to canvass for themselves apart from the party, and the position of the voter is rendered more difficult under this system than under the normal system. The cause of democracy is best served, if we do not demand too much of the voter.

Of course, if the idea is to give up the principle of responsible government, that is to say, a Cabinet governing with the consent of the majority of the representative assembly, and we are to go in for a form of government which, while it is terminable at the end of a stipulated period at the will of the electorate, still can carry on for that period, unless a specific motion of no-confidence is carried against it by a majority of the representative assembly after due notice, there is a good deal to be said for the system of Proportional Representation. I do not say, for one moment, that the last word on efficient popular democratic government has been said by the British system. I have already expressed a preference, so far as the Central Government in India is concerned for a Presidential, as opposed to a Parliamentary executive. And, indeed, we have still much to learn by experience, trial, and error. I recognise that thoughtful people in many countries are gradually coming to the conclusion that government must take advantage of all abilities in representative assemblies. This is a matter for careful and thoughtful consideration.

Another problem connected with popular representation and democracy is that concerning the difficulty of persuading all voters to go to the polling booth to record their votes. Even in the most advanced countries, many people do not use their right to vote. In England, the percentage of non-voters was estimated recently at about 25 per cent. ; in France and Germany, about the same ; and in the United States of America, about 30 per cent. The general reasons for not voting are physical difficulties, legal and administrative obstacles, disbelief in voting, and inertia. Is it worth while forcing all people, except those physically disabled, to vote ? Strong arguments against it are that the vote after all is a civic right, which a citizen may or may not use as he wishes ; but the strong practical reasons for the compulsory vote are that, otherwise, the candidates and their parties are put to great expense and difficulty in bringing the people to the poll. If there be compulsory voting, practically all corruption will be eliminated in elections. In Belgium, where the elector is forced to vote, the proportion of voters voting is over 93 per cent. In Australia, the Commonwealth Electoral Act of 1924 makes it the duty of every elector to record his vote. Therefore, there is no doubt that such compulsory voting will make the representatives say with conviction that they represent the majority of the people, and it will also develop political consciousness among the people. But the compulsory vote loses all the moral value of a voluntary vote. The vote under compulsion, as has been well said, is no proof of the will to vote, the capacity to vote, or the capacity for right judgment. On the other hand, if political education develops, if the issues are brought before the electorate in a direct and compelling form, more and more will go to the polling box. My experience in India is that, when the Indian National Congress boycotted the elections to the Legislatures and to the Local Bodies, the percentage of absentees was very high. But, in recent elections, however, which the Indian National Congress contested, a distinctly higher percentage has gone to the polls. On the whole, it seems to me that compulsory voting must be rejected. "There is no help for representative government in these devices. They either ascribe to the elector capacities which he does not possess and cannot possess, or seek to overcome the alleged defects of political parties by obliging the citizen to undertake functions, for which he has either no interest or no aptitude. Hope lies not in these devices, but in the more adequate selection and training of candidates for office" ; and, I would add, in the training and education of the voters themselves.

A minor question arises as to whether, apart from the qualifications of voters—I personally believe in adult suffrage—there should be any qualification for candidates for legislatures. I recognise that, if there is to be any limitation, it should be in such a manner as to exclude only in general terms, and not discriminate against any special class of citizens. But, as Professor Laski points out, there is no reason why we should allow men to be chosen, without any regard to their experience of affairs. “Absence of limitation may give us a younger Pitt, but it gives us also a large number of members who go to the Legislative Assemblies, merely for the prestige which membership confers. A rich man persuades a constituency to adopt his son as candidate, because he can afford to pay the expense of election; a retired merchant becomes a candidate to satisfy the social ambitions of an aspiring wife; the wife of a member elevated to the House of Lords succeeds him on a wave of sentiment unrelated to the problem of her fitness. It is wiser, surely, to exact a small qualification for membership, in order that those seeking election may offer proof of a genuine interest in affairs.” In his constitution for future India, Babu Bagavandas, M.L.A., has developed a similar idea and wants qualifications based on education, character, ability and public service, to be exacted from candidates, before they are allowed to stand for election to the Legislatures. Of course, it is difficult to specify the exact nature of the qualifications. Previous service on a Local Body is suggested, as a qualification for election to the Legislature. We may evolve similar qualifications. But I think that, although it appears on the face to be opposed to democratic theory, such qualifications will tend to improve the tone of representative assemblies.

Should there be a limit to the period of re-eligibility of a member of the assembly for election again and again? There is a common human feeling that these honours should go round, and should not be monopolised by the same people. That argument is full of flaws. Service in such bodies must be looked upon, not so much as a privilege, but as a duty. And no man gets re-elected, unless he continues to enjoy the confidence of his voters. So long as he does that, to seek to impose by legislation or otherwise restriction on the free choice of the voters is not only undemocratic, but also will do positive disservice to the character and ability of our assemblies. Again, as Prof. Laski points out, “in a legislative assembly, few things compensate for the absence of experience. Procedure is inevitably technical; and any limit will merely end a man’s term,

when he is at the height of his utility. Much of the strength of a chamber like the House of Commons has come from the fact that its leading figures have, over long years, been distinguished actors there. The thirty years' membership of Edmund Burke, the sixty years' service of Gladstone, the forty years' of Disraeli, all meant an incomparable insight into the technique of government. Even in the case of the advent of a new party, like the British Labour Party to power, its leaders had been familiar with the centre of public affairs for twenty years. And, only upon the condition of unlimited eligibility, can a legislature properly fulfil its selective function." I sincerely hope and trust that such a convention will be accepted, and acted upon in this country.

In order to ensure representative government under democracy, two other devices are necessary. There must be a limit to the period of life of the representative legislature, and about five years seems to be a safe period. Two or three years is too small, and more than five years is too large. Beyond five years, any legislature loses touch with the electorate. Parties ought to know that, if they are for the time being, protected from popular judgment, they will not be able to assume that their mistakes will be forgotten. Secondly, the executive must have the right to ask for and get a dissolution of the legislature. It is not safe to leave it to the legislature itself, for no legislature will willingly commit suicide. Unfortunately, under the Government of India Act, the right of dissolution is left to the Governor. I am, however, hoping that a convention will grow here, by which that right, which, in England though theoretically vested in the King in England, is normally exercised only on the recommendation of the Ministry in power, will also be similarly exercised here, according to the recommendation of the ministry in power. "The power of dissolution is the recognition that, ultimately, the electorate is the paramount authority in the State. And no executive ought to occupy the seat of power, unless its place is sanctioned by that authority. A coherent representative system would be impossible, unless the right to dissolve was always the prerogative of the Government of the day."

In order to make the representative system effective, what should be the size of the Legislatures? On the one hand, it should not be so small as to make it impossible to be absolutely representative of the constituencies. It should be large enough to ensure the personal contact between the representative and his electors. On the other hand, it should not be so large as to make effective debate

impossible, or farcical. The problem becomes very difficult in this country, because of its size and population. But I have no hesitation in saying that the proposed strength of 375 for the Federal Lower House is too small. The strength should be at least 500. The strength of the Provincial Legislatures also ought to be increased and can be so increased, without any serious detriment to public business.

The next important question, which I propose to deal with, is that of the proper relations which ought to subsist between the voter and his representative, before and after election. Before election, in countries dominated by the party system, the voter normally votes for the nominee of the party, and not for the individual. But the party, in making its choice of the candidate, undoubtedly will consider the claims of the individuals and select only those who, apart from their allegiance to the party, are likely to command the support of the majority of the voters in the particular constituency, for which he is selected. This system can, of course, be criticised on the ground that the voter is reduced to a machine, and not given any freedom. The criticism becomes pointless, if the claims of efficient government are to be reconciled with democracy. The best solution, then, is for the voter to make up his mind as to which of the parties in the political stage he will support because of their principles, policy, or programme, and then to vote for the candidate set up by the party for his constituency. In order, however, to ensure the best result out of the system, the party must act in the selection of the candidates, in consonance with general public opinion, i.e., the opinion of the members of the party in the particular constituency. Sound party leadership must be fully trusted to keep this in mind.

The more difficult question is what should be the proper attitude between the representative and his voter after election. Before I proceed to deal with it, I desire to put in, in the name of the successful working of representative government, a plea on behalf of the hard-working and hard-worked representatives elected to the Legislatures. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to look on the politician with suspicion. This leads frequently to a lack of cordial support on the part of the public, when such support is needed by the politician. It also leads unfortunately to the breeding of cynicism on the part of the representatives themselves when, after conscientious and genuine effort, they find their motives misinterpreted, and a casual assumption prevailing that, somehow behind

everyone of their acts, is some subtle and mischievous intention to advance some private interest at the expense of the public interest. It sometimes leads to the driving of good men out of public life, it sometimes leads to the cynical attitude that, if one is getting the credit for misdoing, one may as well get the profit from it ; and, in any case, it works seriously against a sympathetic and harmonious action of the representative and the voter towards accomplishing common ends. May the Goddess of Democracy protect India from this evil ! The voters must learn to look upon the representatives as members with honesty of purpose, and a reasonable intelligence to conduct public affairs.

This leads me on to the more important question—how shall the representatives vote on questions coming before the Legislatures ? Shall they be independent in thought and action, working and voting for what they consider are the best interests of the nation at large, or merely act as agents for the particular constituency, pledged to vote for the particular interests of that constituency, where they happen to be different and antagonistic to general national interests ? I believe that, for all time, this question has been eloquently and accurately answered by Edmund Burke in his address to the electors of Bristol in 1774. He says : “ Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative, to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him ; their opinion, high respect, their business, unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs ; and, above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you ; to any man, or to any set of men living. These, he does not derive from your pleasure ; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment ; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.”

From the point of view of the nation also, he gave another conclusive reason for this position—“ Parliament is not a Congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests ; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates ; but parliament is a deliberative assembly

of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole ; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed ; but, when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament." I recognise that, sometimes, this may give rise to difficulties. The constituency may want the representative to vote in one manner. His judgment of national interests may require him to vote in another manner. I personally believe that, in such a case, the representative must choose to vote in favour of what he considers national interests. If it is a matter on which the constituency feels very strongly, he ought to resign his seat, and offer himself for re-election. If, on the other hand, it is a smaller matter, he may well wait for the next general election, when the constituency will have an opportunity of pronouncing its verdict on him. I have no hesitation in saying that, if any representative sacrifices what he considers best in the national interests, in favour of a demand of the constituency which he considers inconsistent with that national interest, he is betraying the country, to serve which alone he is sent to the legislature.

A fascinating question, on which I will only say a word in passing, is whether territorial representation may not be substituted wholly or partially by what is compendiously termed functional representation. A great deal has been said and written for the latter view, mainly on the theme that human life is so complex, that there are so many functions and interests which are opposite to one another, that no single parliament can subserve the needs of those functions and interests ; and that, therefore, we must evolve a system by which these functions and interests may be represented. Apart from the practical difficulty in the way of satisfactorily defining these functions and interests, one must make a distinction between the normal functions of Government, and the extra, or the social and expanding services of modern governments. I have no hesitation in saying that, for the paramount purpose of government, a parliament elected on a territorial basis is the only possible parliament. But, while all paramount functions of government may be thus entrusted to this territorially elected parliament, I recognise a case may be made out for subordinate bodies dealing with specific questions, on which functions or interests may be represented. Such systems are now in force, as what are called economic advisory councils, local bodies, educational advisory councils, and so on, and so forth. But they can

never take the place of a properly elected territorial parliament governing the country.

The problem of adequate and satisfactory representation of minorities in representative legislatures is one which has assumed factitious importance in this country. So far as political minorities are concerned, their problems are transient. The bedrock of all sound democracies is that, under it, the minority of to-day will find itself the majority of to-morrow, and vice versa. But there are permanent minorities of different kinds—*viz.*, religious, territorial, racial, and social or communal, as in India. The interests of those minorities have been sought to be protected in the post-war treaties of Europe, by elaborate provisions in the constitution of those countries where these minorities are found, guaranteeing to these minorities freedom of worship, their own social habits and customs, so long as they are consistent with public order and morality, their educational advancement, and franchise, and generally the right to live on terms of equality with the majority communities in those countries. Another device has been to withdraw religious affairs, for example, from the interference of any public authority. Or autonomous and localized self-government has been conceded to the territorial minority by the majority. Apart from all this, however, the problem still remains how to make the majorities reasonable always in their treatment of minorities, and how to make minorities have absolute confidence in majority rule, which is the basis of democracy. Besides the devices mentioned above, communal representation in the legislatures in one form or another has been recognised, and certain fundamental rights are guaranteed, as I have mentioned before, to the minorities in the constitution.

Proportional representation which I have discussed fully above is often put forward as a means of protecting minorities, but its limitations are well known. If proportional representation were adopted on a wide scale, the formation of sound majorities will become almost impossible, and the parliamentary machine will break down.

In India, however, the problem has been attempted to be solved in a very unsatisfactory manner. Before the Minto-Morley reforms, there were no communal electorates in this country. Of course, there were no representative legislatures on any large scale. But Lord Minto started 'the Mohammadan' hare', to quote Lord

Morley. From that time, we have gone from bad to worse until, under the Government of India Act of 1935, we find separate representation in the legislatures for the scheduled castes, the Sikhs, the Muhammadans, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans and the Indian Christians, besides representatives for Commerce, and Industries, Land-holders, Labour and Women. This is surely creating a political museum of communities and interests, and is wholly inconsistent with the history and the theory of democratic and responsible government. The evil is made worse by the creation of communal electorates, who have got to elect these representatives, and not even merely reserving seats for them on the basis of a general electorate. These separate electorates are made compulsory for all these communities. Even the most advanced amongst them are not given the right to enroll themselves on the general electoral roll. The Statute reserves seats even for majorities, and the provision for a change in the system is difficult. The arguments against such communal representation need not be repeated here. A nation cannot grow, communities tend to perpetuate themselves in their narrow outlook, existing relations are stereotyped, and nationalism cannot grow out of the statutory recognition of communalism. For the purpose of the present lecture, it is enough for me to say that the theories of popular representation and democracy, either as discovered by the greatest political scientists of the world, or as they are found working in modern democratic countries, are wholly inconsistent with the provisions of the Communal Award as it is called, or of the Government of India Act on this question.

Should there be a residential qualification for candidates, *viz.*, that they should not only live in the country for a prescribed period, but also live in the particular constituency? There is a great deal to be said for the view that, if representation is to be genuine, the representative must live in the area which he represents; for, then and only then, can he claim to have any active and constant touch with the sentiments, wishes, and desires of the people whom he represents. If the representative is to serve on a Local Body, I grant that residence within the area which he represents may be desirable, although it should not be compulsory. But, so far as national legislatures are concerned, there is absolutely no need for the representative to live in the particular constituency which he represents. On the other hand, there is a danger that, if all representatives live in their constituencies, the resulting parliament will be a very mediocre affair and will never function

efficiently. "Little constituencies tend to make little representatives;" and there is no danger of the Carpet-baggers getting overwhelming representation on the Legislatures. Local men are jealous, and local men have a pull over strangers. If, in spite of the pull, a stranger gets the majority of votes, it is a powerful argument that, in spite of no residential qualification, that representative is so able and so good that the people of the locality prefer him to the local magnate.

Should there be a right of what is called "recall" of representatives, once they are elected to the legislatures? On the whole, I think there should be, though it should be capable of exercise only under strict conditions, and on special occasions. Recent happenings in this Presidency and in India of elected representatives voting just against their electoral promises have convinced me of the need for such a power. In order to exercise this power of recall wisely, the acts of the representatives in the legislature or local body should be published, so that the voters may know how the representative speaks, and votes. But I find in Local Bodies in this country, after the election of the representatives, the election of the Presidents and of the Vice-Presidents or of the Chairmen and the Vice-Chairmen takes place by ballot. I do not see why it should be so. I think an open vote will improve matters all round. In order, however, to get the best out of representative democracy, the voters must keep a watch on the doings of the representatives, and the latter must explain and expound their work from time to time to their electors.

Coming to the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935, which seeks to establish representative government on the basis of qualified democracy in India, I desire to point out that suffrage in the lower houses of Provincial Legislatures, for example, in Madras, is the payment of any tax to a Local Board or to the Local Government or to the Government of India, ownership of property, the guardianship of a qualified minor, or literacy. Women have got additional qualifications—if their husbands possess the requisite qualification, or if they are the mothers or widows of officers or soldiers of His Majesty's regular military forces. But the possibility of a wider electoral roll is sought to be restricted by the provision that persons qualified as sole tenants, or as Kanamdars, or as mortgagees, or as guardians of qualified minors, or as literates, or as women claiming additional qualifications, should not be enrolled on the electoral roll, unless application is made by

people in the prescribed form. I deprecate this provision strongly. It should be the duty of the Government and its officers to bring all those enfranchised, on the electoral roll, without prescribing an application for certain classes of qualifications.

For the Federal Lower Houses, the Government of India Act has curiously enough, prescribed indirect election. The arguments against it cannot be put better than in the words of the Marquess of Reading, Lord Lothian and Mr. Isaac Foot, in the discussion before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The arguments against indirect election from the Provincial Lower House to the Federal Lower House are mainly five. "In the first place, it means that the Provinces, in effect, will be able to control the Central Legislature, and therefore the Ministry. The supreme problem in India is the maintenance of its constitutional unity. The breakdown of its central government is the greatest catastrophe which would overtake the country. Yet, to constitute the central legislature by what, in effect, will be provincial delegations, the majority of whom will hold their seats on the nomination, and, at times of re-election, at the discretion of the Provincial Governments and the parties which support them in office, would, in our view aggravate the tendency to provincial separation which already exists and endanger the unity of India."

Secondly, "the system inevitably involves the confusion of provincial and all-India issues at times of election, with bad results for both central and provincial legislatures. Legislatures ought to be elected on the issues which they are constitutionally responsible for dealing with. The indirect system under consideration means that the provincial elections may turn on all-India issues such as tariffs or income-tax, in which case there will be no clear decision about the provincial issues which the legislatures will alone have to deal with in the next few years, or that they may turn on provincial issues alone, in which case the electorate will have no voice or influence in all-India issues."

"In the third place, the system inevitably opens the door to corruption, for it means that each member of the Central Legislature, which will deal with matters vitally affecting business and finance, will be elected by a number of provincial electors on the average, not more than 7 or 8 in number. The opportunities for corruption; under a system which enables any seven or eight mem-

bers of a provincial legislature to return a member of the Central Legislature, needs no emphasis from us."

Fourthly, "the system of electing the central legislature by the Provincial legislatures is bound to be extremely intricate and confusing with its combination of electoral colleges elected by enormous constituencies in some provinces, with election by the Provincial Upper Houses which are themselves elected in part by the Provincial Assemblies, in others."

"Finally, this form of indirect system involves reversing a system which has already been in operation for the Indian Legislative Assembly not unsuccessfully for thirteen years and which has the support of the great majority of Indian Political Leaders. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the right basis for the constitution of the Federal House is that proposed in the White Paper, namely direct election to the Legislative Assembly from territorial constituencies by an enlarged but still restricted electorate, and indirect election to the Council of State from the Provincial Legislative Assemblies by the system of the single transferable vote. We think that this will produce that balance of representation at the centre between the provincial and national interests, which the history of other federations shows to be both desirable and to have stood the test of experience."

Curiously enough, the Government of India Act not only rejects the device of direct representation for the Federal Lower House and accepts indirect representation, but has provided for direct election to the Federal Upper House, a scheme which has no basis of historical experience or theoretical justification in its favour. Time alone can show how it will work. But it does not require much prophesying for me to say that, constituted as they are, the two Houses of the Federal Legislature are bound to be unrepresentative of the main currents of public opinion in the country. The peculiar difficulties of evolving a sound representative system for India are the size and population of the country, the vast illiteracy of the people, the absence of any alert public opinion, the non-existence of well-defined political parties with their rich heritage of experience of common working together, of a sense of discipline and of a burning faith in the policy and programme of the party, except the Indian National Congress. The need for the fight for the freedom of this country being carried on, is partially at least inconsistent with political programmes which are

based on the theory of a static order, as opposed to a dynamic society.

In order to evolve a proper representative system, which alone will guarantee the proper functioning of democracy in this country, we have got to evolve both in the Provincial and Federal spheres, legislatures which, by their composition, by the system of representation which elects representatives to them, and by the proper functioning of the electoral machinery, will gradually at least represent the main currents of public opinion.

The illiteracy of the people need not be an insuperable argument. An illiterate person is not necessarily incapable of voting aright. Often, he votes aright. Thanks to the modern inventions of the Broadcast and of the Radio, and the methods of quick communication, it ought to be possible to reach the illiterate villagers, in the remotest villages, by well-organised parties and their candidates. But, literate or illiterate, the question whether representative democracy will function aright in this country will largely depend upon the success of all concerned, in educating the voters aright, and in their choice of the right men and women to represent them in the legislatures.

This leads me on to the next difficulty, *viz.*, the absence of an alert well-organised public opinion in the country. I have already made a reference to the general attitude of suspicion and cynicism toward politicians on the part of people generally. That attitude is gradually changing, and will soon change more rapidly. But, we must look increasingly to the Press and the platform in the country, to create and keep alive a vigilant and well-informed public opinion.

Whether the working of democracy in this country will follow the British model of a two or three party system with cabinet responsibility, or will follow the continental system of more numerous parties forming temporary coalitions, and whether the executive will be parliamentary or Presidential, are questions which time alone can solve. But, considering the present political state in the country, one may well express the hope that the greatest need of contemporary politics to-day is the functioning of disciplined political parties, or rather the ceasing to function of all other parties, communal or sectional.

Of course, this is not wholly consistent with the political conditions of a country aspiring and working for its political freedom.

There is not much scope for patriotic men and women whose eyes are set on the freedom of the country, for evolving political programmes and ranging themselves on one side or other. It is only, when Swaraj is won, that conditions will become easy for the formation and functioning of political parties, according to the political beliefs and convictions of men and women. Meantime, we can only hope for the negative result that we shall at least achieve the goal of the ceasing of the functioning of parties which are not mainly political, or, in other words, of all parties which are communal, or sectional, or partisan in outlook.

The danger that land-lords and capitalists will dominate elections has been largely falsified by the experience of recent elections in this Province, and elsewhere. The Indian elector may be ignorant, may be illiterate, may be poor ; but generally he has shown discrimination, patriotism, and wisdom. Granted decent conditions of political life, I have no doubt that he will rise to the full opportunities of his political life. There are dangers to democracy all over the world, and to-day the failure of democracy is writ large over the continent of Europe. But is this failure due to the inherent fault of parliamentary democracy, or, is it not, rather, due to the effects of the gigantic War which certainly was not the outcome of democratic rule ?

The racial problem is a permanent challenge to democracy and it is a warning to the British Empire. As a recent writer puts it—"if we allow racial hatred at home or abroad, not merely as disturbing factors in daily life, but as biological laws which entitle certain strata to permanent superiority and compel others to permanent inferiority,—a growth of hatred on a scientific basis, democracy will not be safe." Again, democracy is wholly inconsistent with colossal wealth on the one hand, and colossal poverty on the other. It is impossible to bring about or maintain a state of affairs, "where the many have the votes, and the few have the wealth." Lastly, the world will not be safe for democracy, if it is divided into groups of countries, not only of unequal strength or unequal wealth, but of quite unequal opportunities. A state of affairs cannot last, where the great and undeveloped portions of the globe are a kind of trust, to be exploited for the benefit of a few Powers, who deny others access to this wealth. The Italo-Abyssinian conflict is a capital example in point, and the Italian answer to the British challenge—"physician, heal thyself"—is also unanswerable, from this point of view.

But democracy will never serve the needs of humanity, if it is treated merely as a question of form of government, and not as a question of spirit. If the spirit of greed, of materialism, and of violence, which has ruled large parts of mankind so far, is going to survive, democracy will not stand. In that case, it is scarcely worth while that it should stand. If we can get the better of it, if we can remember that the foundations of society must be based on justice, sympathy, and consideration, democracy will survive the present crisis.

James Mill called representation the grand discovery of modern times, supplying the key to all the difficulties both spiritual and practical, in the way of organising *good government*. Political Scientists have yet to find the correct solution for the difficulties in the way of organising *good representation*.

KĀTYĀYANA AND THE MITĀKSHARA LAW OF STRĪDHANA¹

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(Continued from page 125 of Vol. VII, No. 2.)

VI

THE following Sanskrit passage is taken from the Mitākshara, and it gives the portions relevant to the subject under discussion :

इदानीं स्त्रीधनविभागं विस्तरेणाभिधास्यन्, तत्स्वरूपं तावदाह ।

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यश्रुयुपागतम् ।

आधिवेदनिकाद्यं च स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

बन्धुदत्तं तथा शुल्कमन्वाधेयकमेव च ।

पित्रा मात्रा पत्या भ्रात्रा च यद्दत्तं, यच्च विवाहकाले अग्रावधिकृत्य मातुलादिभिर्दत्तं, आधिवेदनिकं अधिवेदननिमित्तं 'अधिविन्नस्त्रियै दद्यात्' इति वक्ष्यमाणं । आद्यशब्देन रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमप्राप्तं, एतत् स्त्रीधनं मन्वादिभिर्दत्तम् ।

स्त्रीधनशब्दश्च यौगिको न पारिभाषिकः ।

योगसंभवे परिभाषाया अयुक्तत्वात् ।

यत्पुनर्मनोक्तम्.....स्त्रीधनस्य षड्विधत्वं

तन्यूनसंख्याव्यवच्छेदार्थं, नाधिकसंख्याव्यवच्छेदाय ।

.....

किंच । बन्धुभिः कन्याया मातृबन्धुभिः पितृबन्धुभिश्च यद्दत्तं, शुल्कं यद्गृहीत्वा कन्या दीयते । अन्वाधेयकं परिणयनादनुपश्चादाहितं दत्तम् ।

.....इति स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितमिति गतेन संबन्धः ॥

It is apparent from this that Vigñānēśwara gives to the word 'Ādya' in Yāgnāvalkya's text a very wide significance and

¹ Part of the work done as a research student in Hindu Law in the University of Madras during the years 1930-32.

includes within it property obtained by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure and finding. The history of the law is clear evidence to show that in interpreting the word thus, Vigñānēṣwara was not carried away by his enthusiasm for the advancement of the position of women, but was only stating concisely and precisely the state of affairs in his own day. He had before him the text of Kātyāyana indicating the all-inclusiveness of woman's property, and chronologically he was very near to him. His statement that Strīdhana is etymological and not technical (स्त्रीधनशब्दो यौगिकः न पारिभाषिकः) is only another way of putting what Kātyāyana has already said with regard to woman's property (शेषं तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम्). He realised the full significance of Kātyāyana's statement of the law. If all items of property obtained by a woman belong to her, it follows without any difficulty that what is hers in etymology is also hers in law.

But before making a detailed examination of the view of Vigñānēṣwara it is necessary to mention certain observations made in reference to that view of the law by some modern scholars of high repute. They are :

- i. Vigñāna's interpretation of the text of Yāgñavalkya is not correct because the word Ādya cannot bear the significance attached to it.
- ii. Even admitting his view to be correct it has not been accepted by other writers of his school, viz., Mādhava and Dēvanna Bhatta.

Both these views proceed from a misconception and an improper understanding of the law on the subject, and they betray a woeful lack of insight into the history of woman's property. It is necessary to examine each of these views by itself. The origin of the first of them goes back to a time when British courts in India began for the first time to administer Hindu Law. As Bengal came under the British influence first, and as Colebrook happened to translate the Dāyabhāga before the Mitākshara, the early English judges were obsessed with the Dāyabhāga doctrine of a limited estate, and imported it into the Mitākshara law when they began to administer the latter. A second reason which stood in their way of appreciating the Mitākshara law of Strīdhana was that

in those days the British jurisprudence itself lagged far behind women. The mistakes of these early European judges may be pardoned to a certain extent because, they laboured under a language difficulty; and very few of them had any access to the original texts and commentaries. But the heresy once having started gained in strength with the advance of time, and eminent Indian judges like Sir Gooroodas Banerjea and great orientalists like Dr. Jolly became blind to the truth on the matter and helped the wider circulation of these wrong ideas.

Banerjea in his *Tagore Law Lectures* on 'Marriage and Strīdhana' first gave currency to the idea that Vigñānēṣwara's interpretation of Yāgñavalkya's text is not correct. His view is to be found at pp. 286 and 289 of the third edition of his *Marriage and Strīdhana* and it is unnecessary to quote the whole of it here. He says after mentioning various Dharma śāstra texts on Strīdhana; "one thing is clear from the examination of these texts, namely, that the term Strīdhana is not used in its simple etymological sense, but has a technical meaning. If it were otherwise and if by Strīdhana were meant all property belonging to a woman, the enumeration of particular descriptions of property as coming under the denomination would be useless. And the last cited text¹ from Kātyāyana would go expressly to negative such a supposition. As for the term 'Ādya' (and the rest) in the text of Yāgñavalkya, apart from the authority of Vigñānēṣwara . . . there is nothing to show that it includes every item of property however acquired". Banerjea's view may be shortly stated thus. Vigñānēṣwara's deduction that Strīdhana is etymological and not technical is a mere sophism, as the word 'Ādya' in Yāgñavalkya's text can only include items similar to those already mentioned; and the very fact that Kātyāyana excludes wealth earned by mechanical arts and gifts of affection from a stranger from Strīdhana, confirms the view that Strīdhana cannot be etymological.

¹ प्राप्तं शिल्पैस्तु यद्वित्तं etc. See pp. 111 and 118 of Vol. II, No. 7 of this Journal.

The following remark of Dr. Jolly may be noted in this connection. The technical nature of the term Strīdhana is further shown by the fact that it was considered to require a definition.

Dr. Jolly expressed a similar view in his *Tagore Law Lectures* for the year 1883. We find at p. 244 of the lectures :

'The Vishṇu Smriti in the analogous passage contains no Ādya. Granting that "Ādya" is the correct reading it does not follow that Vigñānēśwara interpreted it correctly. Ādya literally means "and the like" and occurring at the end of an enumeration can only be used to include such objects as are similar in character to those previously mentioned. *Therefore in the passage in question, it cannot mean any other separate acquisition as Vigñānēśwara contends; but it can only refer to such acquisitions of a woman as are similar to the other objects of which Strīdhana consists. It may mean, as one of the Southern commentators (Mādhava) explains, property purchased with what is given during the bridal procession, or other such acquisitions, or it may denote presents of another kind than those previously mentioned, or it may be a mere expletive word as Dr. Burnell supposes.*'

I have found it necessary to quote this long passage in order to show how closely Dr. Jolly followed Sir Gooroodas Banerjea. After the lengthy discussion in the previous sections it is not necessary to say much in refutation of these views. Though the Mitākshara purports to be a mere commentary on the Yāgñavalkya Smriti, it is in reality a comprehensive digest of law. When attempting to define the nature of woman's property, Vigñānēśwara could not but survey the rapid development of the law prior to his own day. He saw clearly that property obtained by inheritance or on partition was in no way different from that obtained by a gift at marriage or other occasions. He must have known the text of Kātyāyana above referred to though he does not quote it.¹ Thus he had ample evidence before him of the fact that Strīdhana was etymological and not technical. But as he made the text of Yāgñavalkya the basis of his discussion he had to find a place in it for the different kinds of woman's property which were not specifically mentioned therein. The term 'Ādya' was there, and even without his interpretation it bears a special significance as I have already remarked. He therefore made good use of it and in interpret-

¹ Perhaps, by the time of Vigñānēśwara even the exclusion of these two items had lost much of its significance.

ing it in such a wide manner, he only brought out its real significance. And the proposition of law which he stated, seemed so clearly transparent that he did not find it necessary to quote any Smṛiti texts in its favour.

All the suggested difficulties vanish if we keep our minds clear of the idea of a limited estate and reversionary succession. The law of woman's property started from slender beginnings and advanced until the distinction between man and woman with regard to their capacity to acquire and hold property became obliterated. It is this fact that Viṅṇānēṣwara clearly brings out in the Mitākshara. In his explanation of the word 'Ādya' as property obtained by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure and finding (आद्यशब्देन रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमप्राप्तम्), he had before him the text of Gautama on the causes of ownership. The text runs thus:

स्वामी रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेषु ।

and it points out that ownership is acquired by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure and finding. This text of one of the earliest of sages enumerated some of the most general modes of acquisition and in Viṅṇānēṣwara's time, all these were available to women. Therefore 'Strīdhana' must be a general term including all property acquired in a legitimate manner by a woman. I have already shown how the nature of inherited property was understood from the days of Gautama. Yāgñavalkya recognises the right of certain women to a share on partition. Dēvala speaks of 'Lābha' which can be explained either as seizure, or as finding; and Kātyāyana himself has declared the independence of women to sell or make a gift of their Saudāyika property. It therefore follows that any property purchased by them thereby belongs to them alone. Hence the correctness of the interpretation of the word 'Ādya' in the above manner does not need any further argument in support of it.

But in spite of all this, there has been a good deal of wearying and unprofitable discussion on the question of this term 'Ādya' being ejusdem generis, or otherwise. During Yāgñavalkya's time there could have been no question of its signifying things similar to those already mentioned because, Yāgñavalkya knew nothing of a limited estate on the one

hand and allowed women the right of inheritance and the right to a share on partition on the other. Moreover ejusdem generis can have no application here because, Yāgñavalkya's text is not an ordinance but a mere statement of a well recognised fact. Again, the term 'Ādya' in Yāgñavalkya's text is followed by the enumeration of certain other items like the Bandhudatta and the Sulka, and this therefore makes it clear that it was not intended to signify items similar to those previously mentioned. Reference may be made to an alternative reading adopted by Jīmūtavāhana who reads the text by substituting the expletive चैव for the suppletive आद्य, and takes the first two lines as a definition of Strīdhana, and the next two lines as denoting a line of succession to the items mentioned therein. But even he does not admit, that for a property to be Strīdhana it must be specifically included in that category by some sage: and the whole controversy as to whether the term Ādya is ejusdem generis, loses its point when it is noted that Aparārka who like Jīmūtavāhana reads चैव for आद्यं च in Yāgñavalkya's text, interprets it in the same way as Vignānēṣwara. He clinches the matter by saying च शब्द आद्यर्थः, and instances as examples property obtained by partition etc. by a woman.¹

The latter half of Banerjea's objection is easily answered. The exclusion of the two items, viz., property obtained by mechanical arts and as a gift of affection from a stranger, by Kātyāyana does not militate against the etymological nature of Strīdhana. The reasons underlying the exclusion of these two items were mentioned on a previous occasion; they were based more on public policy and social considera-

¹ It is generally accepted that Vignānēṣwara and Aparārka are contemporaries. The fact that both of them, the one a Pundit attached to a king's court and the other a king himself, should have dealt with the nature of Strīdhana in the same manner, though accepting different readings of the text is noteworthy. This is what Aparārka says :

च शब्द आद्यर्थः । तेन च स्त्रीधनांतरपरिग्रहः, तद्यथा । कार्याः पट्यः समांशिकाः, माताप्यंशं समं हरेत्, स्वात्सादंशाच्चतुर्भागं, मातुः पारीणह्यं स्त्रियो विभजेत् । अन्यदपि यत्स्त्रीस्वामिकं तत् स्त्रीधनमिति मन्वादिभिः परिकीर्तितम् ॥

tions than on the logic of the law; and if they are exceptions at all they are exceptions which prove the rule.

VII

WE may now consider how far subsequent commentators of the Mitākshara school are in agreement with Vigñānēṣwara's ideas about the nature of Strīdhana. Banerjea says in his *Tagore Law Lectures* that neither the Mādhavīya nor the Smritichandrika have accepted Vigñānēṣwara's interpretation of the word 'Ādya', and that 'According to the Dravida^o school, therefore, the term Strīdhana has not that unlimited signification which it has under the Mitākshara, but it is used in a limited and technical sense.' This view of Banerjea proceeds from his failure to understand properly the Sanskrit passages concerned. Even a cursory glance at the discussion in the Mādhavīya clearly shows that Mādhava in his disquisitions closely followed Vigñānēṣwara. The Smritichandrika is not so elaborate as the Mādhavīya on account of certain peculiarities in its structure which differs from that of the other Nibandhas; but there is no doubt that far from any conflict with the Mitākshara, it closely follows and supports it.

I will first take up the Mādhavīya and leave to the next section a consideration of the Smritichandrika view. Below is given the Sanskrit text in so far as it is necessary for the purpose :

स्त्रीधनविभागमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतम् ।

आधिवेदनिकाद्यं च स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

बन्धुदत्तं तथा शुल्कमन्वाधेयकमेव च ।

अप्रजायामतीतायां बान्धवास्तदवामुयुः ॥

अध्यग्न्युपागतं, विवाहकाले अग्निसन्निधौ मातुलादिभिर्दत्तम् ।

आधिवेदनिकं अधिवेदननिमित्तमधिविन्नस्त्रियै दत्तम् । .

आद्यशब्देन अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रयादिप्राप्तम् ।

तथा च मनुः—

अध्यग्न्यध्यावाहनिकं दत्तं च प्रीति कर्मणि ।

भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ इति

षड्विधमिति न्यूनसंख्याव्यवच्छेदार्थं । नाधिकसंख्याव्यवच्छेदाय ।

अध्यावाहनिक प्रीतिदत्तयोः स्वरूपं कात्यायनेनोक्तम् ।

.....

बन्धुदत्तं, कन्यामातृपितृबन्धुभिर्दत्तं शुल्कं, यद्गृहीत्वा कन्या दीयते !

अन्वाधेयकं परिणयनादनु पश्चाद्वत्तम् । तदुक्तं कात्यायनेन ।

.....

पित्नादिभिः स्त्रीभ्यो धनादाने विशेषमाह कात्यायनः ।

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृजातिभिः स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियै ।

यथा शक्या द्विसाहस्रं दातव्यं स्थावरादृते ॥

.....अयं च नियमः प्रत्यब्द दाने वेदितव्यः ।

अनेकाब्दे तूपजीवनार्थं सकृदेव दाने नायमवधिनियमः । नापि स्थावरपर्युदासः ।

.....अत एव सौदाधिके स्थावरेपि यधेष्टाविनियोगार्हत्व-
मुक्तं तेनैव ।

पतिदानस्थावरेपि विशेषमाह नारदः ।

भर्ता प्रीतेन यद्वत्तं स्त्रियै तस्मिन् मृतेपि तत् ।

सा यथाकाममश्नोयादद्याद्वा स्थावरादृते ॥—इति

पित्नादिभिरुपाध्यादिना दत्तं स्त्रीधनं न भवतीत्याह कात्यायनः ।

तत्र सोपाधि यद्वत्तं यच्च योगवशेन वा ।

पित्रा भ्रात्राथवा पत्या न तत् स्त्रीधनमिष्यते ॥ इति

उत्सवादौ धारणार्थं दत्तमलंकारादिकं सोपाधिदत्तम् ।

योगवशेन वचनादिनेत्यर्थः ॥

शिल्पादिप्राप्तं स्त्रीधनं न भवतीत्याह स एव ।

प्राप्तं शिल्पैस्तु यद्वत्तं प्रीत्या चैव यदन्यतः ।

भर्तुः स्वाम्यं सदा तत्र शेषं तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

अन्यतः स्यादित इति यावत् । तदेतत् स्त्रीधनं दुहितृदौहितृपुत्रपौत्र-
रहितायां बान्धवा भर्तादयो गृह्णन्ति ॥

A mere glance at this passage is enough to show how unfounded the criticism of Banerjea is. Mādhava closely follows the Mitākshara and attempts to elucidate it wherever possible. As the compound पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तम् is self-evident, he proceeds to explain Adhyagni and Ādhivēdanika. This naturally leads him to the word 'Ādya' and he interprets it thus :

आद्यशब्देन अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रयादिप्राप्तम् ।

and this passage ought to have been correctly translated thus : 'The word Ādya includes Adhyāvāhanika property and property obtained by inheritance, purchase etc.' This is the same as what Vignānēśwara has said except that Mādhava thought it unnecessary to repeat the words that Strīdhana is etymological and not technical in its significance. The addition of the term Adhyāvāhanika to the explanation of 'Ādya' is an improvement upon the Mitākshara because, it stands for those traditional kinds of woman's property which do not find a specific mention in the text. The words रिक्थ-
क्रयादिप्राप्तं are a condensation of the Mitākshara explanation रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमप्राप्तम्), which, itself is based on Gautama's text as already pointed out. As this text on the causes of ownership is well known, and also the fact that Mādhava is enlarging upon the Mitākshara ideas, there was no necessity for him to repeat the whole of the Mitākshara explanation. This condensation, however, was unfortunate in the extreme as it led some scholars like Banerjea to misunderstand the law on the point.

Leaving alone the term 'Ādya' for the present, we may rapidly run through the rest of the disquisition and see whether it conflicts with the Mitākshara in any way. Mādhava defines Adhyāvāhanika, and as रिक्थक्रयादिप्राप्तम् is self-evident, he reverts to Yāñavalkya's text and explains one after another,

Bandhudatta, Sulka and Anvādhēyaka. He then notes a few peculiarities about the property given by the father and other relations and incidentally explains Saudāyika. This leads him to Nārada's text limiting the woman's powers over Bhartudāya of the immovable type. As he thus closely follows Vigñānēśwara and endorses the view that all property in the hands of a woman is hers, he takes care to point out that property given to a woman for use on particular occasions, or for a particular object does not become her Strīdhana. This is really no exception because, such property is in the nature of a loan or a deposit rather than a gift. And finally he repeats the text of Kātyāyana about the exclusion of wealth earned by mechanical arts and the gift of affection from a stranger, and after emphasising the fact that the rest is woman's property he proceeds to explain the devolution of Strīdhana. There is therefore nothing in all this to conflict with the Mitākshara.

The interpretation of the word 'Ādya' may be now taken up. I have already remarked that अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रयादिप्राप्तम् should be translated as Adhyāvahanika property and property obtained by inheritance, purchase etc. Sir Gooroodas Banerjea errs in interpreting the passage in question thus : 'By the words "ādya etc." property purchased with what is given during the procession etc., is included.' Apart from the fact that such a translation is based on a complete misapprehension of the law, it is incorrect for a number of other reasons.

In Sanskrit law क्रय is generally used for purchase and विक्रय for sale, and hence अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रयादिप्राप्तम् can only mean Adhyāvahanika property and property obtained by inheritance, purchase etc. Banerjea's explanation, viz., property purchased with Adhyāvahanika etc. is absurd on the face of it. Moreover, a reference to property purchased with Adhyāvahanika Riktha is quite out of place in that context. Yāgñavalkya's text does not refer to Adhyāvahanika; and Mādhava takes it from Manu to illustrate the meaning of 'Ādya'. As he refers to the question of woman's powers of disposal over her property later on while explaining Saudāyika there is no necessity for him to take special pains to indicate

that property obtained by expending Adhyāvāhanika belongs as well to the woman. If women have the power to dispose of certain items of property where is the need to say that they can purchase new items of property with their price? It should not also be forgotten that Banerjea's explanation leaves the nature of inherited property indeterminate, in the absence of a limited estate. Lastly it is beyond all comprehension why Mādhava should have specially picked up the property given during the bridal procession to indicate the woman's power to obtain new properties for old.¹

The fact is that the incorrect interpretation of the passage resulted from a certain prejudice against the correctness of Vignānēśwara's view. Banerjea like others, could not free himself from the notion of a limited estate in the Mitākshara

¹ Though it is unnecessary to say anything further on this topic I should like to draw attention to the following considerations as well.

क्रय is purchase and अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रयादिप्राप्तम् can only mean, if we refuse to take it as a Dvandwa samāsa in the first instance, property obtained by the purchase etc. of Adhyāvāhanika property; and this is absurd on the face of it. We cannot split up the compound अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रय into अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थेन क्रय, as it offends against the rules of grammar. To admit of Banerjea's meaning the passage should have read as अध्यावाहनि-करिक्थक्रीतादिप्राप्तम्, for the instrumental case and the past participle go together.

If it be urged that क्रय comes from the root क्री signifying exchange of property or द्रव्यविनिमय, and that the passage may therefore be translated as property obtained by the exchange etc. of अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थ, there would then be no place for the repetition of the term आदि in Mādhava's explanation; for resort is then had to the extended meaning of क्रय derived from the root itself. There might have been some meaning in such a case if the passage stood as अध्यावाहनिकरिक्थक्रयप्राप्तम्.

It is also improper to couple the term रिक्थ with अध्यावाहनिक and interpret it as Adhyāvāhanika property, for we have the same sense even without compounding them and the word रिक्थ becomes redundant. Moreover in Sanskrit law the word रिक्थ usually means inheritance and not property in general, and Adhyāvāhanika riktha sounds strange.

law also, and in consequence thought that the *Mitākshara* view of *Strīdhana* was too idealistic to be correct. With this thought constantly before his mind he failed to understand the *Mādhaviya* properly, and came to state that it gave a limited signification to the term *Strīdhana*.

As Dr. Jolly is a Sanskrit scholar and as he succeeded Sir Gooroodas Banerjea to the Tagore Professorship, it is not unnatural that we should expect him to correct these mistaken impressions. But he seems to have attached too great an importance to Banerjea's views, and to have followed him blindly in important respects as the italicised portion of the passage already quoted at page 176 shows.

VIII

It is perhaps unnecessary to examine *Dēvanna Bhatta's* views on *Strīdhana* after all that has been said on the subject, but for what Sir Gooroodas Banerjea has remarked about him. The following Sanskrit passage is taken from the *Smritichandrika* :

अथस्त्रीधनविभागविषयाणि ।

तदादौ तावत् स्त्रीधनमाह मनुः ।

अध्यग्न्यध्यावाहनिकं दत्तं च प्रीतिकर्मणि ।

भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

अत्र पूर्वार्थस्यार्थः कात्यायनेन विवृतः ।

.....

भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं यदाकदा वा जीवनार्थमिति शेषः ।

षड्विधग्रहणमुत्तरार्थोक्तमेकमेव स्त्रीधनमिति भ्रमापनुत्त्यर्थं कृतं न पुनरवधारणार्थं । अत एव पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतं आधिवेदनिकाद्यं चेति याज्ञवल्क्येनाद्यग्रहणं कृतम् । विष्णुना तु षड्विधाधिकमुक्तम् । पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतम् । आधिवेदनिकं, बन्धुदत्तं, शुल्कमन्वाधेयकमिति ॥ आधिवेदनिकं अधिवेदननिमित्तम् । बन्धुदत्तमित्यत्र बन्धुशब्दः पूर्वोक्तपित्रादिभ्यतिरिक्तबन्धुषु गोबलिर्वदन्यायाद्वर्तते शुल्कान्वाधेययोः स्वरूपं कात्यायनेनोक्तम् ।

From this point onwards the discussion is similar to that in the Mādhaviya, except that Dēvanna Bhatta refers to the text of Manu on the proprietary incapacity of the wife, the son and the slave, and explains it away either as meaning that a wife cannot ordinarily expend her Strīdhana without her husband's permission, or as denoting her incapacity to acquire property for herself by mechanical arts and gifts from a stranger.

The first point to be noted from the above is that the Smritichandrika neither denies the etymological nature of Strīdhana nor makes any statement to the effect that it is technical. Dēvanna Bhatta starts with Manu's text, but brings in Yāgñavalkya and instances the word 'Adya' as showing that woman's property is of more than six kinds. Unlike Mādhava he does not attempt to give an explanation of that word. He does not at all refer here to property acquired by inheritance, and this lends colour to the view that he might have understood by Strīdhana certain enumerated items only. But a study of the whole of the Dāyabhāga chapter in the Smritichandrika leads to a different conclusion. The structure of the Smritichandrika differs from that of the other digests in law. Unlike the other Nibandhakāras, Dēvanna Bhatta deals with the topic of Strīdhana before he deals with the question of succession to the property of a person who dies sonless. As a consequence he leaves the question of the nature of inherited property to be dealt with in the chapter on inheritance. I have already pointed out that the Smritichandrika does not accept the interpretation ordinarily put upon the text of Kātyāyana which is the basis of the modern limited estate. In discussing the preference between the mother and the father with regard to succession to the estate of a son who dies issueless, he makes the following remarks :

तस्मादत्र पित्रोस्सद्भावे कः क्रम इत्यपेक्षायां वक्तव्यो विशेषः ।
यच्चूक्तं शंभुना—मध्यकधनत्वात् दंपत्योर्येनकेनचित् गृह्यमाणमिति न विशेषो
वक्तव्यः । इति

[तदयुक्तम् । मात्रा गृह्यमाण मात्रार्थमेव,
अध्यग्न्यादिस्त्रीधनवत् नोभयार्थमिति
विशेषो वक्तव्य एव; सोऽभिदीयते ।]

न्यायाभावादत्र क्रमे वचनमेव शरणम् । वचने च प्रधमे पितुरेव
धनग्रहणेऽधिकारः ।

The underlined portion of the above passage is clear evidence that according to the *Smritichandrika* property inherited by a woman from her son is taken by her as her *Strīdhana*; for it emphatically says that 'whatever the mother takes, she takes for herself like the *Strīdhana* called *Adhyagni* and the like, and not for the benefit of both herself and her husband.'

Sir Gooroodas Banerjea took note of this passage in his *Tagore Law Lectures* but failed to realise its significance. In spite of its unequivocal nature he says that it is not clear whether according to the *Smritichandrika* property inherited by a woman becomes her *Strīdhana*; and he proceeds to remark thus: 'But there is a passage in that work relating to the mother's succession in which it is said 'whatever the mother takes she takes for herself like the *Strīdhana* called the *Adhyagni* and the like', and from this passage it has sometimes been inferred that inherited property does *not* rank as *Strīdhana*.¹

In a footnote on the same Dr. Banerjea doubts the authenticity of that portion of the passage which I have enclosed in brackets, as it could not be traced in the Bengal edition of the work but was to be found in the South Indian edition only. In this way he avoids the compelling inference from the passage that inherited property is *Strīdhana*, and sticks to his wrong notions. As a matter of fact the South Indian edition of this work is necessarily more correct and authoritative than the Bengal edition. Moreover, if we eschew the portion objected to by Banerjea (and this is enclosed in brackets in the above quotation), there would be no connection between that which precedes or follows the excised portion, and the reference to what Sambhoo says becomes meaningless. This therefore is sufficient proof of the authenticity thereof.

¹ It is not clear what exactly Banerjea meant by saying that a negative inference is sometimes drawn from it. But Dr. Jolly who says that the *Smritichandrika* does not accept the etymological nature of *Strīdhana*, takes the passage as indicating that the mother's right over inherited property stood higher than that of other females, and as showing that inherited property is not *Strīdhana*. It is needless to add that there are no grounds for such a nice distinction.

As regards the mother's share on partition Dēvanna Bhatta takes the view that she is not entitled to a share of the inheritance, but only takes as much as is necessary for her maintenance. He takes a similar view with regard to the unmarried daughter whom he permits to take only a marriage portion sufficient to defray the expenses thereof. But in dealing with the incidents of Strīdhana, he quotes the text of Dēvala which includes Vritti in women's property.

This, therefore, makes it clear why Dēvanna Bhatta had not explained the term Ādya but was content with its mere mention remarking at the same time that it denotes other items of woman's property. According to him property obtained by a woman by inheritance is her Strīdhana, and so is that which she obtains on partition, the only difference being that what she gets in the latter case is not a share but a portion the extent of which is determined by the facts of each case for itself. As regards the nature of purchased property the position is just the same as in the Mādhavīya because a woman has the undoubted right to dispose of her Saudāyika property. Dēvanna Bhatta thus agrees with Vigñānēśwara as regards the nature of woman's property.

It is not therefore correct to say that according to the Southern commentators, especially the Mādhavīya and the Smritichandrika, Strīdhana has only a technical and not an etymological significance. Both Mādhava and Dēvanna Bhatta closely followed Vigñānēśwara on this question of the nature of Strīdhana, though they might have made some minor reservations here and there, the latter especially with regard to succession to woman's property.

CONCLUSION

THE view of Vigñānēśwara that Strīdhana is etymological and not technical, and that all property acquired by a woman belongs to her in the widest sense of the term is a correct proposition so far as the Sanskrit law of the Mitākshara school is concerned; and the fact that subsequent commentators of that school closely followed it enhances its value still further. A practical realisation of the various implications of that proposition of law and their application to the problems that arise in our courts from day to day, would go a longer

way in improving the status of women than any piece-meal legislation, and simplify the Hindu Law as a whole better than any attempt at codification.

I am highly indebted to Mr. K. V. Venkata Subrahmanya Iyer, Professor of Hindu Law in the Madras Law College, for suggesting this subject and for his kind guidance throughout.

PROBLEM OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES IN INDIA *

BY

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THE economic, cultural and political problems that crop up when peoples of different levels of development come into close contact are nowadays attracting the attention of the practical Anthropologist. The primitive tribes of India are undergoing changes, stresses, and strains as tribes in other parts of the world, but these processes of change, etc., are of a different order and are therefore, in many respects, peculiar to India. The Anthropologist is most often familiar with the contacts of cultures of very different and diametrically opposed natures, but here the dividing line between the lower classes of the dominant community and the aborigines is a very thin one. In India the British Administration is a third factor, a mediator, between the two others, the dominant community and the submerged tribes, an influence which for historical reasons led to complications in the relationship between the native ethnic groups.

The aboriginal Indian tribes are the relics of prehistoric ethno-dynamic movements, the autochthones who have been slowly and unconsciously pressed into the malaria-ridden jungles and tablelands as the more hospitable and fertile areas were covered over by the dominant races. One can see the process going on even today of the men of the plains encroaching upon the kingdom of the jungle men converting it into fields and plantations. The epics of the Hindus speak of the *Kiratas* and the *Nishadas* (Hunters) with some of whom the Aryans came into violent contact. The impression one gains on going through those legends is that these children of the jungle were then certainly a power in their territories and had to be reckoned with by the rulers of the plains. Except the Nagas and to a slight extent the Bhils very few of the tribes retained this position till the coming of Europeans into India.

* A paper read at the meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, on March 18th, 1935.

Hindu political influences and Hindu religion did certainly extend to the tribes but we have no historical data to gauge the degree of these contacts.

The extremely slow process of culture contact and change was speeded up since the establishment of the British Power in India about 150 years ago. In the earlier days of possession the newly established administration proceeded with such reckless disregard and ignorance of the established usages of the country in matters like land-tenure, laws of succession etc., that the aboriginal and non-aboriginal natives were all affected some way or other. The evil consequences of English jurists introducing foreign concepts of law in Indian Courts became apparent later on and tenancy legislations nowadays are many of them directed to the end of straightening the tangle created in the earlier days. The opening of inaccessible regions of India, the natural retreat of the aboriginals, by railways and roads brought the men of the plains in larger numbers into close and daily contact with the aboriginal tribes. Even in the heart of the jungles, the departments of forests subordinated the tribes and made them aliens in their last shelter, with no sort of rights whatsoever. Tea, rubber, and coffee estates employing armies of men from the plains completed the conquest that began long ago. *Active interference* with the customs of the people began about a hundred years ago by the Government and later on by missionaries. The merry Khond was, at the point of the bayonet, asked to stop his ritual sacrifice of human victims—the meriahs. Similar punitive expeditions were led against the Naga to put a stop to his pleasant pastime of headhunting and against the Andamanese tribes to make them more friendly! As in every other place the missionary with the bible and the anthropologist with his anthropometre and calipers followed in the wake of the Tommies.

It was only at the Census of 1931 that an earnest attempt was made to obtain exact figures regarding the number of the primitives, a task by no means easy, and rendered difficult by the propaganda of high-caste Hindus to induce the tribesmen to return themselves as Hindus. The primitive tribes in India number 25,000,000 in round figures; that means that one in every fourteen inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent is an aboriginal.

The Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms had to consider a good deal about the

future of the tribes. But their deliberations were very much handicapped by the absence of reliable sociological data except for a few tribes. The impressions of administrators and men on the spot, though valuable as pieces of evidence, cannot be considered equivalent to scientific data. But such were the only evidence on which the Commission had to base their recommendations. An administrator in one province is very often unfamiliar with conditions elsewhere—and his generalisations are very often inapplicable to the population of another province. The only comparable data are the scientific ones ; and an all-India aboriginal policy has to be based on scientific sociological considerations. In giving protection to tribes, an understanding of their conditions in comparison with other tribes and the neighbouring Hindus is absolutely necessary. One now finds aboriginals in one province who really require protection thrown into the wheels of new reforms, another tribe, strong and able to stand by themselves hedged in by safeguards and protective measures. The food-gatherer in some places is a voter ; his educated neighbour in another province is politically a savage. The average Indian publicist knows nothing or next to nothing about the aborigines ; so also every other group that ought to know better.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee recognised the need of giving special treatment to the backward or tribal areas in the Constitution and recommended that they ought to be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed legislatures and placed in the charge of the provincial governors as a special responsibility. Most of the provincial governments, however, were anxious to have as few special areas as possible in their territories because administratively they were a nuisance. The J. P. C. was actuated, it would seem, by a desire to protect the tribes from the neglect and the exploitation that would necessarily follow if they were under a democratic machinery run by the dominant people. The provincial governments' views were reminiscent of the post-war craze for thrusting reform wherever possible. The Reforms of 1919 were not extended to the tribal areas because "the material for building political institutions on did not exist there" though the ideal was tacitly accepted that only the ballot-box would bring joy and happiness to the tribes.

The Secretary of State for India, in the course of his examination, made it extremely clear that slow parliamentary government would be detrimental to the tribes, whose problems required

prompt action by executive orders, unhampered by political and party influences ; that the Governor's special responsibility would be chiefly with regard to the question of tribal land ; that wherever possible existing tribal institution, headmen, etc., would be made use of for the government of the tribe, in the place of the usual administrative machinery.

The necessity for providing against the application of standardised laws and a complex penal code for tribal areas was also clearly realised.

The political issues raised, which need not deter us long concerned only with the question of power and as to who should control and direct the destinies of the tribes, the question of wage-control on estates and plantations where aborigines were employed and the political education of the tribes.

The Anthropologist came in for his share of angry criticism. It would be useful for us to bear their criticism in mind and for that purpose alone I refer to them. The Anthropologist was accused of being anxious to have these tribes preserved as specimens for the museums ; that was why he would not have their institutions interfered with. On behalf of the Anthropologist it was said that though he was a person to be dealt with carefully, because he was so one sided, yet he saw his own side, the tribal side, so clearly that he was less dangerous to the tribes than the politicians. Convincing the Committee of the correctness of the anthropological point of view in this matter was a triumph for Dr. Hutton who presented it so ably before the J.P.C.

The Constitutional prospects, so far as they go, are directed to the end of saving the tribes from standardisation for legal and political purposes and if the same wisdom that is at the back of the proposals prevails with the administrations that would work it, one can be hopeful of the future of the larger tribes of the scheduled tracts.

The smaller tribes who cannot be thus "excluded" from the provincial administration because of their smallness have been generally neglected. There is difficulty in dealing with them in all-India schemes like the ones with which the Royal Commission and J.P.C. were concerned. The Anthropologist, if he is not such a puritan as not to have human feelings will have to rouse public opinion on the sufferings of these tribes many of whom are heading towards extinction. They are now left uncared for, administered

for the benefit of the forest departments through their agents. A step-fatherly interest is taken in them in some provinces, e.g., by the Labour Commissioner in Madras, the Officer for the Backward and Depressed classes in Bombay, Cochin and Travancore. It is not generally recognised that these tribes have a claim on provincial funds, though they do not pay much by way of taxes, but critics have to be bluntly told that the tribesmen have been, without their consent, deprived of their rights in the areas where they are now on sufferance, because they were weak and did not resist. These scattered tribes are the weakest and the most non-vocal and helpless minority that cannot clamour for attention, which was a thing that even the Australian aboriginal did recently.

The proposed policy of excluding certain major tribal areas from the operation of the reforms has not met with satisfaction even in all non-political circles. Mr. S. C. Roy, Editor of *Man in India*, and a well-known authority on the Chotanagpur tribes, questions the wisdom of the excluding of Chotanagpur area. He is one who knows this area inside out and his opinion carries with it the authority of vast anthropological wisdom. His disagreement with the proposals brings out the necessity for thorough sociological enquiry into the condition of each area; and it also shows that generalisations that are true of one tribal area may not be applicable in another, because of the differences in culture and the degree of disintegration that has already taken place in the course of years of administrative interference and unchecked exploitation. Roy's arguments could in some other instances be reversed against the non-exclusion of some other areas. We shall follow Roy's arguments with profit :—

“Chotanagpur and Sambalpur were included among the scheduled districts under the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874. Though thus protected all the general acts of the provincial and Imperial Governments have been extended to Chotanagpur. So in practice it has been treated as an ordinary ‘Regulation District’ under the ordinary laws and high courts, etc. The Government of India Act of 1919, provided again that as a backward area the Governor-General may exclude it from any particular act or portion of an act. In the course of 15 years only one section of a provincial act, viz., the Local Self-Government Act of 1923 relating to the election of chairman of district boards was withheld from this area. Later on even this was withdrawn for some areas in the division.

“There was indeed a time three quarters of a century ago when, if timely protection had been given, the aborigines of Chotanagpur would have been spared much harassment and spoliation of property and loss of rights. But the then authorities followed a laissez-faire policy and took no effective steps for their protection so long as there was anything to protect. And by being thrown into the melting pot of a common law and standardised system of administration and thus allowed to sink or swim as they best could—though they have lost and suffered much—they have somehow managed to keep the head above water and have since been able to adapt themselves to the new conditions.....

“Now they have overgrown the stage of spoon-feeding and sheltered’ political existence—they have been administering district boards, their men are found in all professions; the vagueness and uncertainty of the recommendations of the J.P.C. report with regard to the aboriginal areas is causing great anxiety and misgivings in the minds of the people of Chotanagpur.”

These arguments may leave on one the impression that other tribes too are capable of standing on their legs, after having successfully withstood strains of contact and exploitation and administrative and judicial mishandling of their affairs. With many tribes the downward march has not reached a stage when belated efforts at helping them will be completely futile. By special treatment much of the past wrongs can be rectified promptly and future developments controlled scientifically.

I should therefore like briefly to point out the problems that face the aboriginal tribes generally and indicate how only by a policy of prompt and favoured action they can be solved.

1. LAND QUESTION

As one comes to closer grips with these questions, one sees that they are primarily economic and secondarily only cultural clashes. Wherever the Hindu or Mohammedan has penetrated into the jungles, he has enslaved the tribesman by lending him money at usurious rates and then grabbing his land the alienation of which still goes on in spite of laws against it in most provinces. In Assam, Dr. Hutton and Mr. Mills point out that the land-hungry peasants of East Bengal are coming in large numbers and settling down in clearings and multiplying at a prolific rate. The tribesmen are also growing in numbers, though less rapidly, but good land will certainly

not extend itself in a similar way, and in a land-grabbing race the Naga will be easily out-stripped but for the very forward policy of the Assam Government in stopping alienation of land marked out as tribal.

Alienation of tribal lands is fairly complete in Central Provinces. Another thing that happened here and in Chittagong and Chotanagpur was that tribal land passed into the absolute ownership of a few individuals, making the tribal democracy into autocracies, and the tribesmen into landless slaves. In Central India one finds the curious phenomenon of land lords of the Gond tribes, but without cultivating Gonds, who retreated into the jungle-lands.

The land-problem with many tribes is acute. Recently the tribes of the Shevroy Hills in S. India rose in armed riot, against exacting landlords. The Savara of the Madras Agency is clamouring for more forest lands, because his way of cultivating is rather wasteful and extensive. The Government is here the self-assumed landlord and wants the tribesmen to learn new trades to supplement his agricultural income, which will be affected as its afforestation policy proceeds. Here is the necessity for a compromise and adjustment and patience with the tribes. The tribesmen in the Travancore jungles are allowed to grow millet on revenue-free land, but here again, they are given no proprietary right. Many tribes have to pay a fee for grazing their cattle in areas marked as Government forests.

Lands Alienation Acts were introduced in most provinces but nowhere in time. Future possibilities of control of exploitation and a reasonable land policy will have to be considered in all the tribal areas.

2. TRIBAL INSTITUTIONS

One subject of which we are almost completely ignorant is tribal law and political administration. The village communities of India that stood solidly against the ravages of time and invasions because of the soundness of their internal organisation went rapidly to ruins during the last 100 years. Provincial governments are making feeble attempts at reviving some new modifications of them under the name of Village Panchayat. A solid village community will remain the heart of India. That is why we find the political

centre of gravity shifting now to the villages. It is therefore not difficult to convince ourselves of the utmost urgency of all efforts being made to conserve existing tribal institutions, legal and political, and making them the foundation of future administration. Alienation of tribal lands leads to the break up of village communities : the land and the village go together.

Hindu laws differ very much from tribal laws and the laws of the depressed classes. Some provincial governments have exempted the tribes from sections of various acts, *e.g.*, the Gonds from the Indian Succession Act. Again in Central India the tribesmen used to be convicted for eloping which is tribal norm for marriage, but not of the Hindu jurists. The Hindu law prohibiting succession of daughters would have similarly caused confusion and impotent anger in hundreds of cases. Our ignorance of tribal law may be hampering these poor fellows in several other ways that we have not taken the trouble to understand.

The bachelors' and maids' halls in Assam, Chotanagpur, Madras Agencies, and Travancore are again very useful institutions that deserve to be conserved.

3. MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

The larger tribes are taking to agriculture, but as was pointed out above, burning down forests and sowing grains broadcast with no more preparation of the soil than hoeing cannot go on longer.

Cereal food is supplemented by meat obtained by hunting small-game, but the game laws restrict this kind of activity to particular seasons. In thickly populated parts, small-game hunting cannot give the tribesmen any steady source of food supply. One of the deleterious effects of civilisation that is noticeable among some tribes is the growing partiality for rice in the place of the more nutritious yams and roots.

Many hundreds of the tribesmen are employed by the forest department who also represent the government in these areas. The question of wages which they get from contractors of the department has to be gone into. The collection of minor produce including honey and other valuable food is again a Government monopoly farmed out to contractors.

Many of the tribes have to be taught methods of supplementing their income in new ways. For example, the poverty of the Todas

is becoming everyday more squalid ; the Co-operative department of the Madras Government induced some Todas, through their co-operative societies, to take to potato cultivation which is already being carried on, on a competitive scale by agricultural communities in the Nilgiris. The Toda is an aristocrat not accustomed to the plough and the soil. So he employed Badagas to do the work and did everything quite uneconomically. The attempt to make a cultivator of the pastoral Toda failed. The one kind of activity for which he has great aptitude, dairy-farming, has not been given a trial on a large scale.

4. ALCOHOLISM

The excise regulations of the provincial governments have hit many tribes hard and tended to make them ruin themselves physically and economically by forcing them to leave off their own rice-brewing (in Assam), or *mohua* brewing (in Madras Agencies) and take to costly and harmful liquors and drugs like opium. The excise revenue that is thus obtained from the tribes cannot be large. The Savaras and Khonds used to drink only when the *mohua* trees were in flower, but this harmless seasonal activity has been replaced by alcoholism. The Superintendent of Census Operations for Madras remarks how the Todas who were teetotallers have now become "initiated into the esoteric delights of alcohol."

In the extreme south, the Kadars were a "dry" people. But the Government of Cochin, otherwise very considerate to the tribe, has allowed a contractor to sell strong distilled liquor to the Kadars. For the sake of a very inconsiderable revenue, the State authorities are not heeding, I am told, to the protests made against the sale of liquor to the tribesmen. How opium reaches these people is another mystery, but opium dozing is a spreading evil, though less fashionable than smoking.

Modification of excise rules relating to drinks in some areas and temperance propaganda in others are alike necessary in the future.

5. DISEASES AND DEPOPULATION

Diseases communicated on the very first contact with civilisation threaten to exterminate the Andamanese. Not only in the case of the tribes of the Andamans, but also of India, medical aid is seldom within the reach of the tribes. Small-pox, for example,

is fatal to many of the tribes ; the patient is merely left to his fate, the relatives running away for their lives. Small-pox inoculation has not been given a decent trial in some of the areas I know.

Though the larger tribes are increasing in numbers, the smaller ones, almost without an exception are deteriorating and heading towards extinction. The Andamanese have gone down 63% during the last thirty years. The Onge, a small Andamanese tribe, are also diminishing in numbers, but Dr. Hutton thinks it is possible to revivify them. The Kadars of the Madras Presidency have decreased in numbers by 32% during the last 10 years. The sex ratio among the Todas is 750 females only for 1,000 males. The average number of children in an aboriginal family in Travancore is 1.5 to 2 only. All these figures tell a sad tale.

6. PROSELYTIZATION

Christian missions are working amidst most of the tribes nowadays. But every administrator reports that the tribes are not taking kindly to Christianity. The success of Christianity in the south among the "depressed" classes is accounted for by the oppression by the caste Hindus. The aboriginal has at present no such trouble from which Christianity offers a way of escaping. In Assam the destructive activities of the Baptist Mission among the Nagas have been very severely commented upon by Dr. Hutton and Mr. Mills. Christianity demoralises the Naga, divides the tribe, and destroys tribal solidarity and the joy of communal life substituting for them the bleak protestant God. The Andaman Home policy of winning the savage to loyalty through evangelisation and education was, according to Von Eickstedt, the door of death for the Andamanese. There were certainly other ways of gaining friendship as are now tried with the Onges.

Christianity has made headway wherever the tribes have become more Hinduised. But they are, most of them, border-land Christians, as in the case of the Todas. A Toda Christian is a Pagan except in the immediate presence of the missionaries. If the object of the missionaries is service, they need not insist on the formal but inconvenient changes that should precede this charity. In influential quarters in India it is realised that with regard to the mission work in tribal areas, some kind of control is necessary for the purpose of conserving tribal life.

With regard to Hinduism things are on a different plane. Of course rapid Hinduisation will certainly be destructive ; the

tribes however have a natural gravitation towards a vague kind of Hinduism. Hinduisation encourages cleanliness and sober habits, without introducing other clashes, as there is no necessity for formal conversion. Hinduisation is only a sort of promotion.

But the evil of the whole problem of Hinduisation consists in the pigeon-holing of the tribes in one of the "depressed" or lowest groups. Hinduised Gonds, Gandas, Pankas, and Chenchus add to the lowest Hindu ranks. They cannot claim a higher rank. In spite of the opinion held by the Kadars that they are not untouchables, the Government of Cochin have already lumped them into the "depressed" category. Child marriage, prohibition of re-marriage, of widows and other evils against which the Higher Hindus are now fighting are blindly copied by the lower classes and with more of contact the tribes also would do that. Hinduised tribes are already inclined to think high of child marriage and practice it. On these points alone I think exclusion of the tribes from the medley of Hindus and control of culture change amidst them would be justifiable.

"The real solution of the problem would appear to be to create self-governing tribal areas with free power of self-determination in regard to surrounding adjacent provincial units."* It is possible for this purpose to remove certain provincial boundaries or district boundaries in order to form larger tribal units where tribes are now divided into separate and differently administrated categories on quite arbitrary and accidental bases.

* Hutton : Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 507.

THE RELATION OF THE AGE TO THE LENGTH OF A FISH AND THE LENGTH OF ITS OTOLITH

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AN estimation of the age of a fish is a very difficult matter, and so far very little work has been done in India on this problem. Different organs of fish showing the zones of growth are generally used to estimate the age; and of all organs the number of zones or rings on the otoliths are generally considered to supply the most reliable data for determining the age. "The otoliths are the ear ossicles found inside the ear cavity more or less below the cranium." Seen in its natural position the otolith is a small flat disc-like body, and in fresh condition it is translucent. When it is mounted on a slide in glycerine, and examined under the microscope a central nucleus and a number of concentric zones are visible on it. Each otolith contains as many complete zones as there are completed years of the fish and the outermost zone is in various stages of incompleteness depending upon the number of months that elapsed since the last birthday. Hence the age in years of a fish lies between complete and the total number of zones.

From an examination of the several kinds of fish on the Madras coast "*Psettodes erumei*" was found to be suitable as material for work on age determination. The work was carried out by Mr. S. Ranga Rao, M.A., between October 1933 and September 1934, in the University Zoological Research Laboratory, under the direction of Prof. R. Gopala Ayyar, the Director of the Laboratory. On account of the scarcity of the material only 102 specimens could be collected, the greater part of which was collected in August and September, 1934, a period most favourable for the collection of this fish.

The specimens were measured for the length correct to 1 m.m. and the otoliths were measured correct to .5 m.m. Each otolith was mounted on a slide in glycerine as stated above and examined under the microscope and the number of zones (complete and incomplete) were noted. Out of these measurements 3 correlation tables were formed showing the correlations between (1) length

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of the otolith and length of the fish and (2) length of the fish and age of a fish, and (3) length of the otolith and age of fish.

The following tables give the frequency distribution of the different characters of the fish.

I. Frequency Distribution of the length of the fish.

Length in cms.	6.5	8.5	10.5	12.5	14.5	16.5	18.5	20.5
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	8.5	10.5	12.5	14.5	16.5	18.5	20.5	22.5
Frequency	1	1	1	4	12	17	21	28
Length in cms.	22.5	24.5	26.5	Total.				
	—	—	—					
	24.5	26.5	28.5					
Frequency.	11	2	4	102				

Mean length of the fish	19.578 cms.	±	0.241
S.D. " "	3.608 cms.	±	0.170
Coefficient of variation	18.429		

II. Frequency Distribution of the length of the Otolith.

Length in mms.	2.5	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.5	5.0	5.5	6.0	6.5
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.5	5.0	5.5	6.0	6.5	7.0
Frequency.	1	2	1	-	1	3	4	10	17
Length in mms.	7.0	7.5	8.0	8.5	9.0	Total.			
	—	—	—	—	—				
	7.5	8.0	8.5	9.0	9.5				
Frequency.	25	21	8	6	3	102			

Mean length of the otolith	7.098 mms.	±	0.079
S.D. " "	1.182 mms.	±	0.056
Coefficient of variation	16.66		

III. Frequency Distribution of the age of the fish.

Age in years.	less than 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total.
		—	—	—	—	—	—	
		2	3	4	5	6	7	
Frequency.		7	19	36	33	3	4	102

Mean age of fish	3.676	±	0.074
S.D. " "	1.110	±	0.052
C.V. " "	30.2		

The total number of specimens is so small as about a 100, that it serves no useful purpose to fit curves to the above distributions. Hence attention can usefully be turned to correlation between these several characters.

Correlation between length of fish and length of the otolith obtained from the following equation :

In the calculation of the coefficients of correlation Prof. Karl Pearson's method of moments was employed. The coefficient of correlation between the length of the fish and the length of the otolith is found to be 0.886 ± 0.014 . In order to estimate the length of the fish from the length of the otolith the regression line is

$$y - \bar{y} = r \frac{\sigma_y}{\sigma_x} (x - \bar{x}).$$

r coefficient of correlation.

y length of the fish (cms.).

\bar{y} mean length „

σ_y S.D. „ „

x length of the Otolith (mms.).

\bar{x} mean length „

σ_x S.D. „ „

Substituting the respective values, the following equation is obtained :

$$Y = (3.2 X - 2.44) \pm 0.169.$$

Now for each of the 102 samples, the expected length of the fish is calculated from the length of the otolith and a F.D. of these values has been found. The following table gives the F.D. of the expected and observed length of the fish and the goodness of fit of the regression line.

IV. *Expected and observed frequencies of the length of the fish.*

Length of fish.	Frequency.		$(O - E)^2$
	Expected (E)	Observed (O)	E
4.5—6.5	1	—	0.8
6.5—8.5	3	1	
8.5—10.5	1	1	
10.5—12.5	—	1	
12.5—14.5	3	4	0.3
14.5—16.5	14	12	0.3
16.5—18.5	18	17	0.1
18.5—20.5	24	21	0.4
20.5—22.5	21	28	2.3
22.5—24.5	14	11	0.6
24.5—26.5	1	2	
26.5—28.5	2	4	
	102	102	7.8

$$N^1 = 7. \quad \chi^v = 7.8. \quad P = 0.2546.$$

The fit is tolerably good, and is very bad only about the ends. So this gives a good fit for the middle value of the variable wherein we have got the largest frequency.

Age of the Fish and the length of the Fish.

Coefficient of correlation between the age of fish and the length of the fish is 0.783 ± 0.0025 .

Regression equation connecting age of fish and length of fish is $Y = (0.244 X - 1.22) \pm 0.275$ where Y is the age of the fish and X the length of fish.

As shown above a frequency distribution of the expected age of the fish is found and the following table gives the goodness of fit of the above equation.

V. Expected and observed frequencies of the age of fish.

Age.	Frequency.		(O - E) ²
	Expected. (E)	Observed. (O)	E
less than 1	1 } 3	- } 7	5.3
1 — 2	2 } 3	7 } 7	
2 — 3	20	19	0.1
3 — 4	38	36	0.1
4 — 5	35	33	0.4
5 — 6	6 } 6	3 } 7	
6 — 7	- } 6	4 } 7	0.2
	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 6.1

$$N^1 = 4. \quad \chi^2 = 6.1. \quad P = 0.1076.$$

The fit is very good except at the tails.

Age of fish and length of otolith.

Coefficient of correlation between age of fish and length of otolith is 0.725 ± 0.003 .

The regression equation connecting these 2 factors is

$$Y = (0.68 X - 1.1) \pm 0.351$$

where Y is the age of fish and X length of otolith.

VI. Expected and observed frequencies of the age of fish.

Age.	Frequency.	
	Observed. (O)	Expected. (E)
less than 1	3 } 5	- } 7
1 — 2	2 } 5	7 } 7
2 — 3	7	19
3 — 4	54	36
4 — 5	35	33
5 — 6	1 } 1	3 } 7
6 — 7	- } 1	4 } 7
	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 102

The fit is very bad. It is due to the fact that the length of the otolith is measured correct to 0.5 m.m. only, and hence a slight difference in the length made the frequencies fall in the neighbouring classes. Hence to fit a regression equation between these 2 characters, the length of the otolith should be measured to the nearest .1 of m.m.

Though a fairly good estimate of the age of fish can be made from the length of fish, naturally a better and more accurate estimate can be made by a combination of the two factors, length of fish and length of otolith. Theory of multiple correlation enables one to find this regression equation.

If X_0 stands for the age of fish, X_1 for the length of fish and X_2 for the length of otolith, the required regression equation is given by

$$\frac{X_0 - \bar{X}_0}{\sigma_0} = -\frac{R_{01}}{R_{00}} \frac{X_1 - \bar{X}_1}{\sigma_1} - \frac{R_{02}}{R_{00}} \frac{X_2 - \bar{X}_2}{\sigma_2}$$

where \bar{X}_0 = mean age ; σ_0 S.D. of age

\bar{X}_1 = mean length of fish ; σ_1 S.D. of length

\bar{X}_2 = mean length of otolith ; σ_2 S.D. of length of otolith
and R_{00} , R_{01} , R_{02} are the minors of the symmetrical determinant.

$$R \equiv \begin{vmatrix} 1 & r_{01} & r_{02} \\ r_{10} & 1 & r_{12} \\ r_{20} & r_{21} & 1 \end{vmatrix}$$

where r_{01} is the coefficient of correlation between age and length of fish,

r_{02} coefficient of correlation between age and length of otolith,

r_{12} coefficient of correlation between length of fish and length of otolith.

Substituting the required values the regression equation is

$$X_0 = (0.216 X_1 + 0.096 X_2 - 1.363)$$

or approximately

$$X_0 = (0.22 X_1 + 0.10 X_2 - 1.4).$$

Age.	Frequency.		$(O - E)^2$
	Expected. (E)	Observed. (O)	E
less than 1	1 } 3	- } 7	5.3
1 — 2	2 } 3	7 } 7	
2 — 3	20	19	0.1
3 — 4	38	36	0.1
4 — 5	35	33	0.1
5 — 6	6 } 6	3 } 7	0.2
6 — 7	- } 6	4 } 7	
	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 5.8

$$N^1 = 4. \quad \chi^v = 5.8. \quad P = 0.1236.$$

The fit is very good except at the tails. Hence for the ordinary fish which form the largest percentage the above formula gives a very good fit.

Conclusion.

From a sample of 102 fish for each of which the length in cms., the length of the otolith in mms., and the age in years were recorded, three separate distributions of these characters were made and the following results were obtained :

1. Mean length of the fish	..	19.578	cms.
S.D. " "	..	3.608	cms.
2. Mean length of the otolith	..	7.098	mms.
S.D. " "	..	1.182	mms.
3. Mean age of fish	..	3.676	yrs.
S.D. " "	..	1.110	yrs.

Next these characteristics were taken two by two and their correlations calculated.

Coefficient of correlation between length of fish and length of otolith = 0.886.

Coefficient of correlation between length of fish and age of fish = 0.793.

Coefficient of correlation between length of otolith and age of fish = 0.725.

There is a very high positive correlation between the three factors.

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A fairly good estimate of the age of the fish can be made from a knowledge of its length if the length is measured correct to the nearest m.m. The regression formula is given by $Y=0.244X-1.22$.

The regression equation between the age of fish and length of otolith gave a very bad fit because a higher degree of accuracy in the measurement of the length of otolith is required to obtain good results.

The regression of the age on the length of the fish and the length of the otolith gave the best results as is to be expected. The equation is $X_0 = 0.22 X_1 + 0.10 X_2 - 1.4$.

In conclusion, I have great pleasure in expressing my thanks to Mr. S. Ranga Rao, M.A., and Prof. R. Gopala Ayyar, Director of the Zoology Laboratory, University of Madras, for furnishing me with the data for the present analysis.

Correlation between the length of the Otolith and the length of the fish.

	Length of fish in cms.												Total.
	6.5 — 8.5	8.5 — 10.5	10.5 — 12.5	12.5 — 14.5	14.5 — 16.5	16.5 — 18.5	18.5 — 20.5	20.5 — 22.5	22.5 — 24.5	24.5 — 26.5	26.5 — 28.5		
2.5—3.0	1												1
3.0—3.5		1											2
3.5—4.0			1										1
4.0—4.5													
4.5—5.0				1									1
5.0—5.5			3										3
5.5—6.0				3		1							4
6.0—6.5				8			1		1				10
6.5—7.0						13	4						17
7.0—7.5						3	13	9					25
7.5—8.0							3	14	3	1			21
8.0—8.5								5	3				8
8.5—9.0									4		2		6
9.0—9.5										1	2		3
Total.	1	1	1	4	12	17	21	28	11	2	4		102

Length of Otolith in mms.

Correlation between the length and the age of fish.

		Length in cms.											Total.	
		6.5	8.5	10.5	12.5	14.5	16.5	18.5	20.5	22.5	24.5	26.5		28.5
1 — 2	1	1	1	1	3	1								7
2 — 3				1	11	7								19
3 — 4						10	20	4	1	1				36
4 — 5							1	24	8					33
5 — 6									2	1				3
6 — 7												4		4
Total.	1	1	1	4	12	17	21	28	11	2	4	4		102

Correlation between the length of the Otolith and the age of the fish.

Length of Otolith in mms.

	2.5 — 3.0	3.0 — 3.5	3.5 — 4.0	4.0 — 4.5	4.5 — 5.0	5.0 — 5.5	5.5 — 6.0	6.0 — 6.5	6.5 — 7.0	7.0 — 7.5	7.5 — 8.0	8.0 — 8.5	8.5 — 9.0	9.0 — 9.5	Total.
1 — 2	1	2	1	—	—	2	1								7
2 — 3					1	1	2	8	6	1					19
3 — 4							1	2	10	17	4	1	1		36
4 — 5									1	7	15	7	2	1	33
5 — 6											2	—	1	—	3
6 — 7													2	2	4
Total.	1	2	1	—	1	3	4	10	17	25	21	8	6	3	102

Age in years.

THE HISTORY OF THE TAMIL-MALAYĀLAM ALVEOLAR PLOSIVE

BY

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THE literary dialect of the Tamil speech and both the literary and the colloquial varieties of Malayālam possess to-day alveolar plosive sounds which regularly correspond in a number of categories to other sounds of several Dravidian languages. The study of these sounds¹ from a comparative standpoint is of the utmost importance in illuminating the morphology and the inter-relationships of certain word-formations and grammatical types occurring in different Dravidian languages.

1. In the transliteration of sounds, I have used the following symbols for certain unique Dravidic values :

t'—breathed alveolar plosive.

d'—voiced alveolar plosive.

r—pre-alveolar (or post-dental) liquid (unrolled).

r'—alveolar liquid (slightly rolled) occurring finally in literary Tamil \dot{r} and \dot{r}' in South Indian evaluation. I have retained the symbol *r'* in transliterating \dot{r} (*t't'r'*) and \dot{r}' (*nd'r'*).

ṛ—post-alveolar or cerebral liquid (rolled in a greater or lesser degree). This is the value given to the sound to-day. There are, however, reasons to think (see *infra*) that what is evaluated now as a cerebral *ṛ* was evolved from an alveolar plosive at least in some instances.

n—alveolar nasal (Tam. \dot{n})

n'—the dental nasal corresponding to the dental plosives *t*, *d*. This dental nasal is important in Malayālam, since all initial *n*-sounds continue in Mal. to have this dental nasal value and further since the Mal. group *n'n'* is a common one derived as it is from three sources : (i) older *n'd* (as in *van'n'*—corresponding to Tam. *van'd*), (ii) older *nd'* (as in *en'n'*—corresponding to Tam. *end'r'-*), and (iii) Skt. *n'd* in adaptations (as in *gōvin'n'an* corresponding to Skt. *gōvin'da*).

Mal. cerebral *ṛ*, as pronounced to-day, is perhaps slightly more trilled than Tam. cerebral *ṛ*. Kuṛukh *ṛ* is now evaluated like the peculiar New Indo-Āryan *ṛ* ; but as the *ṛ* in the instances cited by me in this essay is derived from parent Dravidian *ṛ*, I have retained the symbol for the Kuṛukh sound.

For the sake of convenience, I use in this essay only the symbol *u* for Tamil *m* and Mal. *e*.

	TAMIL.					MALAYALAM		
	South Indian evaluation of the literary sounds.	South Indian colloquial	Jaffna evaluation of the literary sounds	Jaffna colloquial	Certain "rude" dialects of Tamil	Evaluation of the sounds when old texts are read	Modern literary sounds	Colloquial values
த் த்	t't'r'	tt	t't'	t't' or tt		t't'	t't'	t't'
ன் ன்	nd'r'	[dental] nn or ன்	nd'	nd'	ந், ன் [in Korava, Burgan̄ḍi and Kaikadi]	nd'	[>n'n']	[>n'n']

1. I understand that the traditional evaluation of these groups in Jaffna never permitted the incorporation of *r'* as in South Indian literary Tamil but that of late the South Indian Values are being imitated when texts are read. In the Jaffna colloquial த் த் is brought out either as *t't'* or *tt* while ன் ன் is always *nd'*.

2. LSI, IV, p. 321—Korava Tamil *tiṇḍru* (having eaten); p. 326—*paṇḍri* (pig), *niṇḍru* (remained); LSI, IV, p. 345—Burgan̄ḍi (Tamil) *peṇḍring* (swine); LSI, IV, pages 341, 342,—*peṇḍri* (pig), *niṇḍisu* (remained).

(1) The literary dialect of Tamil possesses a geminated voiceless alveolar plosive in the group $\dot{n}\dot{n}$ which is represented by the juxtaposition of two symbols for what is pronounced to-day as cerebral η , and which is evaluated in regional South Indian² pronunciation as $t't'r'$ and in Jaffna pronunciation as $t't'$. The voiced variety of the alveolar plosive occurs in literary Tamil in the group $\dot{n}\dot{n}$ represented by the juxtaposition of the symbols for alveolar n and cerebral η and evaluated in South India (when texts are read) as $nd'r'$ and in Jaffna as nd' .

While the voiceless sound occurs geminated in $t't'r'$, the voiced plosive is short (i.e. ungeminated) in $nd'r'$ and preceded by the nasal n .

The alveolar plosives are to-day met with in Tamil only in these two consonant groups $\dot{n}\dot{n}$ and $\dot{n}\dot{n}$.

(2) The alveolar value of the voiceless plosive $t't'$ is not preserved in the South Indian colloquial of Tam.; in the pronunciation of colloquial forms corresponding to literary Tam. $\dot{n}\dot{n}$, the South Indian value is that of a dental plosive group tt , without the r' sound that crops up in the evaluation of literary $\dot{n}\dot{n}$ when texts are read. Early inscriptions occasionally show the colloquial dental- tt ; and the early (11th or 12th century) commentator of *Vīracōḷiyam* refers to colloquial instances like *cēttu-nilam* and *āttu-k-kāl*, in his observations under sūtra, 12 of *Kṛiyāpaḍalam*. In Jaffna Tamil, however, the colloquial preserves $t't'$ (without any r' -sound) or converts it to tt .

The alveolar voiced plosive d' is also not retained in the South Indian colloquial. In the colloquial pronunciation of words corresponding to the literary words with $nd'r'$ $\dot{n}\dot{n}$ this group appears as a long (i.e. geminated) alveolar nn (without r') or as a cerebral $\eta\eta$ in certain contexts and communal (and regional) dialects. In the colloquial of Tanjore and Trichinopoly I have heard

2. An "excrement" η appears in some of the "rude" dialects of Tamil dealt with by the LSI; see the table given above.

In Toda, the Dravidic dialect spoken by the dwindling aborigines of the Nilgiri hills, a plosive which has a purely alveolar value corresponds to the alveolar plosives of Tamil. In the gospel texts, these sounds are transliterated with the symbol for t .

Toda $\mu d' \sim$ Tamil *end'u* (having said),
 „ $\eta \mu d' \sim$ Tamil *nind'u* (having stood)
 „ $t \mu d' \sim$ Tamil *tind'*- (having eaten).

nn being uniformly used in the proximity of front vowels, as in *enn-* (lit. *end'r'-*), *panni* (lit. *pand'r'i*). Occasionally, however, *ṇṇ* is also heard when this group is neighboured by back vowels, as in *oṇṇu* (lit. *ond'r'u*), *mūṇu* (lit. *mūnd'r'u*). In the colloquial of certain communities, on the other hand, *ṇṇ*³ is uniformly used in the neighbourhood alike of front and back vowels. The variations appear to be communal as well as regional.

(3) The Malayâlam sounds corresponding to literary Tamil *t't'r'*, *nd'r* are represented in writing (as in Tamil) by the juxtaposition of two *r*-symbols (for the Mal. group corresponding to Tam. *t't'r*) and of the symbols for *n* and *r* (in the case of the sound-group corresponding to Tamil *nd'r'*). There are, however, very important differences between Tamil and Malayâlam in the matter of the evaluation and the history of these sound-groups.

(i) The Mal. sound-group represented in writing with the two *r*-symbols juxtaposed, is always evaluated to-day as a long (or geminated) alveolar plosive *t't'* alike in the literary and the colloquial dialects of Mal. speech. The *r'*-sound appearing in the literary evaluation of Tamil *t't'r'* (as when literary texts are read) is never heard in literary Mal.; on the other hand, the colloquial of Mal. differs from the Tamil colloquial in retaining the pure alveolar value of *t't'*. Thus the Mal. sound represented by two *r*-symbols is always given the alveolar value of *t't'* both when texts are read and when forms containing the sounds are used in conversation.

(ii) The Mal. symbol represented by the juxtaposition of the symbols for alveolar *n* and *r* is found to-day only in two contexts: (a) in old Mal. poetry and old Mal. inscriptions, and (b) in the genitive ending *d'e* of singular nouns (or pronouns) having final "person"-denoting *-n* or the inflexional increment *-in* (as in *râman-d'e* 'Rama's', *en-d'e* 'my', *mara-tt-in-d'e* 'of the tree', etc.). This Mal. symbol-group is evaluated to-day always as *nd'*, without being followed by the *r'*-sound as in Tamil literary *nd'* (*r'*).

The singular genitive ending *d'e* of Mal. is a unique development in this west coast speech, with no counterpart (with the alveolar) in Tamil. I have traced the evolution of this genitive ending in Mal. later on in the course of this essay, with the help of the evidence furnished by inscriptions and old texts; here I would

3. cf. the forms *innu* [< literary *end'* (*r'*) 'having said'] and *ninn-* (< literary *nind'* (*r'*) 'having stood') used in an eighteenth century passage containing colloquial Tamil forms, extracted on p. 171 ff. in Vinson's *Manuel de la langue Tamoule*.

merely observe that this genitive ending of Mal. has been (from at least about the twelfth or the thirteenth century) as much the property of the literary dialect as of the colloquial and that everywhere the sound *d'* in *d'e* (singular genitive ending) is given the value of the voiced alveolar plosive.

Apart from this genitive ending, the symbol-group (formed of the juxtaposition of the symbols for *n* and *r*) is found only in old Mal. texts and inscriptions. Here, the symbol-group corresponds to Tamil *nd'* (*r'*); and the value in Mal. given to these old sounds (from at least the time of *Līlātilakam*) has been that of *nd'* without being followed by *r'*, when these texts are read. I have pointed out, below that in the course of the evolution of the Mal. language, this old *nd'* underwent a change to the dental *ññ* (through a possible intermediate stage *ñd*) and came to be transcribed also with the proper symbols for dental *ññ*.

Both the literary and the colloquial dialects of Mal. preserve the pure value of the voiceless alveolar plosive in the group *t't'*, while the Tamil colloquial⁴ (having converted the literary *t't'* to the dental *tt*) has lost the alveolar sounds. It is true that when Tamil texts are read, *t't'r'* and *nd'r'* are brought out with the pure alveolar values for *t't'* and *d'*; but since the Tamil colloquial has lost these sounds, the alveolar plosives are felt as purely "literary" by the speech-consciousness⁵ of the Tamilian masses, while the Malayāli recognizes the sounds as familiar members of the sound-stock that he employs in every-day use. This familiarity with the alveolar plosive on the part of the Malayāli has enabled the English-educated classes to evaluate⁶ the English alveolar *t* occurring in the

4. In rare cases the alveolar *d'* is heard in colloquial Tamil also, as in *ēnd'ā* (alternating with *ennaḍā* meaning 'what, thou!').

5. It is a standing joke among Malayālis that Tamilian colonists in Malabar attempting to speak Mal. use the dental *tt* for the alveolar *t't'* and the alveolar *n* for the dental initial *n'* of Mal.

6. I give below a few illustrations to show how English *t* is transliterated and pronounced in Malayālam:

Eng. words.	Mal. value.	Tam. value.
<i>Beatty</i> (the name of the famous Admiral)	— <i>biāt't'i</i>	— <i>biāṭṭi</i>
<i>Committee</i>	— <i>kamit't'i</i>	— <i>kammiṭṭi</i>
<i>State</i>	— <i>st'ēt't'e</i>	— <i>ṣtēṭṭu</i>
<i>Andrews</i> (name)	— <i>ānd'rūs</i>	— <i>āṇḍrūs</i>

but *lottery* is *lāṭṭari* (or *lōṭṭari*) and *Cotton* (name) is *kāṭṭan* (or *kōṭṭan*) in

neighbourhood of front vowels (as in English *bit, meeting, better, committee*) with a greater approach to correctness than is usual in other parts of Dravidian India. (In the pronunciation of English words like *butter, cut, boot, cot*, where *t* occurs in the neighbourhood of back vowels and possibly has a slightly back value according to English phoneticians themselves, the Malayâlis also cerebralize the *t* to *ṭ*, like the people of other parts of India.) The voiceless alveolar plosive of Mal. (and of literary Tamil) approximates in value to the English alveolar *t*, and English words with this *t* in the proximity of front vowels are pronounced by English-educated Malayâlis with a fairly correct value for alveolar *t*, and transliterated (whenever necessary) with the Mal. symbol group standing for *t't'*. On the other hand, varying degrees of cerebralization occur in the enunciation of English alveolar *t*, among the English-educated people of other parts of Dravidian India. The absence in their respective colloquials of the alveolar plosive accounts for the English alveolar *t* being easily mistaken for the cerebral *ṭ* which perhaps is the nearest equivalent sound in their vernaculars.⁷

Mal., as the sound-group occurs in the neighbourhood of back vowels. (Even in correct evaluation of the English sound *t* neighboured by back vowels, a slightly back value, though never cerebral to the extent to which it is changed in Mal., is given.)

Further, we may note that initial *t* of Eng. words like *ticket, tiffin*, even when followed by front vowels is given the value of *ṭ* in Malayâli evaluation in Mal. as *ḍêvis* and *ḍepuṭi*.

7. The chief abbreviations of the names of works from which citations (*ṭikkett'e, ṭiffin*), and that similarly Eng. *Davies* and *deputy* are pronounced are made in this essay are the following :

Tol., Eḷ.	—	Tolkāppiyam, Eḷuttadigāram.
Nann.	—	Nannūl.
Bhb.	—	(Kannaḍa) Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa.
Śmd.	—	(„) Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.
Śś.	—	(„) Śabdānuśāsana.
Līl.	—	(Mal.) Līlātilakam.
RC.	—	(„) Rāmacaritam.
KR.	—	(„) Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam.
Bhg.	—	(„) Bhagavalgīta-p-pāṭṭu.
KG.	—	(„) Kṛṣṇagātha.
TAS.	—	Travancore Archaeological Series.
US.	—	Uṇṇunīlisandēśam, Pūrvam.
	—	„ Uttaram.
SM.	—	Sivarātri Māhātmyam.
LSI. °	—	Linguistic Survey of India.

II

THE PHONETIC VALUES OF THE TAM.—MAL. ALVEOLAR PLOSIVES.

The alveolar plosives in literary Tamil and in Malayālam are produced by the tip of the tongue striking against the region of the upper gums. These sounds are definitely distinguishable from two other Tam.—Mal. sounds: the inter-dental or post-dental plosive (produced by a portion of the foreblade of the tongue coming in contact with the back region of the upper row of teeth or with the post-dental flesh), and the cerebral plosive also described as retroflex or cacuminal, produced by the tip of the tongue on the dome of the hard palate.

The voiceless alveolar plosive in literary Tam. *t't'* (*r'*) and in Mal. *t't'* is produced when the tip of the tongue strikes the back gums, while the voiced *d'* (in Tam. literary *nd'r*, old Mal. *nd'* of the texts when read, and unique Mal. genitive ending *-d'e*) has a more forward position of articulation is as much as the tongue-tip here comes in contact with the front gums before plosion. If Prof. Jespersen's alphabetic notation is employed for the description of the positions of articulation of these sounds, then the voiceless alveolar plosive would have to be symbolized by βo^f-g and the voiced sound by βo^{e-f} .

III

THE CATEGORIES INVOLVING THE TAMIL ALVEOLAR PLOSIVE AND ITS COGNATES IN OTHER SPEECHES.

I give below a table of the relevant categories with a few typical illustrations from each dialect. Exhaustive illustrations are given later on in the discussion of each category. I may note straightway that (wherever inter-dialectal correspondences exist) the phonetic equations are, generally speaking, the following:

Lit. Tam. *t't'* = Mal. *t't'* = Kannaḍa *tt* or *t* = Telugu *ṭṭ*, *ṭ* = Tuḷu *tt*, *t*.

Lit. Tam. *nd'* = Mal. dental *n'n'* = Kann. *n'd* = Tel. pre-literary inscriptional *nd'*, literary *ṇḍ* = Tuḷu *ṇj*, *n'd* = Kūi *ṇj*.

I have discussed these equations in detail in connection with each category, and traced the processes of phonetic change (with the help of the evidence furnished by texts, grammars and inscriptions, wherever available) at the end of this essay.

Categories.	Literary Tamil.	Malayālam.	Kannāḍa.	Telugu.
1. Derivative Nouns.	<i>pand'r'i</i> (pig)	<i>pan'n'i</i>	<i>pandi</i>	
	<i>kand'r'u</i> (young one)	<i>kan'n'u</i>	<i>kan'du</i>	
	<i>māt't'r'-am</i> (change, etc.)	<i>māt't'-am</i>	<i>māt-a</i>	<i>māt-a</i>
	<i>tind'r'-i</i> (food) beside <i>tit't'ri</i> (meat)			<i>tiṇḍi</i>
2. "Inflexional" stems of noun-bases [with final -r(u)] of Tam. and Mal. and with final -r, -l of Telugu and Gōṇḍi.	<i>āt't'r'-il</i> (in the river)	<i>āt't'-il</i>		<i>ēṭi-lō</i> <i>iṇṭi-lō</i> (in the house)
3. <i>Samāśas</i> formed of words where the initial members are "inflected" as in 2 above.	<i>āt't'r'u-vali</i> (river-route)	<i>āt't'u-vali</i>		<i>ēṭi-kāluva</i>
4. Old compounds formed of the <i>guṇa vacanas</i> <i>kiṛ-</i> , <i>kuṛ-</i> , <i>ciṛ-</i> followed by words with vowels as initials.	<i>kuṭ't'r'-uyir</i> (short life)		<i>kiṭṭ-aḍi</i>	<i>kuṭṭ-usuru</i>
	<i>ṣit't'r'-aḍi</i> (small feet)			
	<i>ṣit't'r'-eli</i> (small rat)			<i>ciṭṭ-eluka.</i>
	<i>ṣit't'r'-āḍai</i> (small garment)	<i>ciṭ't'-āḍa</i>		
5. Word- <i>samāśas</i> in Tam. and in old Mal. with the first constituents having final -l, -n and the second constituents having initial t-.	<i>kat't'r'alam</i>	Old Mal. <i>kat't'alam</i>		
	<i>pot't'rāmarai</i> <i>pond'rīdu</i>	<i>pot't'āmara</i>		

Categories.	Literary Tamil	Malayālam.	Kannāḍa.	Telugu.
6. <i>Samāsas</i> in which final -l, -n meet initial c-, p-, k-.	<i>nāt'padu</i> [<i>nārpadu</i>] (forty)	Old. Mal. <i>nāt'padu</i> [<i>nārpadu</i>]		
	<i>mêt'ku</i> (west) [<i>mêṛku</i>]	Old. Mal. <i>mêt'ku</i> [<i>mêṛku</i>]		
			cf. <i>êrpāḍu</i> (arrangement)	<i>êrpāḍ-</i> (to become possible)
7. Ending of the Third Person Sing. Masculine pronoun in Tel., Kūi and Madras Gōṇḍi (Koi).				Inscriptional <i>vānd'u</i> [<i>vāṇṛu</i>], Literary <i>vāṇḍu</i> , <i>vāḍu</i>
8. "Oblique" base of the Third Person Neuter plurals.	<i>avat't'r'-</i> (obl. base of <i>avai</i>) <i>padit't'r'-</i> (of <i>pattu</i> 'ten')	<i>avat't'-</i> <i>irupadit't'-</i>		<i>vāṭi</i>
9. The Sing. Genitive ending of Mal. nouns or pronouns with final -n or with the increment -in-.		<i>rāman-d'e</i> (Rama's) <i>end'e</i> (my) <i>maratt-in-d'e</i> (of the tree)		
10. The numeral 'one' and 'three.'	<i>ond'r'u</i> (one) <i>mūnd'r'u</i>	<i>on'n'u</i> <i>mūn'u</i>	<i>on'du</i> <i>mūr</i>	<i>onṭ-, onḍ-</i> Inscriptional <i>mūnṛu</i> , Literary <i>mūṇḍu</i> , <i>mūḍu</i>
11. Verb-bases	<i>tōnd'r'-</i> (to appear) <i>vat't'r'-</i> (to be dry)	<i>tōn'n'-</i> <i>vat't'-</i>	<i>tōṛ-</i> <i>batt-</i>	<i>tōṅc-</i> <i>vatt-</i>

Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
	<i>a-v-añju</i>	<i>Koi vōṇḍu</i>			
<i>oñji</i>		<i>uṇḍi, -</i>	<i>oṇṭ-</i>	<i>oṇḍ-</i>	<i>asi</i>
<i>mūji</i>		<i>mūṇḍ</i>			<i>mūsi</i>
<i>tōñj-</i>	<i>tōñj-</i>				
<i>batt-</i>		<i>vatt-</i>	<i>batt-</i>	<i>batt-</i>	

Categories.	Literary Tamil	Malayālam.	Kannāḍa.	Telugu.
12. Causative bases from verbs with final -r, -l, -n.	<i>ê't't'r'-</i> (to raise) <i>tî't't'r'-</i> (to feed)	<i>ê't't'-</i> <i>tî't't'-</i>		
13. Present Tense affix- <i>gind'r-</i>	<i>śeygind'r'ān</i> (he does)	old <i>ceyind'ān</i> later <i>ceyin'n'ān</i> new <i>ceyyun'n'u</i>		
14. (a) Past stems of verbs with final -r.	<i>pet't'r'-</i> (having been born)	<i>pet't'-</i>		
(b) Past stems of verbs with final -l, -n.	<i>tind'r'-</i> [from <i>tin-</i> 'to eat'] <i>end'r'-</i> [from <i>en-</i> 'to say'] <i>vit't'r'-</i> [from <i>vil-</i> 'to sell'] <i>śend'r'-</i> [from <i>śel-</i> 'to enter']	<i>tin'n'-</i> <i>en'n'-</i> <i>vit't'-</i> <i>cen'n'-</i>	<i>tin'd</i> <i>end-, and-</i> <i>sand-</i>	<i>tint-</i> <i>ant-</i>
15. Past tense ending of Third Person "neuter" sing. of certain Tam. verbs.	<i>pōyit't'r'u</i> (it went) <i>naḍandand'r'u</i> (it walked)			
16. Indeclinables	<i>at't'r'u</i> (of that kind) <i>and'r'u</i> (that day) <i>and'r'u</i> (not-that) <i>pōnd'r'u</i>	 <i>an'n'u</i> <i>an'n'-</i>	<i>aṭu, aṭṭu</i> <i>an'du</i>	<i>aṭu, aṭṭu</i> <i>pōṇḍi</i>

Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
	tis-p- (to feed)				
tind-	tiñj-	tiñj-			
ind-, and-	iñj-	iñj-			
āṭṭi					
-and-, attu					

CATEGORY 1.

I give below a table of derivative nouns, in which the Tamil instances (literary) show $t't'(r')$ and $nd'(r')$ containing the alveolar plosives.

Among these, Group (a) shows the following sound-correspondence : literary Tam. $t't'(r')$ ~ Mal. $t't'$ ~ Kann. tt ~ Tel. $nd(ṇṭ)$; shows : $nd'(r')$ ~ Mal. $n'n'$ ~ Kann. nd (or $ṇ$) ~ Tel. $ṭ$; Gr. (b) while Gr. (c) is constituted of Tam. derivatives with $-t't'(r')$ and $nd'(r')$, which lack cognates in dialects other than Malayâlam.

GROUP (a)

Literary Tamil	Malayālam	Kannaḍa	Telugu.	Tuḷu.	Other Dialects.	Cognate Bases.
<i>êṭṭ'r'-am</i> (ascent)	<i>êṭṭ'-am</i>	<i>êṭ-a</i>				south Dr. <i>êṭ-</i> (to rise)
<i>nāṭṭ'r'-am</i> (smell)	<i>nāṭṭ'-am</i>	<i>nāṭ-a</i>		<i>nāṭ-a</i>		south Dr. <i>nāṭ-</i> (to smell)
<i>māṭṭ'r'-am</i> (change, exchange of things, of words, etc.)	<i>māṭṭ'-am</i>	<i>māṭ-a</i>	<i>māṭ-a</i>			south Dr. <i>māṭ-</i> (to change)
<i>têṭṭ'r'-am</i> (clearness)	<i>têṭṭ'-</i>	<i>têṭe</i> [in Mysore proverbs]	<i>têṭ-a</i>		cf. Kūi tiri (clear, shining)	south Dr. <i>têṭ-</i> (to become clear)
<i>ūṭṭ'r'-u</i> (fountain, spring)	<i>ūṭṭ'-u</i>	<i>ūṭ-e</i> [Mys.] beside <i>orate</i> [old]	<i>ūṭ-a</i>	<i>ūṇu</i> , beside the loan <i>ūṭe</i>		south Dr. <i>ūṭ-</i> (to percolate)
<i>kîṭṭ'r'u</i> (slice, bit)	<i>kîṭṭ'u</i>	<i>kîṭu</i> , beside Tel. loan, <i>kîṭu</i>	<i>gîṭu</i> , <i>kîṭu</i>	<i>kîṭu</i>		south Dr. <i>kîṭ-</i> (to tear)

GROUP (b)

Literary Tamil.	Malayālam.	Kannaḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.	Other Dialects	Cognate Bases.
<i>kund'r'u</i> (hill)	<i>kun'n'u</i>	rare <i>koṇḍa</i> beside more popular <i>beṭṭa</i>	<i>koṇḍa</i> , <i>guṭṭa</i>	<i>guddæ</i>		south Dr. <i>kur-</i> (to be shortened)
<i>kand'r'u</i> (calf)	<i>kan'n'u</i>	<i>kan'du</i>	[<i>kandu</i>]	<i>kañji</i>	Kur-Malto <i>xadd</i>	Kann. <i>kaṛu</i> (calf)
<i>eṇḍ'r'u</i> (the sun, sunshine)			<i>eṇḍ-</i> (to dry up), <i>eṇḍa</i> (sunshine)			Kann. Tam. <i>el</i> (lustre, sunshine)
[cf. <i>el</i>]		[cf. Kann. <i>el</i> 'lustre' sun- shine']				
<i>nand'r'i</i> (good, be- nefit)	old <i>n'an'n'i</i> (good, benefit), new <i>n'an'n'i</i> (gratitude)	<i>nanni</i> (truth, affection)	<i>naṇṭe</i> , <i>naṇṭi</i> (affection)			south Dr. <i>nal-</i> (good).
<i>pand'r'i</i> (pig)	<i>pan'n'i</i>	<i>pan'di</i>		<i>pañji</i>	Kūi <i>paji</i> , Gō. <i>paddi</i>	Dr. <i>pal</i> (tooth)? ?
<i>tind'r'i</i> (food) <i>tit't'r'i</i> (meat)		Late Tel. loan <i>tiṇḍi</i> , beside popular <i>oṇasu</i> , etc.	<i>tiṇḍi</i>		Gōṇḍi <i>tind-</i> , Kūi <i>tin-b-</i> (to eat)	south Dr. <i>tin-</i> (to eat)
<i>pind'r'u</i> , <i>pit't'r'-ai</i> (afterwards)	<i>pit't'e</i>	<i>pin'du</i> , <i>pin'tu</i>			Gō. <i>pijja</i> (behind) Br. <i>pada</i> (behind)	south Dr. <i>pin</i> (back, behind)

GROUP (c)

Literary Tamil.	Malayālam.	Kannāḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.	Other Dialects.	Cognate Bases.
<i>at't'r'-am</i> (ruin)	<i>at't'-am</i>				Gō. <i>ark-</i> (to cut)	south Dr. <i>aṛ-</i> (to be severed)
<i>kut't'r'-am</i> (deficiency)	<i>kut't'-am</i>					south Dr. <i>kuṛ-</i> (to be short, deficient)
<i>kūt't'r'u</i> (noise)	old <i>kūt't'u</i>					Tam., Mal. <i>kūr-</i> (to call)
<i>kot't'r'-am</i> (success)						Tam. Mal., Kann <i>kol-</i> (to kill), Tuḷu <i>ker-</i>
<i>vend'r'i, vet't'r'i</i> • (success)	old <i>vet't'i,</i>					Tam., Mal., Kann <i>vel-</i> (to gain a victory)
<i>śānd'r'u</i> (witness)	<i>ven'n'i</i>					Tam. <i>śāl-</i> (to lean towards)

GROUP (d)

Literary Tamil.	Malayālam.	Kannaḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.	Other Dialects.	Cognate Bases.
[cf. <i>uṟi</i>]			<i>uṭṭi</i> (swing-pot)		Kur. <i>uṟ-</i> (to grow thick, firm).	south Dr. <i>uṟ-</i> (to be steadfast).
[cf. <i>êṟu</i>]	[cf. <i>êṟu</i>]	North Kann. <i>êṭu</i> (prob. a Tel. loan) <i>tuttu</i> (mouthful)	<i>êṭu</i> (throw) <i>tuṭṭa, tuṭṭe</i> (crowd)			south Dr. <i>eri-</i> (to throw). south Dr. <i>tur-</i> (to be crammed), Kui <i>trā-p-</i> (to cram in).

(1) The Kannaḍa instances with *-ṭ-* (North Mysore *ūṭe*, *kṭu*, etc.) are Telugu-borrowed, the more popular and universal forms being *orate*, *kṭu*, etc., with the dental *-t-*. The sound-correspondences, therefore, are (i) Tam. *t't'(r')* ~ Mal. *t't'* ~ Tel. *ṭ* ~ Kann. *t*; and (ii) Tam. *nd'(r')* ~ Mal. *n'n'* ~ Tel. *ṇḍ*, *ṇṭ* ~ Kann. *n'd* ~ Tuḷu *ṇj*.

These equations will, generally speaking, emerge from the other categories also.

The cognates from central Indian and northern Dravidian speeches are few; they are discussed separately at the end of this essay.

(2) The bases with which these derivative nouns are connected have *-ṛ*, *-l* and *-n* (see table above).

Derivative nouns are formed in the south Dravidian speeches with the help of a particle *-t-*:

Tam. *Koy-tt (u)* (reaping),
naḍa-tt-am (gait, walking),
keḍu-d-i (loss), *uṛu-d-i* (strength), *śey-d-i* (incident).

Kann. *aṛi-t-a* (knowing),
pogaḷ-t-e (praise),

Tel. *cēta* (action),
naḍi-t-i (conduct).

Tam. *-t't'(r')* of this category is due to the *sandhi* combination of final *-ṛ*, *-l*, *-n* of the primary bases with a noun-forming particle *-t-*; cf., for the phonetic change, category 14 (amongst others).

nd'(r') of those derivatives of this category which are related to primary bases with final *-l* and *-n* is also the result of a *sandhi* change of *l*, *n* + *d(t)*; cf. category 14b for the phonetic change.

As for the *nd'(r')* of forms connected with primary bases having final *-ṛ*, the origin of *nd'r'* need not necessarily have been due to the *sandhi* action of a noun-forming particle on this *ṛ*, if this *ṛ* itself was the development of an older alveolar **d'*. I have later on in the course of this essay discussed the possibility of at least some cases of *ṛ* being traceable to the alveolar plosive **d'*. If this was so here, then *nd'* may have been simply a variant of original *d'* with the so-called "checking" nasal characteristically appearing

before *d'* as in Tam. *ad-* and *aṇḍ* (to approach). A full discussion of this problem appears later on in the course of my essay.

CATEGORY 2.

The speeches concerned here are Tamil, Malayâlam, Telugu and Gôṇḍi. The correspondence of sounds is represented by the equation: Literary Tamil *t't'(r')* = Mal. *t't'* = Tel. *t, tt* = Gôṇḍi *t, ḍ*. The parallelism between Tamil and Malayâlam on the one side and Telugu (and Gôṇḍi) on the other is not capable of being detected at a glance, as the grammatical rules embodying the circumstances of the occurrence of the forms are generally classified differently in these speeches. We shall see below that Telugu and Gôṇḍi reveal certain variations also; but the fundamental principle involved in all these speeches can be shown to be the same.

Tamil.

The consonant group *t't'(r')* is "substituted" for *-r-* in the "oblique" bases of the singular inflexion of Tamil neuter nouns with final *-r(u)*. These nouns are either trisyllabic, or dissyllabic with long vowels preceding *-r(u)*.

Sūtra 197⁸ of Tolkâppiyam, Eluttadigâram, treats about this phenomenon in "inflexional" positions, describing it as "gemination." An exactly similar change (in which the same principle is involved), affecting word-groups (*pada-p-puṇarcci*) is dealt with in Tol. El., 412 and in Nan., 183; this will be discussed by me later on.

The so-called "substitution of *t't'(r')* for *r* in inflexional positions of Tamil "neuter" words occurs only in connection with *-r(u)* and *-ḍ(u)* :

<i>ât't'r'-</i> ,	the oblique base of	<i>âru</i>	(river),
<i>kaḷit't'r'-</i> ,	" "	<i>kaḷiru</i>	(young male elephant),
<i>vayit't'r'-</i> ,	" "	<i>vayiru</i>	(belly),
[<i>ât't-</i> ,	" "	<i>âḍu</i>	(goat, sheep),
<i>kâṭṭ-</i> ,	" "	<i>kâḍu</i>	(jungle)].

I am of the view that the primary impulse for the production of *t't'(r')* was the *sandhi* action of a particle *-t-*. This view is borne

8. *netteḷuttimbar ot't'r'u miga-t-tōṇḍ'r'um appān moḷigal alvaḷiyāna.*

in on me by the two facts: (i) a particle *-t-(-d-)* appears as an inflexional augment independently in the following:

Tam. *mara-tt-*, the oblique base of "neuter" nouns like *maram* (tree),

Kann. *mara-d-*, the oblique base [except in Acc.] of *mara* (tree),

Gôṇḍi *pulli-t-*, the oblique base of neuter nouns like *pulli* (tiger).

(ii) the existence in Telugu of an unmodified dental *-t-* as an inflexional augment after *-y* in words like *cêy(i)* 'hand', beside *t̥* (corresponding to Tam. *t't'r'* of this category) after *-r-*, both *t* and *t̥* being classified in Telugu as *aupavibhakti* endings (see below).

For the production of Tam. *t't'* from *r + t*, compare categories 12 and 14 (a).

Malayâlam

A rule similar to that of Tamil exists in Malayâlam also. The "oblique" bases of "neuter" nouns with final *-ru* and *du* show *-t't'* and *-tt-* respectively. The earliest grammar of Malayâlam written in the form of *sūtras* with *vyākhyas* (14th century) describes the change in III, 6: *ru-ṭwōr dwitwam ca*.

It may be noted that while in literary Tamil the change of *-r-* to *-t't'-* (and of *-d-* to *tt-*) in the circumstances detailed above, is obligatory, modern Mal. usage permits "ungeminated" oblique bases⁹ in forms like *côṛ-il* (in cooked rice) beside *côṭ't'-il*. Further, in modern Mal. we also have instances like *nîṭ't'-il* (in water) [as in *Pancatantram*] beside *nîr-il*, and *môṭ't'-il* beside *môṛ-il*, where (since the nominal base has the post-dental *r* as the final) the rule never could operate according to traditional grammatical rules.

Telugu.

In a number of "neuter" nouns of Telugu (described in English grammars of Telugu as "irregular" nouns and by Telugu

9. *Kāḍ-il* (in the forest), *ār-in-d'e* (of the river), and similar bases where the so-called "gemination" is absent, are common in colloquial Mal. of the present day.

grammarians as *aupavibhaktikântamulu*, the “oblique” bases show -*t-i*- in connection with the nominal endings -*r(u)* and -*ḍ(u)*, -*ṇṭ-i* in connection with final -*l(u)* and -*n(u)*, -*t-i* in connection with final -*y(i)*, and mere -*i*- in the case of a few other “neuter” nouns. All these cases have been recognized as forming part of a connected group, and classified as such by the earliest Telugu grammar, *Āndhraśabdacintâmani* (11th century) in the following sūtras :

aupavibhaktika samjñâ varṇâṣṭintyâdayō bhavantiha |
rulvâdērnâmnâm syustēhi vibhaktau samâse ca ||

“*ṭi*, *ṇṭi* and other sounds are *aupavibhaktika* particles appearing in inflexions and samâsas in connection with certain nouns with -*r*-, -*l*- and other sounds.”

aupavibhaktikanâmnâm atwam syât saptami tṛtîyârthē

“In the third (i.e., instrumental) and the seventh (i.e., locative) cases of *aupavibhaktika* nouns, *a* appears (instead of -*i*- after -*t*-, -*ṇṭ*-, etc.)”

Early commentaries on the *Śabdacintâmani*, like the *Bâla-saraswatîyam* and *Ahōbalapaṇḍitîyam*, have explained the implications of these sūtras ; a very clear and comprehensive exposition of rules and variations in the light of the literary usage of different periods is given by Pandit Mallâdi Sūryanārāyaṇa Śâstri in his excellent grammar, *Āndhra Śabdânuśâsanam*.

These particles appear as *âdēśas* (and sometimes as *âgamas* as in *pagaliṇṭi*-, *tolliṇṭi*-, etc.). In some nouns they are optional, while in others they are constant. Certain nouns which used to embody these particles in the past have in later stages been inflected without them, and on the other hand a few which originally failed to have these particles, have later on come to incorporate them. Again, it is not all neuter nouns with -*r*-, -*l*-, -*n*-, -*y*-, etc., that embody these particles in the “oblique” cases ; there are several nouns of this kind which have failed to embody them at any period.

I give below the main¹⁰ types which are relevant for the present discussion :

10. The following are other important types in Telugu :

l < older *l*—*mullu* (thorn)—cf. Tam. *muḷ(lu)*—Tel. inflexional *munṭi*, locative and instrumental *munṭ-an*.

n < older *ṇ*—*kannu* (eye). cf. Tam. *kaṇ(ṇu)*—Tel. gen. *kaṇṭi*-, loc-

<i>r</i> —êru (river) cf. Tam.— Mal. âru	—“oblique” base êti-, Instru- mental and Locative êt-an.
<i>l</i> —villu (bow)—cf. Tam. vil, villu, Kann. bil, billu, Kûi vilu, vidu.	—“obl.” base viṇṭi, Instr. and Loc. viṇṭ-an.
<i>n</i> —vennu (back)—cf. Kann. ben.	—Old. Loc. veṇṭ-an.

The resemblances between Tam. and Mal. on the one hand, and Telugu on the other in respect of forms of this category are :
(i) neuter nouns with *-r(u)* [and with *-ḍ(u)*] are affected ; and
(ii) *âdēśa* sounds appear in “inflexional” positions as inflexional
augment to which post-positions are attached.

The differences are the following : (i) while neuter nouns with *-r(u)* (and *-ḍu*) alone are affected in Tam. and Mal., in Telugu the *âdēśa* sounds appear in connection with certain nouns having *-l* and *-n* also ; and (ii) while *-t't'(r')* is the *âdēśa* in connection with *-r* in Tam., *-ṭ-i-* occurs in Telugu in connection with *r* (and with *-ḍ*), and *ṇṭ-i-* in connection with *-l* and *-n*, the sound *-i-* involved in the *âdēśas* being peculiar to Telugu.

It can be shown that fundamentally in Tam.-Mal. on the one side and Telugu on the other, the *âdēśa* sounds are the outcome of an ancient *sandhi* combination of the final¹¹ consonants of the neuter nouns under reference and an inflexional increment *-t-* which appears as such in many Dravidian dialects.

instr. *kaṇṭ-an*.

ḍ—*kāḍu* (jungle)—cf. Tam. *kāḍu*—Tel. gen. *kāṭi*, loc.-instr. *kāṭ-an*.

[cf. with this Tel. inflexional base the corresponding Tam. inflexional base *kāṭṭ-* according to the general rule of Tol., El.]

y—*cēyi* (hand)—Tel. gen. *cēti*, loc.-instr. *cēt-an*.

[Final *-i* in words like *cēyi* (cf. Tam. *kai*, Kann. *kai*, *gey*) and *vāyi* ‘mouth’ (cf. pan-Dravidian *vāy*, *bāy*) appears to be an enunciative (cf. Mal. *vāya* ‘mouth’, *n’āya* ‘dog’, *pāya* ‘mat’ with Tam. *vāy*, *nāy* and *pāy*).]

r—*ūru* (country)—gen. *ūr-i*, loc.-instr. *ūr-an*. *nōru* (mouth)—gen.

nōṭ-i or *nōr-i*, loc.-instr. *nōṭ-an*, *nōr-an*.

l (preceded by long vowels)—*kālu* (leg)—gen. *kāl-i*, loc.-instr. *kāl-an*.

n (preceded by long vowels or when occurring as the final of dissyllabic words)—*cēnu* (field)—gen. *cēn-i* ; *kolanu* (tank)—gen. *kolan-i*.

ṛṛ (a unique group in Tel.)—*aṛru* (neck)—gen. *aṛit-i*, loc.-instr. *aṛut-an*.

11. Though in modern Telugu every final consonant (except *-m* in the colloquial) is followed by an enunciative *-u*, we know that in the earliest

The unique *-i-* appearing in the Telugu *aupavibhakti* particles *-ṭ-i-*, *-ṇṭi*, *-t-i* and independently (as *-i-*) in certain oblique cases of words like *kāl(u)*, *mrân(u)*, is a special development in Telugu with a "genitive" meaning. What remains, therefore, in the *aupavibhakti* endings is the sound *-ṭ-* [cerebral], or *-ṇṭ-* or [dental] *-t-*.

(a) The "oblique" bases of words like Tel. *cêy(i)* (hand), *vây(-i)* (mouth,) which are classified by Telugu grammarians as *aupavibhaktikāntamulu*, show only the dental *-t-* as the *aupavibhakti* ending. This dental *-t-* occurs only in connection with nouns having *-y-*. According to the laws of Telugu (and south Dravidian)¹² *sandhi*, the dental *t* is not ordinarily affected in quality when preceded (in internal *sandhi*) by *y*. The occurrence of this dental *t* in connection with neuter nouns having *-y* would point to the fact that here we have the primary *aupavibhakti* particle unmodified in quality by any *sandhi* change.

(b) In Telugu internal *sandhi* we find instances where *n* meeting dental *t* results in the production of the cerebral group *-ṇṭ-*: the past stems of the verbs *an-* (to say) and *tin-* (to eat) are *aṇṭ-* and *tiṇṭ-*, while the dental *-t-* (unmodified in quality) appears as the Past tense particle normally in instances like *cēstini*, etc.

This would tend to show that *-ṇṭ-* may be the Telugu representative of an original consonant group which is the outcome of a *sandhi* combination of *n* and dental *t*.

In my discussion of the phonetic aspects of the correspondence of Tam. *nd'* (*r'*) = Tel. *ṇḍ*, *ṇṭ* (a correspondence which, I may state here, is attested by several categories discussed by me in the course of this paper), I have pointed out that a *sandhi* combination of the

stages of Telugu the sounds *-l*, *-n* and *-r* could be *halanta* (as in Tamil, Kann. and Mal.) in certain instances and contexts:

- (i) The druta *n* is essentially a consonantal *n*.
- (ii) *l* or *ḷ* is used as a final, without being followed by an enunciative in old inscriptions: *ūri swāmūḷ*, *kond'ugaḷ*, etc.
- (iii) Collocations like *vil-naṇaki*, *kal-drāvi*, *ēr-dāṭi* are permitted by S. 60 of the Halanta section of Śabdacintāmaṇi.

In Tamil and Mal., *l*, *n*, *r* among other sounds may occur as absolute finals (cf. Tol., *EL*, 78); in old Kannaḍa also a similar rule prevailed (Śmd., 48).

12. Cf. Tel. *cēst-*, the past stem of *cêy-* (to do), Tel. *cêta* (doing) Tam. *śey-d*, the past stem of *śey-* (to do), *koy-d-* of *koy* (to reap), Kann. *geyta* (doing), etc.

nasal *n* and the dental plosive *t* or *d* would ultimately account for the Tel. developments *nt̪* or *nd̪*.

(c) As for *-t̪-* in connection with Tel. neuter nouns with *-r̪(u)*, I may state here that the evidence of other categories showing the correspondence of Tamil *t't'(r')* = Tel. *-t̪-*, *-tt̪-*, in which a *sandhi* combination of *r̪* and the dental *t* could be demonstrated, would point to the existence of a similar *sandhi* change being at the back of Tel. *-t̪-* (corresponding to Tamil *-t't'r'*) of this category also.

(d) The appropriateness of the *original* use of dental inflexional increment in connection with the neuter nouns of this category^o becomes all the clearer when we remember that a dental plosive occurs as such with the function of an increment in the "oblique" cases of many neuter nouns of Tamil, Mal., Kannaḍa and Gôṇḍi.

The fundamental affinity of the origin of Tam. *t't'(r')* and Tel. *t̪* of this category is thus clear. Telugu, however, seems to have extended the practice of associating the inflexional increment, to nouns with *-l̪*, *-n̪* also, besides those with *-r̪* and *-ḍ̪* (as in Tamil and in Malayalam). This extended use had become popular and fixed in Telugu even at the time of the earliest extant texts. A considerable number of words was thus involved, and all these were therefore grouped together as the *aupavibhaktikântamulu* by the early grammarians.

Gôṇḍi

In this Central Indian Dravidian speech we note a cerebral plosive *-ḍ̪-* occurring as the inflexional increment in connection with neuter nouns having final *-r̪*, *-l̪*, *-ḍ̪*. Decerebralization of this *-ḍ̪-* appears to have occurred in some cases.

Sir Richard Trench (*Gôṇḍi Gr.*, p. 40) points-out that (i) "most of the numerous nouns ending in *l̪* or *r̪* have the key-letter (i.e. in the stem) *ḍ̪*", but there are also exceptions where dental *d* occurs instead of *ḍ̪*; (ii) nouns ending in a vowel have the "key-letter *-t̪-* or *-ḍ̪-* as in *nai-d̪*" ["oblique" base of *nai* (dog), *kai-d̪* the "oblique" base of *kai* (hand)], *pullî-t̪-* [the "oblique" base of *pullî* (tiger)];

(iii) nouns ending in *-ṇḍ̪* have the key-letter *t̪*, as in *yēṭ̪-* from *yēṇḍ̪* 'this year'.

The cerebral *-ḍ̪-* in connection with the "oblique" cases of Gôṇḍi "non-rational" nouns with final *-r̪*, *-l̪*, *ḍ̪* may be compared to

the Telugu *aupavibhakti* particle -t- ; the appearance of the dental -d- in connection with Gôṇḍi nouns with final vowels (e.g., *nai-d-* of *nai* 'dog') may be compared to the dental -t- found as the *aupa-vibhakti* particle of the "inflexions" of Telugu "neuter" nouns with -y-.

CATEGORY 3.

This is directly associated with category 2 discussed above. While 2 refers to inflexional augments, the present category contemplates cases of word-combinations or *pada-samâsas* in which the first members [with final -r(u) and -ḍ(u) in Tamil and with final -r(u), -l(u), -n(u), etc. in Telugu] incorporate âdēśa sounds exactly as in the category 2 which has been discussed above :

Tamil: ât't'r'û-nâr (water of the river) [ârû 'river'],
vayit't'r'u-vali (stomach-ache) [vayirû 'stomach'].

Telugu: êti-nârû (water of river) [êrû 'river'], inṭi-kappu (roof of the house) [illu 'house'].

The fundamental principle accounting for the âdēśa sounds of this category is the same as that operating in the instances belonging to category 2, since the relationship of the constituents of the *padasamâsas* of this category is in most instances of an "inflexional" kind.

Tamil

îreluttu-molियum uyirttoḍarmolियum
vêt't'r'umaiyâyin ot't'r'idaiyinamiga-t-
tôt't'r'am vênḍum valleluttu migudi.

Tol., El., 412.

"In *vêt't'r'umai* (case-relationship) word-combinations, the plosives (before final u) of the initial members (of these combinations) should be doubled, if these initial members are of the *îreluttu* or of the *uyir-t-toḍar* type (i.e., if the words have long radical vowels or are dissyllabic)."

neḍiloḍ-uyirttoḍar-k-kut't'r'ugarangalut-
ṭa-ra-v-ot't'r'irattum vêt't'r'umai migavê.

Nannûl, 183.

“ In many cases of *vêtt'r'umai* combinations, *t̥* (*ḍ*) and *r̥* preceding final -u, of dissyllabic words or words with long radical vowels, would be “ doubled ”.

The Nannūl sūtra specifically refers to -*t̥* and -*r̥*, while Tol-kappiyam speaks of *valleḷuttu* or plosives in general ; when the two sūtras are interpreted in the light of literary usage, we find that

(i) *r̥* and *ḍ* (*t̥*) are always involved in *vêtt'r'umai* word-combinations, while other plosives are only rarely affected, as in *eruttu-māḍu* (ox) [*erudu* ‘ ox ’], *verukku-k-kaṇ* (the eye of a male cat) [*verugu* ‘ male cat ’];

(ii) the rule operates mainly in *vêtt'r'umai* word-combinations; a few rare exceptions like *kaḷitt'r'-i-yānai* (male elephant) [*kaḷiṟu*. ‘ male elephant ’], *varaṭṭ-āḍu*, etc., being explicable on the basis of the analogy of the *vêtt'r'umai* instances.

Fundamentally, then, this category is the same as 2 above ; for, as it is *vêtt'r'umai* or case-relationship combinations that are chiefly affected by this rule, the *ādēśa t̥t'r'* of this category stands on the same footing as in the previous category.

Malayālam

The sūtra of Lîlâtîlakam, which I have already cited above, contemplates cases of word-combinations like *ât't'u-nîr* (river-water), *côt't'u-veḷḷam* (liquid of boiled rice), *kayat't'u-muḍi* (bundle of rope), in which the first constituents have bases with final -*r̥*.

Telugu

The sūtra of Āndhra-śabda-cintâmaṇi which I have cited above in connection with the *aupavibhakti* particles, expressly refers to *pada-samâśas* as one of the two contexts in which these particles appear. Just as in Tamil, the character and the original function of the particles in word-combinations appear to be the same, alike in inflexional positions and in word-combinations since the constituents of these latter involve an inflexional relationship wherever the particles appear in Telugu.

Commentators of the sūtra of Śabda Cintâmaṇi have explained that, in actual usage, the occurrence of the *aupavibhakti* particles

is characterized by variations. The Ahōbalapaṇḍitīyam, for instance, says that these particles may

(i) appear in some instances both in inflexions and in samāśas, as in *êti-ki* and *êti-kāluva* ;

(ii) in some, only in samāśas ;

(iii) in others only in inflexions and not always in samāśas, as in *miṇṭi-* but *minnêru* (heavenly river); and

(iv) in yet other instances, fail to appear alike in inflexions and in samāśas.

Ahōbaliyam observes that, since such divergences exist in usage, the rule in each instance has to be determined from *prayōgam* and *sat-kavi-vākya*m.

Atharvana-Kârikâvali similarly offers the counsel: *nidānam tatra sadvacah*.

CATEGORY 4.

This category is constituted of word-compounds formed with the old bases signifying 'small, short':

Tam.	<i>kuṛ-</i> ,	<i>śiṛ-</i>
Mal.	<i>kuṛ-</i> ,	<i>ciṛ-</i>
Kann.	<i>kiṛ-</i> ,	<i>kuṛ-</i>
Tel.	<i>kuṛ-</i> ,	<i>ciṛ-</i>

The bases are all related structurally. In all the south Dravidian languages, intimate word-compounds formed with these bases and words with initial vowels show the *âdēśa* sounds: *t't'* (*r'*) in Tamil, *t't'* in Mal., *tt* in Kannaḍa and *ṭṭ* in Telugu. When, however, the second constituents of the word-compounds have consonants in initial positions, then the *âdēśa* sounds do not crop up but on the other hand, the bases are retained with *ṛ* followed by an enunciative *-u*.

I give below a table of instances illustrating the inter-dialectical correspondences in the treatment of word-compounds constituted of these bases and words with initial vowels :

Tamil.	Malayālam.	Telugu.	Kannaḍa.
<i>kuṭṭ'ṭ'r'-uyir</i> , <i>śit'ṭ'r'-uyir</i> (short life).	..	<i>kuṭṭ-usuru</i>	
<i>śit'ṭ'r'-eli</i> (small rat).	..	<i>ciṭṭ-eluka</i>	<i>kitt-ili</i> .
<i>śit'ṭ'r'-uḷi</i> (small chisel).	<i>ciṭṭ'-uḷi</i> .		<i>kitt-uḷi</i>
<i>śit'ṭ'r'-aḍi</i> (small, comely foot).			<i>kitt-aḍi</i> , <i>kutt-aḍi</i> .
<i>siṭṭ'ṭ'r'-idaḷ</i> (small, in- ner petal).			<i>kitt-esal</i> , <i>kutt-esal</i> .
<i>śit'ṭ'r'-āḍai</i> (small gar- ment, as that of a girl).	<i>ciṭṭ'āḍa</i>		
<i>kuṭṭ'ṭ'r'-eḷuttu</i> (short vowel).			
<i>kuṭṭ'ṭ'r'-êval</i> (menial service).			
<i>śit'ṭ'r'-il</i> (hut).			
<i>śit'ṭ'r'-inbam</i> (earthly pleasures).	<i>ciṭṭ'-inbam</i> [Bh. G., V, 14]		
		<i>kuṭṭ-āvalu</i>	
		<i>ciṭṭ-aḍavi</i> (small forest).	
	<i>ciṭṭ'-āru</i> (small brook).		
	<i>ciṭṭ'-auṣadham</i> (slight medicine)		<i>kutt-aḷe</i> (small measure)

All the four dialects agree in showing the replacement of -ṛ of the connected bases *kuṛ-*, *kiṛ-*, *śiṛ-*, *ciṛ-* (short, small) by the correspondent âdêśa sounds Tam. *ṭṭ'* (*r'*), Mal. *ṭṭ'*, Tel. *ṭṭ* and Kann. *tt*, when the second constituents of the word-compounds (following

kuṛ-, *kiṛ-*, etc.) have vowels as initials ; it may also be noted that if the second constituents have consonants initially, then the *-ṛ-* or the bases is retained with *-u-* following, as in

Tam.	<i>kuṛu-nagai</i> (smile).
„	<i>śiṛu-têr</i> (small toy cart).
Mal.	<i>kuṛu-vali</i> (shortest way).
„	<i>ceṛu-nîr</i> (urine).
Tel.	<i>ciṛu-navvu</i> (smile).
„	<i>kuṛu-gêlu</i> (small hands).
Kann.	<i>kiṛu-nage</i> (smile).
„	<i>kuṛu-daḍi</i> (short stump).

The early grammars of Kannaḍa expressly deal with the *âdêśa* sounds of Kannaḍa : *Bhâṣâbhūṣaṇa*, 149, treats about cases like *kitt-aḍi*, and 150 deals with the circumstances in which *kiṛ-*, *kuṛ-* may be retained with a following *u* [*têṣâm udantatwam vyañjanêṣu*] ; *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, S. 181, refers to the same changes ; and *Sūtras* 337 and 340 of *Śabdânusâsana* cover the same points.

The early Mal. grammar, *Lilâtilakam*, just indicates cases like *cit't'-ôlam* (small wave) in the general *Sūtra* regarding *sandhi* in the third *Śilpam* : *sêṣam prayôgât jñēyam*. Some Telugu grammarians¹³ treat the *bhâva-nâma* derivatives *kuṛu-ca* and *ciṛu-ta* as originals and derive from them the adjectival *kuṭṭ-* and *ciṭṭ-* (appearing before vowels) and *kuṛu* and *ciṛu* (before consonants). The terms in which the early grammars of Kannaḍa refer to these words also indicate the same perspective. This, I think, is to put the cart before the horse, inasmuch as the bases concerned here are *kuṛ-*, *kiṛ-*, *ciṛ-*, *ṣiṛ-* which are very old attributives or *guṇavacanas* from which several derivatives (both nominal and verbal) have been formed with suffixes and preserved in the south Dravidian speeches.

In connection with the treatment of *r* of these bases in compound words, one may usefully recall here the parallel treatment accorded to *-ḍ* (*-ṭ*) ' of three other old attributive or *guṇavacana*

13. For instance, *Sîtârâmacârlu* [Tel. *Śabdaratnākaramu*, p. 186] describes *kuṛu* as *vṛttiyaṇḍu-n-guṛuca śabdamaṇaku mîndi varṇamu lōpîmpa-n-gā migilina rūpamu*, and *kuṭṭ-* thus : *accu paramagucō ṛakāramunaku ṭakāradwāyam âdêśambagu*.

bases, viz., *kaḍ-* (strong) *naḍ-* (middle) and *niḍ-*, *neḍ-* (long). In word-compounds in which the second constituents have vowels as initials, *-ḍ* is replaced by *-ṭṭ* in all the speeches; while *-ḍ* is retained with a following *-u* when the initials of the second constituents are consonants. The Kannaḍa rules are given in Bhb. 147-150, Śmd. 181, Śś. 337 ff; while for Mal. the rule is hinted at in Līl., III, 29. I give below illustrations from all the south Dravidian speeches.

I

Word-compounds in which the second constituents have initial vowels.

Tamil.

- kaḍ-* *katt-aḷagu* (great beauty).
katt-aḷal (raging fire).
naḍ- *natt-ucci* (midday).
natt-āru (central portion of a river).
neḍ- *nett-uyir* (long vowel).
nett-uyirppu (long sigh).
nett-uru (learning by heart).

Malayālam

- kaḍ-* *katt-eṟumbu* (big ant).
naḍ- *natt-ucca* (noon proper).
natt-irul (pitch darkness).
neḍ- *nett-ōṭṭam* (long, swift run).
nett-āyam

Telugu.

- kaḍ-* *katt-eṇḍa* (intense sunshine).
katt-eduru (right in front).
naḍ- *natt-aḍavi* (middle of the forest).
natt-illu (centre of the house).
niḍ- *nitt-ūrupu* (long sigh).

Kannaḍa.

- kaḍ-* *katt-āl* (strong, well-grown man).
katt-avasara (great hurry).
naḍ- *natt-eluvu* (back-bone).
natt-irul (pitch darkness).
niḍ- *nitt-aḍavi* (unending jungle).
nitt-oḍal (long body).

II

Word-compounds in which the second constituents have initial consonants.

- kaḍu-vāy* (strong-mouthed, tiger).
kaḍu-m-bagal (noon).
naḍu-k-kattū (girdle).
naḍu-k-kuḍi (middle house, chief dwelling).
neḍu-nāl (long time).
neḍu mayir (long hair).

- kaḍu-kanal* (thick flame).
kaḍu-m-bacca (dark green).
naḍu-k-kaḍal (middle of the sea).
naḍu viral (middle finger).
neḍu nāl (long time).
niḍu vāl (long sword).

- naḍu mūkkū* (centre of the nose).
naḍu rêya (midnight).

- niḍu mōmu* (long face).

- kaḍu-gudire* (strong horse).
kaḍu-gāḷi (violent wind).

- naḍu-mane* (central hall).
naḍu-vagal (*pagal*) (midday).
niḍu-dōḷ (long arm).

- niḍu-vayanam* (*payanam*) (long journey).

No sound other than *-r* (of *Kur-*, etc.), *-ḍ* (of *Kaḍ-*, etc.) and *-d* in Tam., and Mal., *mud-*, *pud-*¹⁴ is affected similarly in these circumstances in any of the south Dravidian speeches.

The replacement in the present category of *-r* by *t't* (*r'*) in Tam., *t't* in Mal., *ṭṭ* in Telugu and *tt* in Kannaḍa, and of *-ḍ* by *ṭṭ* in all dialects reminds us at once of categories 2 and 3 which I have discussed above. There are, however, four points (peculiar to the present category) which deserve to be noted :

(i) The bases of this category are original *guṇavacanas*, while, in categories 2 and 3, nouns are involved.

(ii) The bases here are short monosyllabic ones with short radical vowels, while in categories 2 and 3 the nouns involved are either trisyllabic or possessed of long radical vowels.

(iii) In the word-compounds of category 2, the *âdêśa* sounds crop up (followed by the enunciative *u*) in many cases where the second constituents have consonants as initials, while in the present category the bases are retained (with a following *u*) when the second constituents of the word-compounds have consonants as initials.

(iv) Kannaḍa shows representatives for this category but none for the previous one.

Though one cannot offer any definite explanation for Tam. *t't*(*r'*) here, it is probable that the primary impulse was furnished by the action of a particle *-t-* (cf. *vel-u-tt-* 'white' from *vel-*, *kaṛ-u-tt-* 'black' from *kaṛ-* 'blackness') meeting *-r* of *kuṛ-*, etc. The reason why the *âdêśa* fails to appear before consonants is perhaps connected with distribution of accent.

(To be continued.)

14. *-d-* of *pudu* (new) and *mudu* (old) in Tam. and Mal. appear to receive a similar treatment in the following compounds :

Tam. *putt-ōḍu* (new pot), *putt-an* (new person or thing), *mutt-aṇṇa* (eldest brother), Mal. *putt-ari* (new rice), *putt-illam* (new house), *mutt-accan* (grandfather), while before consonants *pudu* and *mudu* are retained with *-u-*.

A CRITIQUE OF NICOLAI HARTMANN'S ETHICS.

By P. V. S. NARAYANA, M.A., B.L.

I

INTRODUCTION

Each cultural epoch brings its own contribution to the sum of human thought. The historian of the future will find the specific contribution of our age in its explicit recognition of the problem of value. The concept of value has begun to dominate philosophy. In the words of Windleband, 'We do not now so much expect from philosophy that which it was formerly supposed to give, a theoretic scheme of the world, a synthesis of the results of the separate sciences or transcending them on lines of its own, a scheme harmoniously complete in itself. What we expect from philosophy to-day is a reflection on those permanent values which have their foundation in a higher spiritual reality above the changing interest of our times' (*Introduction to Philosophy*). A theory of value, as Osborne put it, 'is no less a necessary part of the equipment of every competent philosophy than epistemology' (*Foundations of the Philosophy of Value*, p. 1). Again, as he observes 'a complete system of philosophy must ultimately be a philosophy of value' (*Foundations of the Philosophy of Value*, p. 22). We are indebted to Kant's philosophy for the independence of the problem of value apart from that of knowledge. He taught us the distinction between 'valuation' and 'explanation'. The problem of existence belongs to the sphere of science and that of value to philosophy proper. When we put the question 'is there anything valuable?', science says 'No'. The ancients believed that the earth was the centre of the world and man its favoured child. Copernicus and Darwin changed all that. To-day, science tells us that we are accidental and precarious tenants of a nobody's estate and that nature is blind to our dreams. Our literature is full of pity for man, of declamations, bitter and pathetic, and mostly resigned on the theme. J. S. Mill in his three essays on religion and Bertrand Russel in his 'Freeman's Worship' awakened us to a sense of our plight here. To Mill, nature is an enemy of man, against whom we are at

war. And that is why Huxley regarded morality as a deliberate counter-move against the cosmic process. There is nothing here or hereafter except, to use a phrase of Russel, 'omnipotent matter', 'blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction'. We are in a field of irresistible forces that tolerate for a moment 'man's vagaries'. Thought and consciousness, if they make any contribution at all, make one that is small beyond reckoning. Some eminent Physicists have even concluded that the universe is slowly running down like a clock and that the energies of our systems will decay soon leaving the glory of the human race a dismal disturbance in the primeval solitude. If the ultimate fate of the world is sealed in advance, Gods are doomed along with men. Michael Angelo, Shakespeare and Shaw, share the same fate and go down into the same bottomless pit as the sun and the moon. This is the new 'Gotterdammerung' of which Spengler speaks, perhaps, the twilight of our race.

SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK AND ETHICAL RELATIVISM

The resulting outlook of this view for Ethics is disastrous as it cuts the very nerve of all valuable life. There are no values or morals, no good or bad except that thinking makes it so. The vices of one age are the values of another. The ideals of one school are the prohibitions of its opposite. When religions conflict and morals change, Ethics differs from man to man. Then, what is Truth? It is only that which is useful. What is Beauty? It is only that which lures our senses for a while. What is Good? It is only a code of prescriptions that the law imposes to govern large groups, who, if left to themselves, would like to undo all the laws that they publicly follow. Values are a vague projection of hope on the screen of the objective world. In short, science reduces values to mere means of personal gratification.

Then where is the question of certitude in ethics? In the congeries of ethical propositions, where is an axiomatic and self-evident truth? To use the language of Westermarck, 'the great diversity of opinion among moral specialists only shows that none of the various theories of normative sciences can be said to have proved its case' (*Ethical Relativism*, p. 44). Relativism tells us that none of the moral judgments possesses objective validity; there is nothing truly good or bad, right or

wrong. Moral principles express nothing more than the opinions of those who believe in them. The moral concepts which form the basis of moral predication, are ultimately generalisations of tendencies to feel either moral approval or disapproval with reference to acts (*Ethical Relativism*, p. 90). In a moment of great revolutionary zeal, Lenin expressed the view that morality is a deception. 'In our opinion morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of the class war, everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order for the unity of the proletariat. Our morality thus consists solely in discipline and in conscious war against the exploiters. We do not believe in eternal principles of morality and we will expose this deception. Communist morality is identical with the fight for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat' (*The Communist Manifesto*). The view is technically called ethical scepticism and derives its plausibility from the fact, that the world presents to most of us an untidy litter of things rather than a fine and peaceful garden of Epicurus, where we can live, love and laugh as we please.

THE LIMITS SCIENCE MUST ACCEPT

In all ages of scientific advance, there is a swing from Protagoras to Plato. The truths of yesterday are found wanting to-day. We are expanding in our ranges and our loyalties are widening. The picture that science drew is overdone. It only exhorted us to be bold and watch the last expiring pulse of the universe. But, all the historical religions and idealistic philosophies of the world have recorded their permanent protest against this blank-cheque-view of life. Its policy of clean-sweep strikes at the root of all problems of value by an unwillingness to see through to the end. Life is a persistent challenge; it demands an explanation. Now, the circle has run its full course and with a new turn, we are brought back to an era of sober questionings. Relativism and scepticism move from misunderstanding to misunderstanding and end by being misunderstood. The ideal of physical science is a system of logical sequences called cause and effect. It is an abstract scheme which precludes much that philosophy is obliged to include. Values pass out of its picture. The status of life and its meaning in the

world is the standing problem of philosophy and ethics. Science leaves us with the notion of an activity in which nothing is done. It is a mere formula for succession. It finds no individuality in nature, aim or goal in it. Dealing with rules of succession, it faces only one-half of the evidence deposed by our entire experience. Whether the world is born on a tortoise which in turn is carried by an elephant 'with legs reaching all the way down' or is the thought of a 'Jeans-like-God whose symbol is the square root of minus one' is not the question of questions. We are concerned with things which embrace the great dramatic and historical happenings that have shaped the destiny and direction of the human beings. What is meant by humanity and what is meant by the 'ought'? These are the questions that really matter to us. The 'ought' is a fact which mere fact cannot explain. Nor is it created or imagined by the human mind. Dealing with the daily life of human beings, now and ahead, in space and time of ordinary experience, its claims are enormous. The 'ought' is the official seal of values and enters into all the human actions and motives. In effect, values seem to be all and nothing less. The moral man who places his life at the call of duty, the artist who creates the perfect form and the prophet who provokes the people for their own good, are only moved by the force of an intangible metaphysical essence we call values. It is, then, not at all an accident that when we contemplate greatest events, the revolutions that have changed the face of the world, the rise of religions, the miracles of man's conquests over nature, we are drawn deep into the eternal human element that runs through the pulse of human history giving moment and meaning to it. When the full tale of our history comes to be told, it will be estimated as an adventure in the realm of values.

FAILURE ALL AROUND AND THE REVOLT AGAINST PESSIMISM

Pessimism is the 'forma mentis' of the age. We are getting vexed with its distintegrating trend. Science scandalises the purpose of life and casts us adrift on the waves of probability. We are tired of being told that we count for nothing and that the world is on the down-grade. The fashionable philosophies of the day are the creations of novelists and second-rate journalists that have turned pathological through an acute economic

crisis that needs a more dignified handling. It is a return to cynicism through the literature of Freud. Disillusionment, however manfully held at arm's length, devitalises life and kills the zest for living. In all paths of life, to-day, there is a persistent undertone of pessimism and defeatism. Science has been brought up short by its own success and ruthlessness. The knowledge which it gives us is not of values but of patterns drawn on the surface of the unknown. The world-view of an Aldous Huxley is the symptom of a new decadence that should be arrested in its spread. If science is to enrich human life, it must not intrude on the sphere of values. The balance of the forces that make for the good life must be kept going. The value-philosophy of to-day stands opposed to, and is a reaction against, scepticism, relativism, naturalism and pragmatism in ethics. As Prof. Julian Huxley put it: 'Science is without a scale of values: the only value it recognizes is the value of truth and knowledge. This neutrality of science in regard to emotions and moral and aesthetic values means that, while in its own sphere of knowledge it is supreme, in other spheres it is only a method or a tool. What man shall do with the new facts, the new ideas, the new opportunities of control which science is showering upon him does not depend upon science, but upon what man wants to do with them; and this in turn depends upon his scale of values' (*Science and Religion*—Broadcast lectures by various thinkers, p. 18). Modern science and the ethics of economic *Laissez faire* have conducted us into a world, in which, there are more sellers than buyers, doctors than patients, lawyers than clients, and above all more policemen and soldiers in uniform than dangerous citizens. The theatre is actually overrun by disruptive malcontents curious to know the happenings at the next corner. We need a large outlook, which at once does justice to the many paradoxes of the age beginning with poverty on one side and plenty on another and ending with the swing between dictatorship and democracy. We are perplexed, fascinated and repelled by this astounding medley of civilization and brutality, magnificence and meanness.

THEOLOGY OUT OF DATE

Can God help us in this situation? The post-war generation seems to have substituted values in the place of God. At any

rate, one section of the value-philosophers are in no way friendly to him. The Great War evoked great reactions. While it convinced one section of thinkers of the existence of God, it once for all weakened such a thing in others. While the Bishops prayed in churches, God did not choose to enlighten them. Hence, many thinkers turned to a world in which they thought there could be meaning, even though God is absent from it. When authority fails to appeal, Theology becomes a subject of pure joke. The ethics of values has come in at this juncture to play the new religion abandoning the old pose. Values are the corner-stone of the new structure. The real world, to use the modern phrase, is a 'Kingdom of values'. There is an intrinsic or absolute order of values different from sensuous existence constituting a self-governing colony of essences. In a word, there is no need even for God, provided values are recognised, not as mere self-expressions of individual or collective emotions, but, as relating to a permanent feature of reality. The kingdom of values opens up afresh the 'Socratic Pathos of wonder'. It is a new philosophy thought out afresh in the light of our new experience. These ultimate and eternal values are Platonic essences and are not merely attributes of God. They are the citizens of an eternal world, a spaceless sphere of pure essences (Cf. Santayana's *Realm of Essence*). In the new ethics, in the apprehension of these eternal values and in the earnest striving to co-operate with the moral world, lies the whole duty of man. This, perhaps, is the only part by which the moralist can claim his status in the eternal world. If the heart of religion is the source of peace it finds in the love of God, the secret of the new ethics is the security it seeks in the Kingdom of values, in the midst of the disquietude of the world. The value-philosophy of Hartmann is purely based on phenomenological experience and follows the logic of realism. It has not much in common with the 'philosophia perennis' or the Great Tradition, which Urban regards as the 'natural metaphysics of the human mind and the authentic point of view'. Value and reality in the philosophy of realism are not inseparably connected. Hartmann has nothing to do with the problem of divine immanence. The recognition of truth, beauty and goodness, need not prove that there is a God. God, to the new ethics, need not in his transcendent being be the source and origin of

all perfection. Nor does it approve of the concept of a 'super ego' in the ultra-personal will as the support of values (Munsterberg, *Eternal Values*, p. 385). In the ethics of Hartmann values are puny Gods brooking no sovereign or super-deity. They constitute a pantheon of immaterial essences. In a word, Hartmann offers you pure Platonism minus its traditional moral hierarchy and cosmology with the bottom knocked out of its theistic bearings.

THE LION IN THE PATH OF MODERN RESEARCH

The value theories of the century are the off-shoots of Platonic realism. They preserve, in some shape or other, his tradition, through all their modern re-statements. The whole line of German speculation, in this regard, is thoroughly influenced by the remarkable researches of Husserl in his *Phenomenology*, a movement directed against the Kantian tradition on one side and Eudaemonism on the other. The German ethics of values avails itself of the results already obtained in the field by Hartmann's notable predecessors. Meinong and Scheler are its forerunners. Modern ethics is a swing to and fro, between Eudaemonism and Kantian ethics. Eudaemonism bases its findings on empirical data. The speculations loyal to the Kantian tradition reject the same, in favour of a formalistic ethics on a priori principles for the sake of self-consistency. The theories which claim absolute validity for ethical principles are void of content and are merely formal and rationalistic. They fail to bring out the rich substance of ethical life. Emotional theories which discover moral value in material content and not in the empty form of the will, lack unquestionable footing. As such, they are prone to relativism and subjectivism. They derive value of the act from the end that they seek to attain, which is always a state of feeling. If that be the case, no external object has value, except in relation to sensitive organisms. In a word, ethics must be saved from the dilemma of an a priori, but purely formal and empty abstraction, and a concrete and empirical but merely relativistic theory. This is the difficulty that modern ethics has to face.

AXIOLOGICAL ETHICS

Axiological ethics tries to amend the drawbacks of both by making a philosophical defence of the objectivity of moral

values. The phenomenological discovery of a 'material a priori' overcomes the opposition by furnishing a theory of objective value, which is at the same time material. The false opposition between thought and sense perception set up by Kant is the mother of many errors. As a result of this dualism, perception, feeling and volition have been ascribed to sense dependent on the organism. Scheler and Husserl unearthed the prejudices involved in all subjective theories. Husserl held that these are 'alogical' aspects of consciousness which display an order of relations which is presupposed by an inductively established order. It is not borrowed from logical thought. Augustine and Pascal were the first to discover the idea of an ethics of feeling that is at the same time absolute and a priori. Hartmann took the cue from them and announced that there are other modes of experience which reveal realms of being to which pure intellect is as blind as the ear to colour or the nose to sight. The realm of value belongs to such an objective order, going towards the making up of a whole by itself. It is a separate sphere of being with its own laws and structures as absolute as those of mathematics or logic, apprehensible with the same degree of intuitive certainty. Ethics conceived as a general science of value should take up the task of exploring this domain. And it is this investigation the new ethics of values opens up.

EUDAEMONISM AND AXIOLOGY

Axiology is seeking the empirical basis for the value science of ethics. Eudaemonism has already preempted the principal items of such an empirical basis. Axiological ethics puts the theory of value on the basis of ethical judgment by pointing out that mere empirical experience is inadequate to understand the ethical phenomena. Eudaemonism makes goods as such, or the experience of enjoying the goods, the ultimate determinant of ethical predication. Value ethics holds that a genuine knowledge of values is given to us in some of our emotional experiences and that a choice or predication is right which squares with the value insight. The true values revealed in our emotional experience are of such a nature that we do not seem to be guided always by pleasure *per se*. Eudaemonism lacks the higher vision. It can never discover a

good which is not pleasant or a sorrow that is sweet and soulful. Value ethics declares that we attempt to realise or actualise higher values irrespective of their pleasing us. Such a proposition is a flat contradiction in Eudaemonism. Axiological ethics is based on plurality and subjectivity. Emotional experience reveals values possessing a normative force. The ethical judgments issuing from it transcend the immediacy of the emotion and put the agent in touch with an objective order that perdures side by side with the existential world. Value research has to meet another difficulty in making a claim of this sort. On one side, it has to face the task of expanding the range of empirical data on which it constructs, and on the other, it has to discover a unity within this data. Again, the unity sought for should not be a formalistic one imprinted by an ordering mind, but should be a unity that can stand up to scientific verifiability. In a word, the methods of the new research must conform to the spirit of the sciences.

AXIOLOGICAL ETHICS AND THE KANTIAN TRADITION

Though Hartmann keeps close to empirical fact, he has obvious leanings to rationalism. He insists that ethical valuations are a priori and this a priori he regards as empirical also. Though he is loyal to the main lines of Kantian tradition, he puts aside all duty ethics. Ethics is not casuistry to play the guide in particular situations. It does not pretend to tell you what to do in any given instance, any more than epistemology can tell what is true or false in a particular case. They only give us criteria of good and bad or truth and falsehood. The application of this criterion is in each case a minor problem. Instead of making the categorical imperative the main spring of value ethics, Hartmann makes ethics the general knowledge and pursuit of values. This viewpoint naturally leads him into a trenchant critique of the Kantian tradition. Kant regarded the moral law as a priori. To him, it was a subjectivistic and rationalistic product. Hartmann rejects Kant's conception of the a priori and refuses to recognise the dichotomy between the a priori and the a posteriori. The Kantian antithesis between the a priori and the a posteriori is not the same as that between nature and reason (vol. i, p. 60). Again, the Kantian categorical imperative is not an empty and

barren formalism, but is the ideal objective relationship, of which ethical consciousness gets glimpses regardless of its form (vol. i, p. 95). Applying Husserl's doctrine of an objective a priori to value, Scheler worked up a theory of ethical standards that are supposed to be at once concrete and absolute. Formalism can be made significant only by a profusion of axiological content. In ethics, transcendental subjectivism does not lead to the freedom of the will for the sake of which Kant introduced it (vol. i, p. 159). On the other hand it throws a whole cloud of suspicion on the will itself. Kantian subjectivism lies wholly in his conception of the a priori. He was unable to see an a priori which did not subsist in the subject as a function. 'But, must the subject add anything out of himself?' asks Hartmann and maintains that the content of what the subject discerns a priori is just as objective as what he perceives a posteriori. That the a prioristic contents are not to be extracted from the empirical manifold cannot in any way call in question their objectivity. Geometrical propositions cannot indeed be derived from objects or things, not even from drawn figures. They are none the less objective and have nothing to do with the functions of consciousness. So also is the relation between cause and effect which is never given to sense. Then, how can the categorical imperative be otherwise? It is, says Hartmann, also something purely objective and its content is an ideal objective relation which precisely as such hovers before the moral consciousness, independently of the degree of actualisation in real life. To confuse the empirical with the objective is an idealistic prejudice. This led to the nineteenth century subjectivism which submerged the whole sphere of ideal objects, long ago discovered by Plato. The universality, a priority and the categorical character of the principle has no need of a subjectivistic genesis. The moral consciousness meets the sensible world with another principle leading us to a self-existent ideal realm to which values are native. The ethical philosophy of the nineteenth century spent itself in an analysis of the moral consciousness and its acts. It was far from concerning itself about the objective contents of moral claims, commandments and values. Only in our day a new turning-point of the ethical problem has come to light. The supreme concern of the new phase is the 'substance of ethical being and

not-being'. The investigation of this is the task of the 'Phenomenology of morals' (vol. i, chap. xiii, pp. 176-80).

THE TECHNIQUE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE VALUE-ETHICS

The method of a research is of greater worth than its results. A scientific ethics has been a dream from Plato's time. Till now no momentous step in the direction was taken. Brentano, Scheler and Ehrenfels have essayed this critical task following the lead of Husserl. The method is all important. Though the Newtonian physics gave way before the more recent researches, even to-day it is admitted that no one has gone beyond his methods. The basic step in the Methodology of natural science is the survey of empirical data. You have to discover by accurate observation and analysis the unity in the same and then devise adequate methods for testing the validity of these unifying theories. The problem of ethics, as Brentano insisted, is not to make it 'autonomous' but to make it 'orthonomic'. In insisting on this feature of ethics (freedom from error) he has indicated the direction which axiological ethics is destined to take. The method that Scheler and Hartmann followed is technically known as the 'phenomenological method'. The method seeks to describe and grasp the full meaning of the contents of experience itself (Husserl's *Ideas*, pp. 7-12, 30, 41-9). For this method, the most complex psychological data, sensations, judgments, inferences, feelings and emotions may be 'simple', if included in one act of awareness, even though they have different time differences and are interrupted by other events. Thus, a friend, an injury received, are all suggested as examples of phenomena forming unities of experience determining actions or attitudes. Husserl claims to have undertaken a non-empirical investigation of knowledge, and in special, of the structure of the act of knowing with its content, exclusive of reference either to the subject or to the objects of knowledge as real existence, both of which, to borrow his phrase are 'bracketed'. The phenomenon which is the object of investigation is not an existent but only an essence (Husserl's *Ideas*, pp. 12-30, 41-9). His concern is only with the a priori character of act and content. Scheler followed this method in ethics and exhibited the phenomenological basis of ethics without hazarding a closed system of ethical science

bearing on concrete life (Mary Evelyn Clerk's Essay on Phenomenological Ethics, *Journal of Philosophy*, p. 144, 1932). He claims not to have transcended the range of strictly a priori concepts and relations. The Phenomenological import of these a priori contents is much more than formal. The denial of the formal character of a principle does not mean that it is empirical. Kant held that the opposition of a priori and empirical coincides with that of formal and material, but this is wrong. As Hartmann says, what is formal in one relation would be material in another. Material a priori truths are of utmost importance for ethics. Kant failed, as an ethical thinker, since he could not recognise the existence of material a priori truths.

Then what is a priori? Scheler defines as a priori 'those general meanings and propositions that can be directly apprehended without any assumptions as to the apprehending subject or its nature as a living being or as to the objects to which they may be applicable—thus, without any presuppositions concerning existence' (Mary Evelyn Clerk's Essay, *Journal of Philosophy*, p. 444, 1932). The opposition between real and unreal does not hold good here. If we call them phenomena, it has no reference to appearance. The apprehension of objects is the intuition of essence' or 'Phenomenological experience'. Essences as such are neither universal nor particular. (Cf. Santayana's *Realm of Essence*.) Only as applied to existents does their significance become manifest. An identical essence may be embodied in a number of individual objects, but there are also individual essences. Thus, a priori knowledge is derived from experience based on facts and facts only and can never be the product of arbitrary intellectual construction. But, our experience of it is a pure intuition of the essence, a sensing of the self-evident without any mediation. As such, it can never be endorsed or discredited by observation or inductive proof. And indeed, such processes always presuppose it. Experience is no chaos of sensuous material, upon which the mind puts the form and orders it to unity. Notions like thinghood, power, quality, motion, space, time, number are no more creations of thought than data of sense. Pure sensations are nowhere given. Essences and relations of essences are as much given as things or goods. This view of a priori is totally rid

of all subjectivistic prejudices which beset the Kantian ethics. The Kantian effort to vindicate its objectivity through its claim to necessity and universality is futile. Necessity is a negative criterion. An *a priori* judgement may be simply singular and need not be universal at all. This means that it need not necessarily be recognised as valid by one and all. Only one mind and only one race and not another may be capable of reaching such insight. Thus, it is clear, that our whole mental activity and not merely its rational aspect is subject to laws that are independent of and logically prior to its psychological organization and surroundings. Feeling, emotion, volition have an *a priori* content never derived from thought. Values are as much essences as objects of mathematical thinking. They exhibit a structure that can be intuited as a phenomenon as directly as an *a priori* of logic. But the valuational *a priori* is not given directly to thought but is given only to feeling as in our preferences in love or hate. The organ of value is not rational judgement which is only a subsequent act, but immediate valuational feeling. A purely intellectual mind may lose the intuition of value. Plato's 'Meno' gives us the clue to the knowledge of ethics. We seize hold on the ethical through 'recollection'. The seer with moral vision puts us into direct touch with our own moral nature by unveiling our moral capacity (vol. i, p. 58). Scheler had failed to unlock the 'Rich plenitude of the ethical cosmos'. With Nietzsche the same 'melted away into ethical relativism'. Firmly guarded against any such dangers by the phenomenological methods of his predecessors, Hartmann explores afresh the field of values, a preliminary effort at which was already made by Aristotle's 'Nichomachean Ethics'.

The burden of the new Ethics is solely on the *a priori*. Moral experience and *a prioristic* insight are inter-related. The *a priori* is never ready to hand but must be guided, aroused and stirred to activity by objective facts. Yet, none of these facts would be ethical but for the values that are at the back of them. These can be discerned only *a priori* in the context of experience. The values are apprehended in and through phenomena. They are in our experience but not of it. Valuational vision being *a prioristic*, apart from it, ethical life would have no meaning. All ethical science rests upon the *a prioristic*

insight, the primary consciousness, through which alone we know good and evil. 'Here enters a knowledge *sui generis*, with its own laws, and its immediacy, an a prioristic intuition which is independent of the posterius of actual phenomena and the part they play as guides' (vol. i, p. 104). It is an a priori order of the emotions and feelings like love and hate in entire independence of the logic of the intellect. This primal order of perception is the 'Ordre du coeur' of which Pascal spoke (vol. i, p. 177). The full significance of Hartmann's work can be understood only when we come to appreciate the fresh perspective that the new method affords. Realistic to the core, it remains close to its Platonic background. In opening up the new path, Hartmann has given a decisive turn to the ethical science by discovering afresh the inherent unity of ancient and modern ethics. It is one of his considered convictions that the ethical man must be nothing short of a seer, alive to the fulness of the values of life (vol. i, p. 45). In one hold, he tries to bring together, value and obligation, and make the science of ethics fool-proof against subjectivism and relativism. The task is big; and if it is faultless, it can aspire to be a complete philosophy by itself capable of being ranked as the ablest effort of the times to restore the distracted world once again to its Platonic moorings.

II

BACK TO PLATO

The sum total of movements that have arisen in history have their rise in the normal urgency of the human spirit. We require a philosophy however incomplete it may be. Until the all-round failure of the day, we went by the beaten tracks, wore our blinkers and set off in directions that ultimately brought us into the 'brave new world'. In political, commercial and undergraduate circles the question is put about the validity of set morals. We are literally living in an age of sophists, epicureans and cynics. A quick purge is needed to shift speculation and set out the basic content of ethical life. The confusions of moral standards and the failure of Eudaemonism and Kantian formalism led Hartmann into a move back to Plato. It is a commonplace that there is nothing that Plato

did not anticipate. After several centuries of metaphysical discussions, the great questions concerning conduct and life stand much as Plato left them. The growth of the scientific knowledge as Sir James Jeans has put it 'has done little more than negative the speculations of subsequent philosophers' (*The New Background of Science*). Many hold that 'out of Plato come all things that are still debated among men of thought'. Plato contended that the real world is a world of values. This is the salient fact of Plato's doctrine of ideas. The values of goodness, beauty and truth are of supreme importance in the cosmos. They are not merely regulative principles which we derive from experience. Nor are they sheer abstractions which indicate the purpose or types of human aspiration, which we agree to admire. They are absolute and not relative. We cannot create them; but as we specialise in Ethics they are more clearly sensed by us. The ideas of Plato are realities, existing in their own right. Plato called them ideas and Hartmann calls them values that are absolute. Plato was the seer that saw with mystical directness these essences, like the sages of the Upanisads. To him they must have been like the Gods, radiant, clear and immortal, however fugitive our common vision of them may be. To be called back from the Platonic ecstasy of the contemplation of essences into the society of material things is perhaps an ethical descent. What Plato means by 'ideas' or 'forms' is this. In his metaphysics such things as goodness, justice, beauty and truth are not mere concepts of the mind. Nor are they mere attributes, but real existents with a status of their own in the intelligible realm. The ideas are immaterial, supersensible, entities, general universal forms abiding in their own world apart from the treacherous changes of the existential world. They just are and do not become. Sense and thought are radically disparate, yet everywhere connected. Nature is the realm revealed by our senses. It is only half real, but it suggests a further reality which lies beyond itself. It is a system of symbols and we ascend to truth by learning to pass from the symbols to the nonsensuous realities symbolised. True science is that which ascertains knowledge of forms. These forms, values, ideas or essences are already there to be discovered, before the discovery is made. Knowledge, according to Plato, is the discovery of that which there is to be discovered

before the discovery is made. Goodness, beauty and truth belong to Plato's category of ideas apart from the physical forms that embody them. They are absolute realities independent of their apprehension by or manifestation in individuals. Man does not make values any more than he makes reality. The good formed the goal of all Plato's intellectual endeavour. It gave unity and system to the intelligible world harmonising the forms in one sovereign and universal purpose. As in the sense-world the sun is the source of light and of life to all created things, so in the thought-world the forms derive their rationality and being from the form of the good. Knowledge can be predicated only of forms. All else is mere opinion. The aim of philosophy is to take the soul beyond the bounds of sense to the world of 'pure forms'.

IDEAL SELF-EXISTENCE OF VALUES

Philosophy has shown little progress since Plato. The reason is that Philosophy is not the knowledge of the sense which is fleeting. Systems come and go and no one has a place in the end which will not vacate for the next. Genuine intuitions only remain as the keys which unlock the secret of reality. Despite the amazing advance of science in the last so many years, it is frankly difficult to see its bearing on the subject matter of philosophy which always originates in the Socratic sublimity of wonder. The key of the known has not opened the chapter of the unknown. There are no final interpretations in science and there can be none in things of the sense. Genuine knowledge of forms alone can be real knowledge, all else being opinion. Hartmann's whole thesis is a phenomenological affirmation of the central thesis of Plato. Value is only intuitively and a prioristically apprehended. With the overthrow of formalism and Eudaemonism, he has established that the value-consciousness is necessarily a material objective consciousness. This means that even the values themselves originally do not have the character of laws and commandments. Values are just Platonic forms and are concrete, material and objective. They are not existing patterns. Valuational structures are ideal objects beyond all being and non-being. They are even apart from the really existing feeling of value which only can intuit it (Cf. Santayana's *Realm of Essence*). As

regards their content they are material. Since they are not empty abstractions, they are capable of being actualised in so far as they are not already actualised. Because they are concrete in their nature, they are supreme determinants of the positive ethical life. That is why Hartmann calls his ethics 'a material ethics of values'. Plato was the first who announced the existence of another realm of being other than that of existence. The scholastics called this 'essentia'. The notion was lost in the fog of obscurities that the Nineteenth Century thought created. Phenomenology restored it once again to the realm of Plato. Ideas have a peculiar kind of being. In order to know what Plato means we may take the idea of redness. Redness is obviously not the same thing as a red object such as a rose or a picture. It is not the sum total of such objects since the collection of all red objects will not make redness. It is a form which bestows upon sensible qualities whatever qualities they are found to exhibit. Among Plato's ideas are found ethical principles. These are ideal virtues or values. In their mode of being, values are Platonic ideas and belong to the realm which can only be spiritually discerned. They are not for the crude gaze. In the language of to-day values, of which Hartmann speaks, are 'Essences'. They do not emanate from things or real relationships. Nor are they added out of the percipient. Naturalism and subjectivism fall short of their mode of being. They are not formal or empty structures but possess vital contents. They are materials and structures which constitute a specific quality of things, relations or persons. They can neither be invented nor apprehended by thought. They are at once discerned only by an inner vision like the ideas of Plato. This sensing of values is just what Plato calls 'Beholding'. The sensing of values is primal and is embodied in acts of preference, approval and conviction and is a proof of its existence. The a priority of this knowledge is an emotional intuitive one. There can be no reflective and intellectual sensing of values. Values are not only independent of the things that are valuable (goods) but are actually their prerequisites. They are what lend the character of goods to things. Things are valuable only through them. Goods, in so far as they have value, have it, through participation in ideal

values. We find value in an object or person. Again, we set up a person for a pattern only under the influence of this inner discernment of the ideal value (vol. i, p. 197). In this, it is only the ideal values that guide us and affect our conduct. As Kant put it, values in so far as they are connected with actual situations, are 'conditions of the possibility of goods'. The experience of goods tells us that one thing is agreeable, that another is useful and another beautiful. What is implied in this experience is a knowledge of the agreeable, the useful and the beautiful. They are obviously presupposed. One must possess the standards beforehand. From the start, things fall under these standards. We must have an elemental feeling which connects all things and relations that come within its range of vision with the value of life. Otherwise an eternal back reference becomes inevitable and we cannot explain why a thing is good. Not all the welter of empirical elements that enter here can affect the a priority of values which dominates the domain of goods. 'That things and their relations can be goods or evils; that striving can be directed towards them, that there are volitional ends which themselves are ideal and yet are really determinant for actions; that there is such a thing as approval and disapproval of human conduct, that a conscience speaks directly in the depth of consciousness accusing, imputing guilt, imposing responsibility—all this is conceivable only on the presupposition that values, as a determining prius control the attitude which man takes up towards life' (vol. i, p. 206). A thing can be and is valuable only in relation to a value itself. Nothing is ever loved, striven for, and yearned after except for the sake of some value immediately discerned. Thus, it is plain that values possess the character of genuine essences (vol. i, chap. xvi, pp. 217-30).

VALUATIONAL A PRIORITY AND ABSOLUTENESS

If we accept values a priori, are they not prejudgments or assumptions of the subject? The whole claim of the a priori may be a bias. Even the a priority of theoretical knowledge is under the suspicion of subjectivism. What is the special proof of its objectivity? The Kantian proof consisted in the exposition of the relation of the categories to objects of another order. He relates it to a posterioristic object. In the domain

of theory, the procedure holds good, because categories are laws which dominate all real experience. Values are not like categories, because they are ideals that are to be actualised. As such, the proof of their objectivity is not to be found in the agreement with the real. Any discrepancy with the real is no evidence against them. Here, there is the difference between theoretical and practical insight and the nature of the a priori involved. The theoretical a priori has only the significance of being an element in knowledge. This significance fails if objective validity is lacking to the a priori. It then becomes merely a mode of presentation without agreement with an object. As such, it has no cognitive value. A practical a priori, on the other hand, has not the merit of being a factor of knowledge. It is a determining factor in life. In the assessment of values, in taking sides, in longing for and turning away from things or persons, we discern it unmistakably. This, indeed, plays the rôle of the valuational a priori. The a priori of values is even more unconditional and absolute than that of theoretical categories. The whole responsibility of the valuational task falls on the sense of values which is the only possible source of knowledge in this regard. Values cannot be proved any more than the existence of things. We postulate the existence of things in the very act of perceiving. Thus, the belief in the ideal self-existence of values, according to Hartmann, 'stands entirely on the same level as belief in real self-existence'. To doubt the one is to doubt the other. The phenomena of the moral life presuppose 'a realm of values subsisting for itself—which exists beyond reality just as much as beyond consciousness—an ethical ideal sphere, not manufactured, invented or dreamed, but actually existing and capable of being grasped in the phenomenon of the feeling for values' (vol. i, p. 104). As the prerequisites of goods, converting things into goods, values are essences. As essences, they have a genuine and fundamental being, the being of ideality, super-temporality and are super-historical and unchangeable (vol. i, chap. xiv, p. 189).

CONSCIENCE AND ETHICAL A PRIORI

'What the evidence of the sensing of values is, is a relevant question. The answer is, that the phenomena of accountability,

responsibility, consciousness of guilt—conscience, in a word, provides the sought-for evidence. The deeper we force our way into the heart of the ethical phenomena, so much the more evident it becomes, the all-dominating character of values as essences. The moral consciousness does not confine itself to the weighing of actions and dispositions only. It imputes, it judges and also condemns. It metes out guilt and responsibility to the doer after the deed. The moral consciousness is incorruptible. It is relentless in its cold impartiality and punishes even one's own ego. What is called 'conversion' and 'change of heart' are the moral work of this power. In the most sensitive points of our personal life, we find the force of this against which it is hopeless to pit our selfish interests. The interests of the ego cannot go counter to its decree after a certain point. The merely empirical person feels in it the presence of a super power brooding over his actions and ready to round him up if he misbehaves. If the a priori of values is anywhere perceptible, it is remarkably here. The idea of the moral self itself is built upon purely valuational materials. Moral personality does not exist if there is no pure a priori of values. The broad phenomenon of conscience is at bottom just this primal consciousness of value found in the feelings of everybody. The well-known way in which conscience speaks fits most exactly the emotional a priori of the valuational consciousness which appears unsummoned. The so-called 'Voice of Conscience' is a basic form of the primal consciousness of values. It is the most elemental way in which the sense of value gains currency among moral beings and is obviously a self-dependent power in man, set apart from his will. As a purer force it has the influence of a higher power; a voice from the ideal world of values. Thus, conscience is the revelation of moral values in actual consciousness, their entrenchment within the reality of human life and is the most primordial form of the sense of value. This is possible only because values themselves are an existent prius, the conditions of the possibility of conscience itself (vol. i, p. 220).

RELATIONALITY, RELATIVITY AND ABSOLUTENESS

Then, are the values sensed by the primal vision so absolute as they claim? The answer of Hartmann is that we should

know that the relationality of the values is not the same thing as their relativity. Every moral value is a value of disposition towards some person or a community of persons. As such, it has an object even where the act is purely inward without expression or overt deed. This relation inheres in the nature of the moral conduct in general, that is, of that conduct about the valuational quality of which moral judgments are concerned. This sort of relation to a subject is a part and parcel of the structure of the ethical content itself as marked off from that of the goods-value which goes along with it. The moral person stands behind his motivated acts. Values are attached to him as their bearer or carrier. This relation is not valuational relativity. It is native to the nature of the material itself and is inherent in the quality in which the matter of the value subsists. The substance of value always includes the reference to the person. It can come up for evidence only as an attribute or predicate of a person. This relationality is a part of the inner relational structure of moral values. The predicate throughout is drawn into the structure, though, in itself, it is absolute; it is the basic relational structure of the valuational content. Values are absolute as regards the subject who appraises them. All relationality to the subject affects only the structure of the content and not the value. The material is the concrete structure which has the value. Thus the moral worth of trust is not the trust itself which idea is the material. Its proper valuableness cannot be derived from anything else but is one that can be sensed only in valuational feeling. The valuableness is different from any given structure and every relation though it inheres in them. It is an 'ens sui generis', an essence of another sort. Thus, mere relationality is not capable of annulling self-existence and absoluteness. Whatever in its mode of being is not relative to a subject is absolute. Values simply confront the thinking subject as independent and immutable entities which he must take account of. They set up before him a self-subsistent regularity and possess an energy of their own. The point is clear that relatedness to a subject does not reduce values to relativity. The relatedness of goods to man is not at all a matter of thinking which can make a difference to the matter itself. Judgments of good and evil vary with the power of sharp and dull sensing of values. A person

cannot change the fact that a thing is good for him. Geometrical laws hold good only for spatial figures. Mechanical laws hold good only for real bodies. Physical laws apply only to organisms. But, in this form of relationality no relativity is implied in the categorical import of these laws. Similarly, psychological laws may be relative to psychic beings; but this does not mean that they exist only in the consciousness of these beings or that they can meddle with them at will. They are laws to which psychic beings are unconditionally subject. In the same way, the consciousness of good and evil is subject unconditionally to the laws of values and anti-values. In a word, the relatedness of these values to a human subject is not relativity to the subject. The difference between relationality and relativity must be grasped for a clear understanding of the status of ethical values. The relation of the value of goods to the subject is an absolute relation which is comprised in the content of their values. The thing and the subject here are objectively drawn into the structure of the valuational materials in the same way as cause and effect are included in the causal nexus. Values are not thoughts, visions or presentations. Knowledge of value is genuine knowledge of being standing on a par with every kind of theoretical knowledge. It abides unaffected by our beholding it and even in the act of beholding, the subject is a passive percipient and puts nothing out of himself. Values are patterns of the ideal ethical sphere which is a concern by itself with its own laws, orders and structures. The ethical ideal sphere of values is organically connected with the logical and the mathematical as well as with that of pure essences in general. In fact, it is a continuation of them however different their ideal structures may be from values (vol. i, pp. 51, 52, 189, 206-15).

LOGIC, MATHEMATICS AND ETHICS

If we ask the question what we do know, the casual reader of books will not find his path easy. If we go to Plato for the first time, we will be surprised to know that Plato found the keynote of the study of nature and philosophy in Mathematics. Plato is said to have inscribed on the door of his academy the words, 'Let no one ignorant of Geometry enter'. The reason for this is not far to seek. The ideal sphere is

homogeneous in existence though varied in content. It overlies the whole sphere of being. The ontological and ethical ideal spheres are not isolated members from the rest of the spheres which mathematical and logical relations exhibit. Side by side is to be found a vast aesthetical sphere closely contiguous. Their mode of existence is a unity for knowledge since their patterns are known in all departments of a priori as in Logic and Mathematics. The being of values is parallel with them and the self-existence of all theoretical ideal forms. The actual and the real do not exhaust the whole sphere of being. The identification of actuality and being is a prejudice of the Nineteenth Century. Under the pressure of this prejudice, subjectivism crept in with the result that even Logic passed over into a psychology of thinking. Through the criticisms of 'Psychologisms' the meaning and standpoint of these sciences have changed. Logic or Mathematics or Ethics treats of a system of laws, dependencies and structures, which on their side control thinking. They are neither forms of thought nor can they in any way be infringed by thinking. Every study which phenomenology has opened up is essentially objective. There are ideal objects of knowledge which are just as independent of a knowing subject as real objects, inhabiting a sphere of ideal worlds. It is on a footing with belief in real self-existence which too cannot be proved but only perceived. The universality and necessity of the a priori of which Kant spoke are not something psychological only. No ideal object of a priori insight can be displaced at will or derived from the subject. Ideal objects offer a sort of resistance peculiar to their own nature. In this resistance we touch the objective ground of the ideal forms and the meaning of ideal self-existence in general. Take the proposition $a^0=1$. This does not mean that actually everybody knows it. In fact nobody can know it who has not an eye for the same. The mathematical training needed for its apprehension is a discipline that can give us the insight into its a priori truth. Yet, whoever has reached the level of that intelligence cannot think as he chooses to do. He must think that only what in itself is a^0 , necessarily and objectively is equal to 1. You can carry the analogy to ethics. The moral judgments of value which declare that a breach of trust is revolting, and a 'malicious' joy in

another's misfortune 'reprehensible' do not refer to mere personal sensations. They refer to universal feelings of revoltingness and reprehensibleness, apart from the subject. That not all are capable of seeing the point, is no proof against it. Whoever is capable of this ethical specialization should judge thus and not otherwise. It is clear from this that the realm of values is not a manufactured product or an evolutionary weapon of the human race. It is neither invented nor dreamed by a subject in the protean shapes of his ideation. Values form a world by themselves and are self-subsisting and self-sufficient. They invade occasionally the conscience of man and mould him into a God out of his inferior stuff. Their territory is not a single and isolated plane; it comprehends within its unfathomable depths the secret of all valuational experience (vol. i, p. 222).

RELATION OF VALUE AND REALITY

If the valuational world has its own laws and structures, in what way is it connected with the real world? This question arises legitimately as every kind of ideal being is somehow related to the real. Logical ideal structures, including the mathematical, and all discernible essences are to a great extent structures of real being. Real being has still other structures and substrata which do not concern the world of ideal being as such. In short, the ranges of the ideal and the real structures interpenetrate. All connection between them is one that passes into the sphere of coincidence only. The non-coincident parts are left free. Ethical ideal self-existence is not indifferent to Ethical reality which contradicts it. It approaches it with its own standards and sets up its own authority. The moral consciousness feels this opposition in the form of the 'ought'. Though the self-existence of values is independent of their actualisation, values are not indifferent to actuality or non-actuality. The value of things is not indifferent to things. Within the sphere of forms to which as vehicles they are connected, values are not lukewarm towards what is contrary to them. Indeed, they have quite a peculiar way of facing the opposition. As ideal forms, values have no power to cause an impulsion or nullification. But, in the tension and actuality of the ethical relationship, a real power is seized by them and

is committed to an ideal tendency. The ideal tendency passes forthwith into the shaping of the real. Every ideal sphere is thus provided with a complete set of axioms, laws and highest principles. Existential categories of the real are themselves real categories. In the same way, knowledge as a special sphere of the relation of the real to the subject has its own principles. Values are principles in which we recognise the character of 'conditions of possibility' of those of the ethical phenomena. The material content of values in every connection detaches itself as something purely ideal. Its fulfilment in the real is not something necessitated by the content as a principle. Valuational discernment, always, and under all circumstances, regards the content as something beyond reality and actualisation. Values throughout are ideal self-existents; in so far as they are principles, they are from beginning to end only laws of the ethical ideal sphere. They do not play the rôle of ruling powers in the actual world as the categories do.

They are to be sharply marked off from categories. The choice which pertains to the moral law constitutes the basic strength and weakness of values together with its primary difference from categories. Values are weaker in influence than categories as they are not absolute unconditional despots carrying all before them. They are at the mercy of man who must lend his helping hand for their dwelling in reality. This power is not always at their disposal and when at their disposal it is an actual one. On another side, values are stronger than categories. Their actualisation must be done on a stable structure already at hand. They have to bear down all opposition, declare null and void all that is contrary to their nature. They must build on the categorical realities of acts, a new and higher formation. In a special sense values are creative principles bringing forth being out of non-being. The '*generatio ex nihilo*', impossible elsewhere, is just possible here. That is why, all normal values have a tendency to creative achievement. And in this inheres their essence. They are principles of the ethical sphere of action. This basic difference between valuational principles and categories constitutes the special essence of ethical phenomena. If values are as autocratic as categories, the moral worth of man is annulled. They would be simply existential categories of a higher order into which man is

pitch-forked as a part of his ethical make up. In a word, ethics will be washed out in a peculiar form of Ontology. The tension between the real conduct of a person and the idea of the right conduct in which alone lies the ultimate meaning of ethics would be lost in naturalism. The possibility of conduct contrary to value gives values their chance of pressing forward into the real. Through the actional sphere, values succeed in moulding the real within the radius of human history. Values, despite their inability to compel obedience, are in their own way more insinuating and persistent forces than categories. They have an energy and power of their own and swing with tension to oppose categories. The categorical world already formed waits for the sure touch from their hands. With its co-ordinated frame-work of higher structures, it polishes the real according to its patterns of ideal essences and lends a glimmer of meaning to reality (vol. i, pp. 98, 232, 251).

UGHT AND VALUE

Then, how does the 'Ought' come to be recognised in value? Hartmann seems to waver between two positions for an answer. Sometimes, he gives the impression that values are pure entities, and sometimes, he regards them as forces moulding the morals of man. He says that 'Value and the Ideal-ought-to-be are indissolubly bound up together' (vol. i, p. 248). The ideal-ought-to-be is the value's own mode of being. Thus, moral values are inseparable from the obligation to realise them. The obligation is only a claim and not a coercion. Moral values only ought-to-be. But, from this ideal ought-to-be intrinsic to value, the 'positive ought-to-be' is different. The ought-to-be proceeding from values becomes positive 'where the ideal finds itself in opposition to reality' (vol. i, p. 249). It then takes on a positive force. But, if an ideal power is to work in reality, it must find a point of support, a fulcrum in the real world. The empirical actual subject, as known in man, is the only carrier of values. The ideal power seizes hold of it, and through it, the ought-to-be is transformed into a real tendency. But, Hartmann does not like to minimise the glory of values. The ideal ought-to-be as such, is indifferent not only to the subject, but also to every other existent. The positive ought-to-be is not so, because it solicits the aid of the subject and

entrenches itself in reality. From this it appears, that the ought, and through it ultimately, value, by the help of the subject, determine reality. The personal subject is the being who senses values and launches them in ethical events. At the same time it must be noted, that the hands of the subject are not tied to follow values as ordinances. He is free in relation to the values he discerns. In a word, values entail only a moral claim which may be honoured or dishonoured (vol. i, pp. 159-61).

MAN AND VALUES

The character of values as principles has its ultimate fruition in man and man alone. The ethos of man is no mere ideal form. It is not a mere essence petering out into essentiality. Values, as principles of the moral world, break the bounds of self-existence and clutch at the fluctuating world of actual events. Ethics is not merely an abstract science of values. It is the educator of man's spontaneous living which awakens the sense of value. The aim of ethics is to guide man in his advance towards full self-direction. Between value and reality man is the liaison officer, the grand mediator. And, if he fails to do his job the creation of the world is incomplete. Man is depicted as 'the colleague of the demiurge in the creation of the world' (vol. i, p. 31). If man fails to play his part, the world process must remain for ever incomplete. His cosmic littleness need not deter him from aiming at his metaphysical glory. Humanity's microscopic space-time dimension is not the last word of our thought. Ethics is super-temporal. 'The ought' transcends the very experience wherein it arises. The dominant Ought is pregnant with the vision of value. Ethics is regarded as the 'midwifery' of moral consciousness, whereby its implicit norms are made influential. Incessant strife can be reconciled only within an expanding system of ends and values. Without this, we do not know what good and evil are. 'Every age carries in itself dark seeds of ideas and no age entirely comprehends itself.' The self-existence of values 'overlies the whole sphere of being'. The ethical ideal sphere is only grasped by a being who is capable of the feeling for values. Ethical, ideal self-existence denies the real that contradicts it and stamps its own marks on reality. Herein arises man's tense awareness of the 'ought'. The force of the ought is implicitly contained

in the character of values as principles. The 'ought' adheres to the essence of ethical values, and forces slowly its way to the foreground even when it is dissuaded. The ought signifies direction to something. The value signifies the something itself to which the direction points. The good conditions the direction. Value is the content of the 'ought', its categorical structure. The ideal ought to be is the formal condition of the value. The value is the material condition of the 'ought to be'. The positive ought occurs where the ideal finds itself in opposition to reality. The real may be indifferent to the ideal. But, the ideal is always concerned about the real. The 'positive ought to be' is not an 'ought to do'. For, not everything that is not, but 'ought to be', comes into the domain of striving. The 'positive ought to be' presupposes in a given situation, the non-being of what 'ought to be'. As such, it is possible only in a real self-existent world deviating from the constitution of what ought to be. Values assume the form of principles and seize hold of the world of moral acts and change its outlines profoundly. They can transform non-being into being through man's unique position as the miracle of ethical phenomena. Man is a world-creator in little. Divinity as it were, leaves its cosmic throne and dwells in the will of man. Alone, among all the species of living beings, man only has the status of a teleological power. Hartmann takes care to reject cosmic teleology, which, in his opinion, would degrade man and destroy his dignity. In the upholding of the moral uniqueness of man he is second to none. Ethics is the training of man for his world-vocation, the demand upon him to be 'a colleague of God'. In any situation, what is at stake is always man and his power. He can lose it through folly or gamble it away. Hartmann rejects both the metaphysical personalism of Scheler and the 'as if' of Kant. For ethics as such, man singly alone is the moral being. The real ethical world is not that only of the moral subject with his acts. His loving creations and self-perpetuating works also came under its purview. Man widens and his moral nature expands as he participates in the valuational fullness of life. The clue to human existence is to be sought in man's proud vocation as the builder and fashioner of this world. As the mirror of being, he is the world's meaning. The sense of value must be awakened, the

grasp of it sharpened and refined for a fuller comprehension of life. 'The apathy of feeling for values bears on its brow the stamp of inner misery.' Life at hand always surrounds us with its munificence. 'The tragedy of man is always that of one, who, sitting at a well laden table is hungry, but who will not reach out his hand because he does not see what is before him.' The real world is one that is full and inexhaustible (vol. i, pp. 27-44, 37, 39). And then why go empty away without running riot in the splendours of its inexhaustible material?

VALUE THEORIES

Before going into a critical estimate of the work, it is worth keeping in mind some prominent value theories in the field today. Many believe since Plato that values are objective to human beings and are a character of ultimate reality. The position of the theistic tradition with regard to values may be summed up as follows. The real world is a world of values. Any faith in God is confirmed by all rightly interpreted experience that the values of goodness, beauty and truth are of supreme importance in the cosmos. God in fact is the source of them. Value theories may be roughly classified as naturalistic and non-naturalistic. The naturalistic theories resolve ethical characteristics without remainder into non-ethical. The non-naturalistic theories hold that value is an addition to the non-ethical qualities and their combinations. For instance, Prof. Alexander speaks of value as 'A tertiary quality'. G. E. Moore regards value as a non-natural unanalysable quality. In general, subjectivistic theories of value define it in relation to mental states which do not give us their objective reality. Objectivistic theories convert logical realism into ethical realism and confer on values an objective, epistemological status. The weakness of all subjective theories consists in their failure to distinguish between the peculiar quality of moral obligation in contrast to mere desires. The resulting relativism is fatal to ethics. Such theories are clearly outside the pale of validity which is vital to axiology. Social theories of value cross ethical relativity by going beyond the individual and placing the ethical norms in the good of the group. But how can even this give us an ought? To say that a thing is socially good is not the

same thing as saying that we ought to do it. Hartmann's ethics comes under the objective theories of value. Mr. Moore is the best British exponent of the same. To both values are super-temporal, timeless and transcendental. With this brief conspectus of ethical theories we can pass on to a criticism of Hartmann's ethics.

PART II

A CRITIQUE OF ETHICAL REALISM

I

Hartmann launches the first systematic and comprehensive statement of the ethics of realism. It is an impressive piece of scholarship with a grace of doing that deserves to be ranked as a classic. Everything about it is admirable except its lack of ultimate cohesion. It is a mathematically grounded ethics predetermined from being 'corrupted by philosophy'. But, by a sort of dramatic irony, the author slips step by step into speculations that ultimately poach on the preserves of metaphysics. In the end, the book gives us the impression of a work unfinished, and an adventure put off before its logical terminus. Absolute self-existence of values is the salient theme. Values are conserved, not because an omnipotent God sees to it that they are safe, nor because the Universe is such that they can hardly be missed, but because they are eternal and absolute in themselves. They have their headquarters in the realm of subsistence, where there is no variableness or shadow of turning. Moore gave the clearest exposition of this view before Hartmann. He believes that the good exists in spite of the non-existence of everything else and holds that for a thing to possess intrinsic value, means to possess a character which it would have in a world in which even causal laws are different from our own. Hartmann goes to the length of equating the moral proposition that 'a breach of trust is revolting' with the mathematical truth $a^0=1$. By the special standpoint he adopts, he places values beyond all the stars. This self-existent isolation in his view confers on values the dignity of immutable verities. Then, he holds, ethics would have a solid foothold in a changing world. Though the attempt is remarkable, the result in the end is not convincing.

1. To begin with, Realism in Ethics repeats the errors of Realism in Logic. It throws no light on the problems broached by Ethics. It defines the nature, locus and structure of the good, much in the same way as it does an external object. If Dualistic Realism is a false view in Logic, there is no need to accept it as true in Ethics. The pure percipient and the object perceived are abstractions that are set up beyond experience. It is wrong to isolate a part of experience and deem it as an absolute existent. The mind is not like a tiny switch, which when turned throws a flood of light on the external object in the act of knowing. The real is once for all a whole. Our world of experience is a concrete articulation in it. The mind cannot have its 'nose up against things'. The Percipient cannot go out of himself to saunter into a world totally strange to his essence. Two absolutely disparate realms of being can never hang together in a perpetual act of communication. The mind supplies what the world lacks and breathes into it ideal contents that are not merely personal sentiments. The Realist leaves the world as a brute fact. The Idealist looks at its value aspect and concludes that it is not a chapter of accidents, nor a haphazard heap of things and thoughts outside the divine sweep and its partly intelligible and partly unintelligible ends. He comprehends facts under the standpoints of values and thus transcends the Dualisms that the Realist perpetuates.

2. Hartmann assigns only a subsistential reality to moral propositions. Subsistence is used to describe the being that belongs to propositions. Facts and mental processes are said to exist rather than subsist. The Realist theory tries to convince us that fantastic and impossible objects of thought such as unicorns, round squares, Alice's tea party with the March Hare and the Mad Hatter, have an independent being. Russell, once an exponent of this realism gave it up declaring: 'Logic, I should maintain must no more admit a unicorn than Zoology can' (*An Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*, p. 169). This logical error persists in the ethical outlook of realism. Is it possible to turn propositions into self-subsistent entities? The Conceptualists like Kant believe that propositions have their reality in a mental act of conceiving or meaning. Without this they have no being even so thin as subsistence. One

can distinguish propositions as objects of thought from thinking itself and yet hold that there could be no such objects without thought or no thought without such objects, just as one might distinguish the size from the shape of a physical object and yet know that there could be no size without shape or shape without size. The Realist believes that the immutability of truth demands the self-subsistence of logical and mathematical entities. In a word, before mind was, truth is. Thus all propositions are locked up in reality to be discovered by the various sciences. The Conceptualist holds that this is a desperate attempt at turning abstractions into realities. Mind is the vehicle, the all-inclusive medium in which the propositions dwell together in their eternity and immutability. Without this assumption, explanation fails. If the values are immaterial, supersensible entities, how can they interact with gross physical bodies? If true being is ascribed to what we speak of as the good, the just, the true and the beautiful, the question arises, can the empirical man be one thing, and that in him which stands for goodness, justice, truth be another thing, existing absolutely and yet inseparable from him? Are both forms—the material and the ideal—actually and truly existent realities, the one apprehended by sense perception and the other not so, but nevertheless really subsistent? If the values are to be understood they must be somehow fixed in the nature of things, whose nature also is unchangeable. This means that they are rooted in reality as an eternal order of rightness and wrongness. The Realist mistakes a word for the thing itself. The Platonic flaw consisted in the simple act of attributing substantial reality to our general notions and ideas. To attribute substantial being to common relations in which existence is exhibited is a fallacy. It would be truer to regard being itself as the expression of the union of matter and form which are coeval and co-ordinate. They are distinguishable but never divisible like the word and its meaning. That is the reason why values can never be regarded as neutral, simple, quality-less essences. They are vibrant with life and concrete with force. The death of Socrates, the crucifixion of Christ and the episode of Bruno clearly indicate their power in history.

3. The whole ethics of Hartmann stands or falls with the

notion of the material *a priori*. The *a priori* self-existence of values and the intuitive character of our moral perceptions are assumed as self-evident. Though phenomenological method is everything in Value-ethics, it is regrettable that Hartmann has not added any note on it. If the phenomenological essences are given immediately and intuitively, the ethics of Hartmann differs very little from intuitive ethics. Nor has he made clear the notion of the essential, the phenomenal and the *a priori*. He only says that the *a priori* is something self-given and not a function of the subject. Subjectivistic and functionalistic *a priorism* is a confusion and a misunderstanding of the originally objective character of everything knowable *a priori* (vol. i, p. 164). The values themselves as objects of a *a prioristic* insight pertain to the subject matter and not to the subjective form of the ethical consciousness (vol. i, p. 169). This is intuited through a special mode of apprehension capable of experiencing unities or totalities of meaning as facts of an essential or phenomenal order. That is to say, the essences cannot be seized by any reflective thought but must only be sensed in the valuational feeling. Value-ethics is thus primarily based on valuational feeling. This is a roundabout way of saying that the ethical phenomenon is a subject of pure intuition. The difficulty is, on principle, it can neither be proved nor disproved. There is no way in which either the existence of the intrinsic value or the intuition of it, in any given case, may be tested or verified. Even supposing that we have intuited a particular value, it proves no necessary connection between the intuited quality of value and the moral obligation which is a peculiar power in the human conscience. If values are simple subsistences, they serve only as objects of aesthetic contemplation. But, for morality, they must signify an 'ought'. The 'ought' element is the concrete force which installs value in existence. This means that the 'ought' is to be regarded as a further intuition intuited on the intuition of a value. This will reduce ethics as the outcome of a process of three distinct intuitions :—

- (a) There should be an ineffable transcendental quality of value.
- (b) Any given case should be intuited as an instance of that.

- (c) A connection must be established between such a quality and moral obligation through a final intuition.

This will only lead to a needless multiplication of intuitions for a simple act of conscience which commands in an imperative mood to do or not to do a particular thing, in all known cases of moral conflict. This is the 'moral law within' which Kant set off against 'the starry heavens above' in the same act of wonder.

4. The valuational a priori of which Hartmann speaks is only a feeling. In this respect it is surprisingly close to the Intuitionist school of ethics. But the question is: is the consciousness of right and wrong really knowledge at all or merely a kind of feeling. If one identifies it with any kind of feeling, it may ultimately involve the total destruction of its objective character. Feelings, as Sidgwick put it, vary from A to B without either being in error. On this account, it is better to use the term 'reason', as he suggests, to denote the faculty of moral cognition. If mere feelings are the informants of moral judgments, they represent nothing more than our likes and dislikes. Then, how can there be objective truth about matters of right and wrong? That is why Sidgwick maintained that the moral faculty is rational. The moral side of our nature belongs to the intellectual part of life rather than the merely emotional one. The mere distinctiveness of a feeling cannot give it superiority over other feelings. If ethics is based on feelings, morality will only mean what I feel about my conduct, or more correctly what others feel about my conduct. Conscious reflection always adds its value to any given point of moral tension. The question then concerns not so much the existence of any self-evident propositions as their ultimate validity. Hartmann may intuit the moral principle: 'Telling lies is bad'. The question is, 'how are we to settle the matter when we begin to doubt this in a given case?' The doubt also, it must be admitted, is as intuitive as the principle doubted. Thus, ought I to speak the truth to a deliberate assassin? What light does Hartmann's Ethics throw on this? If moral intuitions are so self-evident, how can he account for variety and contradictions in them? To the ancient Spartan, stealing was a virtuous act, to the medieval Christian, religious

persecution was a duty. In these two instances, they relied only on what they deemed to be self-evident intuitions. The fact is, moral propositions actually collide with one another and Hartmann himself admits final antinomies in the realm of values. The precepts of humanity may go counter to those of veracity. It seems self-evident that I ought to speak the truth at the cost of life or save a life at the cost of a lie. What am I to do when I can only speak the truth at the cost of life or save a life at the cost of a lie? No expedient so far imaginable can resolve these antinomies in moral life. In most moral matters there is an elaborate process of reasoning ending in a personal commitment. Immediate self-evident guidance is missing even in apparently simple cases of love and hatred. The moral feeling unless grounded in reason will be arbitrary. A rational moral sense with conscience in the chair, cannot neglect consequences on which the Utilitarians laid so much stress. Where conscience is satisfied, the case always turns out to be the best under the circumstances. Few people will agree with Kant as to the duty of disclosing to a deliberate assassin the whereabouts of his intended victim, if the truth can be suppressed by a lie. What is a moral act without its consequences? If a lie turns out to be the saviour of humanity, there is no point in asking it to seek the truth which may be a disvalue after all. Behind moral values, there is always a consciousness of consequences, by virtue of which alone, acts are, in general, regarded as good or bad. If from the moral act all the consequences it involves are abstracted, it is only a simple event irrelevant for moral purposes. The Valuational *a priori* loses its worth if it is only a way of feeling towards things. The real moral reason is a way of conscience with an awareness of consequences. There is no point in asking a man to go dry if drunkenness does not make him thick in speech, unsteady in gait and irrelevant in talk. Even in bad cases of moral turpitude, we do not find—on principle of course, the self-evidence required. For example, mankind has established a convention that lawful killing is no murder, and that compulsory taxation is no robbery. Here language plays us false. But how can any sort of killing or compulsory relieving of lawful property be removed from the category of murder or robbery? On purely theoretical grounds, there is hardly a case

in which our intuitions can give us an unmistakable lead without the aid of reason, which always insinuates the idea of well-being into a moral situation. Reason is the divine element in man, and an intuition that is not grounded in it rings false. An ethic that regards it as secondary tends to be self-centred. There is a danger in the new ethics. It has a disdain for the more positivist philosophies of August Comte and John Stuart Mill based on principles of benevolence and sympathy. A priori ethics is right in holding that our moral values are ultimate and un-analysable intuitions. But it is totally wrong in bringing to bear the a priori scale alone without any reference to consequences of an act, which is as important a feature of moral life as intuitional discernment. Eudaeonism is right in insisting on this part of the ethical life. It only erred in identifying the good with happiness though happiness is a distinct component in the good. Thus, an ethics of conscience with a concern for consequences, on the broad basis of universal welfare will give the rational checking needed for any one-sidedness of outlook.

5. When we begin to doubt the so-called self-evident propositions in ethics, the force of Hartmann's contention weakens. What is the meaning of saying that the ethical values have the same ontological status as mathematical or logical truths? Take his examples. 'A breach of confidence is revolting'. 'To gloat over another's misfortune is contemptible.' Now, a logical truth is a truth the denial of which is unintelligible. We cannot deny the same in one breath and talk sense in another. But do ethical propositions bear this mark? That a breach of confidence is revolting or to gloat over another's misfortune is contemptible are not self-contradictory propositions. Ethical life lies only in the violation of such rules, perhaps in the presence of principles which are more imperative. Often ethical life arises in a tense conflict between values which have the same unconditional claim. Hence, the view that ethics has the same ideal status as logic is false. The case is much more unfavourable when compared with mathematics. Take a class of six students. If a sum be given for answer to them, all will admit that only one answer can be correct. The six boys cannot give six answers and maintain that all the different answers are right. But in ethics,

the same question may be put, for which, different answers may be returned. Suppose Hartmann is interviewed by a Press representative and asked the question: 'Is Hitler right in getting rid of the lives of certain ring-leaders to save Germany in good time?' To be sure, his phenomenological intuitions do not throw any light on the point that can be regarded as self-evident. After a deep deliberation, he may give an answer which plainly leaves room for other alternatives. The fact is, moral life has an objectivity peculiar to it which runs concurrently with an incurable relativism. Ethics is not of the same stuff as mathematics or logic. The objectivity involved in it is of a different sort. The relationship between moral life and communal well-being is very close. Our blood boils when injustice is done. We crave for retribution when we are wronged. The best of us only want a tooth for a tooth and nail for a nail when we are needlessly hurt. Our moral energies are roused at the sight of injustice, cruelty and disgrace. An act of kindness is universally applauded. Moral life consists in guiding these primitive feelings in the light of reason. Moral life itself contains a hint of the primordial constitution of the world in which the moral agent lives and against which transgression may amount to moral ruin. All the moral values have their locus neither in the heavens above nor in the earth below, but in the human heart which speaks with the double voice of conscience and reason. Values have their roots in a reality in which man also participates. Morality is a form of cosmic well-being, a tendency for balance, synthesis and wholeness at the core of all being. What Schopenhauer calls 'Sympathy' is the chief source of it.

6. Ethical realism holds and implies that ethical consciousness is an epi-phenomenon. The reality of ethical values is neither qualified, modified nor determined by human or divine consciousness. This is a short-sighted mishandling of the problem involved. If we can conceive of a world totally rid of consciousness—the most impossible thing of course—where is the distinction between 'higher' and 'lower'? It is only in and through consciousness that existence is uttered as a value. In a world in which all the lights are gone, *A* cannot be distinguished from *B*, nor *B* from the rest. The mind—some mind—holds the rules-book of the play. The actuality

of value itself is prehended only by a mind. The world of fact is an actualisation of one of the countless possible patterns of values that exist in a being prior to everything else. To divorce ethical consciousness from ethical reality is again an error which makes no meaning.

7. Hartmann places values beyond the glory of the earth. They simply hang in the air because they are rooted neither in consciousness nor in existence. They are transcendental beacons that dread the mortal touch of man and time. If so, how are they manifested in time and in the actual lives of *A* and *B*? Are they mere possibilities? If they are possibilities, how do they become actual? If they are mere essences, how can they become existents? These difficulties being obvious, one has to admit that the actual world itself is the meeting point of value and fact which are organically related. The existence or non-existence of the world and its inhabitants makes a profound difference to the content of values. If values are cut adrift from the actual world, they die a lonely death until resurrected by a human or divine mind. Existence is significantly comprehended under value. As such, a value in itself, for itself, and to itself, has no value for ethical purposes. When we ask, what are the things that are good and is there anything that has intrinsic value, Hartmann gives us the whole realm of values as having absolute worth. But this cannot be. All the values scheduled in part 2 need not necessarily possess intrinsic worth. If a man shows fine courage and firm love, what is it that is meant by calling these values absolute? This is a mistake. He assumes that all values have intrinsic worth. What is good is what is good for something or some one. It is only by subsequent reference that we come to recognise that such mediate goods must have reference to some ends to which they are means. And so, we are, by a process of deliberate reflection, led to the conception of some good, which is not instrumental but is valued purely for its own sake. There can be only one such value. Most of the values outlined in the book have only instrumental worth. The fact is, what is good first signifies a means to some desired or desirable end. Ultimately, it leads to the ideal itself implied in all desiring and as such the wholly desirable. This, we call, the supreme good, which Hartmann has no right to set aside. The highest wisdom of life lies in the

pursuit of the ideal or the highest value, at the gates of which all the auxiliary values should be thrown up. This aspect Hartmann has not brought out.

8. There is a fundamental mistake in the very conception of value Hartmann presents. Values are neither conative drives nor lures of feeling to him, but simple ontological subsistents that somehow pull the strings from afar. This is wrong. Desire is the most vital ingredient in every value-situation and without it nothing has a value. In a typical value-situation three factors are witnessed :—

(1) A thing that is valued, (2) the subject that values; (3) the relation between the two, which itself is what is meant by value. To cut out two items in the complex and set up one of them as absolute is a piece of illogical thinking. If these elements go to make up a value-situation, then values would be no longer transcendental entities, but just real relations that are found in real situations. We cannot separate value from desire because it is the nature of the human mind itself to exercise acts of preference, to declare for or against. As such, value can only be a relation between the ontological world and a desiring subject. About values which function in a vacuum we know next to nothing. Any object, any situation or any event has no value until it is desired. That is why when we speak of a thing as good we also put the question, good for what or good for whom? Theoretically, every object, perhaps has an intrinsic value which pertains to the object as such and a value it has for an appraising subject. But what the worth of an object is, in and for itself, no one can ever know. It would be in the same metaphysical position as thing-in-itself. At least for human purposes, values have their worth through the desire which precedes them. But, if the character of values is such that all people desire them, then, there will be no point in saying that we ought to desire them. We value things related to some one or another, though, this relatedness does not lead to subjectivity. In all our doings, we do not stand off from the main stream of life and enjoy a contemplative spree. In every valuation, we are coming into vital touch with events that are falling into personal points of view, at the back of which the energies of desire are ready to hand. The whole problem of the relation between

desire and value has not received due consideration from Hartmann.

9. Hartmann's ethics is tinged with a high degree of egocentricism, as is evidenced by his radical restriction of teleology to man and the denial of the divine hand. In the whole world, to him, neither God nor nature counts but only man. Alone among all entities, he has the proud privilege of value-sensing. If this is the case, all other creatures except man should miss the value of being. This would mean, there is no worth in being outside man. This is a mistake which amounts to megalomania. The whole of existence is set round an axiological framework embracing different grades of being ranging in different degrees of evolutions. We can only be misled by paths of technical scholarship if it lacks a synoptic vision, a mastery of the whole in idea. All reality is a synthetic unity. At any focal point, it is only an organisation of its minutiae with the power of interpenetration. Nature, God, space-time are simple isolates from a primordial matrix laden with the riches of possibility, actuality and necessity. Man is not the only being, disengaged from his organic interconnections. There are refinements, subtleties, beauty spots, depths of comedy and tragedy within this being, accessible to different grades of insight. Real being is a fabulous plenitude of ideas, sensations, feelings and dramatic episodes shot through with meaning. Our ideas of this being are as varied as our contacts with it. There are wholes within wholes, parts within parts, and spheres within spheres, each with its own globe of values and desires accessible to some grade of living agents or other. In a broad sense, we are all different aspects of one grand enterprise of the divine mind. Even at the low animal level, there are flashes of aesthetic insight, noble feeling and maternal affection. The song of the nightingale is an expression of some elemental value that is felt at the core of its being. Man also, is of a piece with the whole of nature, which word has never been understood by many philosophers. In human beings, the various modes of functioning display a variety of adaptation to special subtleties of circumstance. They are only more complex, interwoven and meaningful. To make man the hub of the universe is to lose the sense of proportion needed to keep a firm hold on life as a whole. Too much concern about ourselves only makes

us more ridiculous in our own eyes. And for the objectivity of ethics, it is not necessary to deny the worth of all except man. All life is impregnated with the principle of value as the prius of the world order.

10. Finally we have to face the ancient feud between Idealism and Realism. It is a mistake to regard Idealism as the deduction of the world from certain a priori principles. All idealism is only a criticism of life and an interpretation of experience through a scale of values. All theories of explanation must be ultimately framed only on its broad basis. The mind longs for ideal completeness and ultimate coherence. A story that does not give it is felt as false. If Hartmann puts the question why, we can only answer 'because it is a priori'. Just as there is an Ethical a priori, there is an 'Idealistic a priori' working at the bottom of all enquiries which Phenomenology has to take note of. Idealism is not committed to the theory that values are made by us. It only presents the case for a more thorough-going relationship between the realms of value and fact. Realism does not believe that spiritual values have a determining vote in the constitution of the universe as organising principles. Man accidentally happens to realise values that are discovered by him, because he cannot help it. His existence or non-existence, as such, makes no difference to these immutable essences. They go on with the game even when the players fall asleep. On this view, whatever connection there is between value and fact, is only a chance coincidence. Some gigantic fluke occasions their contact and as soon as they come together, they happen to work as if by a pre-established harmony. The question is, even if some chance were to bring them together, how can it generate the 'ought' or moral obligation with which the whole science of ethics stands or falls. The Idealist eschews chance and establishes a more rational relation between values, the valuing agents, and the theatre in which these operate. Health, virtue and courage are not values in the abstract. Only the healthy person, the virtuous conduct and courageous deed are valuable. Idealism is the sworn foe of all abstractions. The Realist does not believe in the concretion of values in a consciousness. The Idealist cannot conceive of them as otherwise. The fact is simple to understand. When we put the question

'what is it that has value?' one has to admit that it is after all certain states of consciousness and nothing else. The artist, the poet and the philosopher are only capturing certain phases of consciousness that are of absolute value. If consciousness is abstracted from the process what is it that remains? There can be no enjoyment *per se* existing in *abstracto*, out of touch with personal consciousness.

Throughout the masterly survey of the subject, the motif of Hartmann's research is an unmistakable search for a centre as a stable background for civilisation. He finds Theism inadequate and realises the meaning of life in the worship of eternal values. In admitting that in spite of everything changing, there is something which does not change, he has gone half way to meet the idealistic thesis. This shows how imperative is the need of grasping the permanent element in life as the one that remains in the midst of mutations. A mere *a priori* ethics, however, cannot set right the balance in an age when everything has failed to stir us to new enthusiasms. The hiatus it creates between fact and value is fatal to its ultimate cohesion. The attempt to pose an ethics without the strength of metaphysics and Theology, though not unsuccessful in theory, cannot be regarded as of much positive use in the end. The greatest ethical dynamic of life is that which issues from the conviction that virtue wins at last and the good triumphs. He who does not feel this is an utter stranger to the real strength of a great personality. It is not mere sympathy with values or their *a priori* intuition, but full faith in their efficacy as spiritual principles that can save us. Goodness may be perfectly good but if it lacks power, goodness will only mean little more than an ultimate irony fit for scathing satire. It is the union of goodness with power that can ever hope to inspire the spirit of man. To buy relief from a theoretical difficulty by the complete elimination of the absolute in ethics is no compliment to it. It can only undermine its foundations in the long run and corrupt an entirety of outlook with a fatal scepticism. A theistic pattern always helps the moral life and puts heart and hope in human endeavour. When we set up relations with it, we feel new strength and courage in facing the tasks of life. God somehow touches our universe of discourse as a persistent fact in self-consciousness. The idea is all important, though, we do

not know wherefrom we got it. To reckon without it is to impose a serious limitation on the natural course of ethical life itself, though it is by no means, a postulate of ethics.

II

PROBLEMS UNSOLVED

1. The inalienable quality of values in ethical realism is their eternity. The new faith in values takes the place of the old faith in a heaven. The glory of man is overshadowed by the superior character of the values he discerns. Man's highest values are to be fulfilled here and here alone. Goodness, truth, beauty and love have their expectations here, in this planet. In reaching these ideals, man's highest dreams are realised. This is a mood of ethical optimism, a modern counterblast to the philosophy of Schopenhauer. On principle, it is always possible to challenge cosmic optimism by disclosing the reverse side. Not all the conquests of science can ensure for man more than a brief spell of enchantment. Within the period of actual birth and actual death, if we eliminate, all the hours that we spend in sleeping and securing the elemental needs of existence, the period that remains over for the preliminary task of getting rid of our deep-rooted prejudices against the good life itself, is comparatively negligible. Even the most fortunate man on this planet, and under the present conditions of civilised human life, cannot aspire, for anything more than a limited realisation of his ideals, which only produces unlimited discontent, for the part yet to be accomplished. Even a round of lives is too little to give us deep insight into the highest values here. One of the telling ironies of life is, that, just when we are about to settle down into some sort of convictions, we are removed from the scene against our will. What the wisdom of an ant seriously puts together, the wind of an accident wafts away in the twinkle of an eye. Then, does not the highest wisdom consist in living like the cow grazing on the green pastures or the gymnosophists of a forgotten civilisation, with a generous contempt for all effort and a large pity for great passions? At last, we see the signs of decay, and succumb to the fun that the molecules of our body poked at us for a time. Beauty ends with youth. The good life is a tragedy of high

intentions self-defeated or the vanities of a race of mortals who pay their last adoration to Seraphius, the God of Death. A. E. gives us some fine lines on this aspect of sadness evident in the good life.

'The flame of beauty far in space—
Where rose the fire : in Thee? in me?
Which bound the elemental race.
To adoration silently?'
'Ah! but they vanish; the
Immortal train laden with adoration,
Forth from this heart the flow that all in vain
Would stay the proud eternal powers that flee
After the chase in burning exaltation.'

It is the values and not the valuers that are eternal after all. If this is the last word of our life there is a downright vanity in all our aspirations. All our 'isms' and 'ologies' are but tales imagined to amuse our eternal childishness, perhaps,—who knows—we divert ourselves with values as we do with the stories of the ass, the tub, or the Decameron. Life is short and art is long. Values are shy angels that charm us in our golden moments and leave us to our fate after getting their recognition. On Hartmann's view, in technical parlance, the alleged eternity of values is not descriptively or phenomenologically identical with the immortality of the cognising self. The new ethics suppresses the eternity of the self to supply permanence to values. But, do values subsist outside the real nature of the self? Hartmann has not at all given a convincing metaphysical account of the self, on the validity of which alone, a scientific ethics can be planned. The eternity of the self must be postulated along with the eternity of values to complete the conditions demanded by the moral science. Values are the rock-bottom of the self, which is the source of all essences.

2. Hartmann has not reviewed his main point in all its bearings. If abstract universals are not simple 'as ifs', how can they be real except as the manifestations of the supreme spirit? Ethical realism requires a theistic basis for its materials to be overlaid. Moral life is intelligible only on the postulate of moral perfection by virtue of the significant order permeating the universe. A healthy faith in the general integrity of the cosmos and of man's fundamental ontological demands

is the great step needed to ward off scepticism in the ethical undertaking. The theists expressed this basic faith in terms of God, the naturalists in terms of instinct and the mystics in terms of the absolute. Without an initiation into this sacred act of primordial mysticism, the sets of premises that follow lack the distinctive tang of truth. Wonder continues to be the worship of wisdom also, because even the greatest man of Athens said that he knew nothing. Though the work of Hartmann is the most important ethical pronouncement of the century, its philosophical idiom fails to deliver the valid viewpoint.

III

THE CONTEMPORARY MOOD AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW ETHICS

Today, a generation is growing to maturity, which, to all intents and purposes, is drifting in a vacuum. The educated world finds it impossible to accept the old world view of religion. A time has come when talk of religion is done with a blush. Value is the new God which is commissioned to fill the void caused by the passing away of the old Gods. During the past three decades, a great deal of literature has appeared on the subject of value. Time is not yet ripe for the final computation of its worth, but there is no doubt that it has become the key-word of progressive thought. The exchange of the term value for the good is the signal of the general movement in thought towards a 'thickening up' of the categories. As Prof. Urban put it 'the new orientation in value releases us from all those inhibitions which arise from narrow and ex-parte definitions of reality and truth and that sets free the deeper intuitions of the soul' (*Intelligible World*, p. 177). Hartmann is not a follower of the 'Great Tradition', though to him, values are eternal. He keeps his exposition within bounds of reckonings that are borne out by ethical consciousness. He discountenances the religious underpinnings of neo-Platonism and Christianity alike in the interests of the ethical argument. He accomplishes his enterprise with evident fullness of knowledge and mastery over materials. It is a really complete and systematic setting forth in fine literary form—thanks to the noble exertions of Dr. Stanton Coit—of the ethics of realism.

Nietzsche was the first to make the momentous call for the transvaluation of values and explode the myth of the tree of knowledge. The myth of the tree is the point around which centred the traditional ethics of western Christianity. Nietzsche disclosed its startling inaccuracy and made the clear discovery (1) that values are many, and (2) that we know neither the entire manifoldness nor its unity. The prophecy of the serpent is the great deception. Even today, man does not know good and evil. But Nietzsche went beyond limits in his craving for the morality of power and beauty which ultimately upset his discovery with an incurable relativism. All the same, the discovery is epoch-making and gave its present turn to ethics. He has once for all shown that the metaphysics of morals has lacked the foundation which is the phenomenology of values or axiology of morals, which is the first and chief concern of ethics. The realm of values contains the secret of good and evil. Not until we know it as a whole can we know it in parts. The real fruit of the tree of knowledge can only be tasted after we know its manifoldness and fulness. But, in this piece of discovery, Nietzsche overshot the mark. His notion of transvaluation implies the relativism of values which undoes his work. He failed in the joy of his new discovery to see that value is a fresh field of being exposed to view calling forth a critical sifting of ethical contents. The task of the new ethics is to achieve a synthesis of the two fundamental concepts which historically grew up in sharp contrast, the Kantian a priority of the moral law and the original manifoldness of moral values. A reunion of these factors and a rediscovery of their inherent connection is the outstanding merit of the new ethics. It gives back to ethical a priorism its original richness of content and sets up the authenticity of the primal consciousness of value as the very foundation of the ethical science. The work is inspired by a critical spirit and offers a religion without God. The disposition of the time is curiously confused; it is a compound of feverish restlessness and blunted discouragement, a fearful presage and hang-dog renunciation. There is neither depth nor insight in our pursuit and we are overtaken by an uncanny feeling that our whole modern life has missed its meaning. The tranquillity and love of contemplation that characterise the moral beauty of a nobler life are lost. We are living neither a life of select

sensations nor of noble thoughts. Our meditative power has become shallow through a craze for 'nonstop' sensations. We are restless, precipitate, dull and blasé and have lost the genius to be astonished. We have grown up in a somewhat false alienation from light and beauty. Ere we are half way through our adventure, we have an ironical smile for the life before. When we cultivate the pose of resignation in the wake of this defeatism, as a virtue we put the fool's cap on this great irony. What can Hartmann's ethics tell us in this age of grim humour? The question is natural, because the book is pretentious under cover of modesty. Though many ethical questions are left out unsolved, the major thesis of Hartmann, after all, seems to be the only intelligible alternative to civilisation, if it is to reject religion at all. He has embarked on a renaissance of the great ethical tradition of ancient Greece and the modern Christian world to stir an age of prose and common sense to the heights of moral beauty. Why set the heart in our limited toy-world and its transitory prizes? The real world around is a kingdom of values outside all the municipal limits, rich, affluent and replete with glory. An awakening of the sense of value is the only way of reviving the classic taste in the life around. The esoteric wisdom that forms the gate-way to moral beauty enables us to enter vividly into life and relish to the full all the delicacies of its intercourse. We are today caught up in an atmosphere of crisis faced with an existence so gaudy and overdone, and yet, so intolerably empty. The best spirits of the age are only brooding over a world's disillusion. Can the sense of value give us the light? The philosophical ethics of today stands at the parting of the ways between the old and new kind of philosophising and is taking the first initiative in the rediscovery of the forgotten realm of value once sighted by Plato. Its goal is noble and is animated by a new kind of love and devotion for the task on hand, though, its enthusiasm, in the end, is diluted to the point of an ultimate disappointment. The idealism of the new ethics has lost a good deal in its failure to raise the moral argument to its logical height. In ruling out religion from its range, Hartmann spoiled its lasting appeal. Everything is admirable in the work except its Philosophical settings. A well-rounded ethos settled in religious and aesthetic culture is the very pink of good taste

in its most finished form. Hartmann has not carried the moral argument to this height of beauty. But, with all its great faults, it is one sober, high and grand way of thinking that is bound to exercise a signal influence over the future of ethical research.

(To be continued)

UNIVERSITY NOTES

History of the Tamil Lexicon

DR. G. U. POPE had correlated Winslow's Dictionary of the Tamil Language with Rottler's Dictionary and added notes of his own to both those works ; and after his death, the Rev. J. S. Chandler, M.A., D.D., proposed, in January 1911, to the Government of Madras, the publication of a Standard Tamil Lexicon based on the material left behind by Dr. G. U. Pope. The total cost of the production was estimated at Rs. 1,00,000 ; and the work was expected to take five years. This proposal was approved by the Government of Madras ; and at their instance, the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State recommending the sanction of the expenditure on the ground that the need for a new Tamil Lexicon was a 'matter of urgent public importance.' The Secretary of State for India cabled on the 21st August, 1912, according his sanction to the proposed expenditure. General control and supervision of the preparation and the publication of the Tamil Lexicon was entrusted to the University of Madras. The Syndicate of the University constituted a Committee of its own for this purpose, besides the Tamil Lexicon Committee constituted by the local Government.

The work of the Tamil Lexicon Committee was begun in January 1913, at Madura. The Editorial staff consisted of the Rev. J. S. Chandler, the Chairman of the Committee, and three pandits. An additional pandit was appointed in 1915. The office of the Tamil Lexicon Committee was removed to Madras in May 1915.

The Tamil Lexicon Committee discussed the plan of the Lexicon ; and a few specimen pages were printed and circulated to leading scholars for their opinion and suggestions. The discussions related mainly to the necessity for and the mode of transliteration, the giving of derivations and cognate Dravidian words, the arrangement of meanings of words and of compound words, and the treatment of homonyms. It was decided that the Lexicon should be more or less encyclopaedic in character, helpful also to Tamil scholars who had little or no acquaintance with English, that it should bring out the philological affinities of Tamil with other languages and that it should be an accurate, complete and up-to-date dictionary, including the words used in spoken Tamil.

In the meantime, the collection of words for incorporation in the Lexicon was being pushed on by the Editorial staff; the Tamil public were invited to co-operate and several gentlemen sent in collections of words. Expert advice was obtained from specially qualified scholars, who acted as Honorary Literary Associates. The Rev. J. S. Chandler, the Editor, visited Jaffna for the purpose of collecting and defining accurately Tamil nautical terms and local words in use in Ceylon. When he went to America on furlough, he consulted several authorities including those who were connected with the great Oxford New English Dictionary. The collection of words was completed by the end of 1916 and it was about 82,000. Out of this collection, nearly 8,800 words were edited and made ready for being sent to the press.

At this stage, the Syndicate of the University reviewed the position, and examined the collection of edited words. It felt that if the Lexicon was completed on those lines and with the existing staff, it might not come up to the required standard and that it would surely disappoint both the student of Tamil literature who seeks in it for a full account and accurate definition of Tamil words and the student of language who looks to the dictionary for scholarly information on the sound value, origin and relationship of those words. The Syndicate felt the need for strengthening the Editorial staff; and it also felt that if the University should be held responsible for the Lexicon, its powers and responsibilities in relation to the Lexicon Committee and its Chairman the Editor should be clearly defined.

Thereupon, the Government of Madras threw all further financial responsibility on the University, empowering it from time to time to appropriate necessary sums from the recurring grants; and replaced the then Lexicon Committee by a new Committee with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., as Chairman to function under the control of the Syndicate.

In 1919, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., ceased to be the Chairman of this Committee and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar was appointed to the vacancy by the Syndicate. On his death in February 1926, Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswamy Aiyar was appointed Chairman.

In December 1921, the Rev. J. S. Chandler resigned. The revision of all words beginning with the Tamil vowels was over; and the Syndicate resolved on publishing this revised material as the first volume. Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai was appointed

Editor. The manuscript matter was sent to the press. But owing to the delay in settling the form of the Lexicon and the terms of the contract with the printers, only 128 pages could be printed by the end of 1923.

Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai resigned from January 1924 and Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar, M.A., L.T., succeeded him and was editor till October 1926. The first volume containing 632 pages and 17,015 words was published on 26th June 1926, and Volume II Part I consisting of 160 pages and 4,312 words was published on 20th October 1926. In November 1926, Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, B.A., B.L., was appointed Editor.

Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, the Chairman, in consultation with the Editor and with the other members of the Lexicon Committee inaugurated a detailed scheme of vigorous work for the speedy and at the same time careful preparation and publication of the Lexicon, part by part. The active co-operation of a number of scholars was secured and they were constituted Honorary Referees.

The contract with the original printers, the Diocesan Press, came to an end in April 1927 and thereupon the Madras Law Journal Press were appointed printers. The Editorial staff was gradually strengthened and reconstituted. This staff, besides defining the words already collected as carefully as possible and editing them for the press, collected many new words. Glossaries were prepared for books not already dealt with and inscriptions were studied and words collected therefrom. Books on Jaina, Saiva Siddhanta and other systems of Indian Philosophy were examined and words selected. Special words used in legal documents and proceedings and land tenures, in architecture, music, painting and dancing, in medicine, words prevalent in particular communities or localities were all assiduously collected. A large number of words, literary, colloquial, regional and technical, were received in response to circular letters sent to various specialists, and gentlemen of local influence and public bodies. These words were scrutinised, and where they related to the unpublished parts of the Lexicon were incorporated in their proper places. Words relating to the parts already published were set apart for inclusion in an Addendum Volume. The progress made in the publication of the Tamil Lexicon can be gathered from the fact that while 792 pages and 21,327 words (most of which have been edited already from 1918 to 1923) were published in the three years ending October 1926, the remaining

3,136 pages and 83,078 words (not edited before) were published and the Lexicon completed on 20th March, 1936. The extent of the addition to the original collection of words is also obviously large. The original collection of about 82,000 words increased to over 1,04,000 words ; and there was a collection of about 10,000 words for the Addendum Volume.

On the financial side, the total cost of preparation and publication of the Lexicon since its commencement in January 1913 is about Rs. 4,10,000 ; and the excess over the original Government grant of Rs. 1,00,000 having been found by the University, the Government of Madras have, in consideration of the University supplying them with 250 sets of the Lexicon and in view of the University undertaking all further financial and other responsibilities, relinquished the copyright in favour of the University.

This brief history of the Tamil Lexicon cannot be more appropriately concluded than by referring to the letter of M. Jules Bloch to the Editor on the completion of the great undertaking :

10th June, 1936.

DEAR SIR,

Through the generosity of the Madras University, I am now in possession of the last part of the Tamil Lexicon. May I, to my very hearty thanks, add a word in expression of my no less hearty congratulations for the completion of that tremendous work, which will honour the Madras University and the successive Editors with their staff, the last of those Editors in particular, as his duration of office has been the longest, and as to him was incumbent the final work.

* * * *

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) JULES BLOCH.

Owing to the change of press, there has been some delay in the publication of this issue.—EDITOR.

REVIEWS

THE ANCIENT WORLD. By SIR I. TENEN, M.A. Macmillan and Co., London, 1936. Pages 276. Price 3/6 net.

Every teacher of history will welcome this sound text book which gives in a short compass a reasonably complete view of the history of the Ancient World. After a terse sketch of pre-history in the introductory chapter, three chapters comprising altogether less than eighty pages deal with the early civilisations of Egypt, the Near East and the Aegean. The rest of the book (from p. 102) contains three chapters, one each on Hellas, the Roman Republic and the Roman Emperors. The history of Greece and republican Rome is treated rather more elaborately than the other periods, and this is as it should be. The contrasts between the spirit of Greece and that of Rome on the one hand, and between these and the earlier civilisations which preceded them are throughout very well brought out. Emphasis is laid on the most significant and outstanding facts of political history, and valuable hints are thrown out on the inter-relation of the history of the different countries. The narrative is continuous without being heavy, and the treatment of the social and economic aspects is instructive and stimulating. The large number of very well chosen illustrations adds greatly to the vividness of the descriptions, and aids the correct understanding of the details of cultures much unlike our own. Maps and time charts and a very serviceable index are other features which enhance the usefulness of this excellent little book.

K. A. N.

A STUDY OF ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN RURAL KISTNA.
By CH. SITHARAMA SASTRY AND C. SRIRAMANARASIMHAM. The Madras Provincial Co-operative Union, Royapettah, Madras.

This little book of 60 pages is the result of a rural survey conducted in the Kistna District by a research student of the Andhra University under the guidance of Mr. Sitharama Sastry, Lecturer in Economics. The first chapter deals with the crop distribution in certain villages of Kistna District, and comes to the conclusion that "though agricultural production as a whole is very inelastic and very slow to adjust itself to the conditions of trade and business, constant changes are taking place at the margins of different crops according to the relative values prevailing in the market." In the

next chapter a comparison in the fall of prices in the primary products is made, with its effects on the foreign trade of India. The next four chapters deal with the economics of cultivation during the depression, land values and rural indebtedness, agricultural labour and village artisans. They contain useful information about the net income per acre from various crops, the effects of the depression on large and small landholders, the comparatively heavier fall in the price of wet lands, the subtle effects on agricultural labour and the great suffering the depression has caused to goldsmiths and other artisans. The last two chapters are perhaps the most important. In the first of them Hawtrey's theory of adjustment in foreign exchanges is applied to the conditions in the village, the process of adjustment being the subsistence on capital and fall in standard of living. In the concluding chapter an account is given of the measures taken in America and Europe and a suggestion is thrown out of a rural equilibrium in the distribution of crops with a view to improving rural economy. The need for a variety of crops in the deltaic tracts which largely depend on a single crop is emphasised.

A rural survey of this kind ought to have given opportunities to the authors to give a full analysis of the actual economic conditions in Kistna District. But such opportunities have not been fully utilized; and here and there details of recent economic policies in European countries have been given. One therefore feels after a perusal of the book that the subject is rather meagrely dealt with. The authors have done well in giving some graphs, but unfortunately some of them are lacking in clearness. The table on p. 2 would have been more useful had actual figures been given. The graphs facing p. 7 are unintelligible as the key is missing. In spite of these blemishes the little book is a useful contribution to the study of the effects of economic depression in rural areas, and it is hoped that the authors will continue their work and publish a more detailed treatise on the subject. The Madras Co-operative Institute ought to be congratulated on publishing this timely little book.

P. J. T.

THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION
IN THE HINDU STATE. BY J. J. ANJARIA, M.A., with a Fore-
word by Prof. P. A. Wadia, M.A. Published by Longmans
Green and Co., Ltd. (1935). Price Rs. 7/8.

The book under review forms the second of the Studies in Hindu Polity in the series of monographs embodying the results of re-

searches conducted by the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology. It was submitted to the University of Bombay for the M.A. Degree in 1932. In this work, as the Editor remarks, Mr. Anjaria attacks a specific issue of Hindu Polity, namely, the Problem of Political Obligation. Here an attempt is made to understand and interpret the Hindu conception of the grounds of Political Obligation by correlating them to the rest of life led by the ancient Hindus. In this study Mr. Anjaria has pressed to his service the various political theories and maxims of statecraft as could be gathered from the *nīti* and *dharma* literature of ancient India, and has considered them in detail in eight chapters. First he examines the Divine Right theory in Hindu political thought and finds it inadequate to explain political obligation. Secondly, the contractual theory is dealt with. Thirdly, there is the theory of force and here it is concluded that *daṇḍa* is not an end in itself but it has to be correlated to *dharma*. Next he speaks of the organic theory but it is difficult to accept the statement that the conception of the state as a moral organism is not really present in Hindu thought. The elements of this theory are seen from the Rig Veda to the Śukraniti-sāra.

The last four chapters are devoted to a study of the nature and the end of the Hindu State in general and it is rightly concluded that the end of the Hindu State is the maintenance of *Dharma*. Incidentally the conception of *svadharma* is explained as well as the relation between the State and the Individual. In discussing the constitutional position of the king in the polity it is stated that the basis of power was autocratic though its actual exercise may not have been arbitrary ; but this can hardly be accepted. The book is well written and well printed. It will be a valuable addition to the already good stock of books on Hindu Polity.

V. R. R.

HEAT, LIGHT AND SOUND. By R. G. MITTON. Dent's Modern Science Series. Price 4s.

This book under review seems to be a very pleasant little volume covering the subject matter in the title in an entirely novel and modern way reaching the standard of our Intermediate in these subjects. It has the distinction of being quite modern in that some of the illustrations are of modern scientific triumphs and hence of

a very suggestive character to the keen student of science. To mention but a few : the frontispiece is of the 74 inch reflecting telescope of the British Columbia, turbines are illustrated by a picture of the rotor of one of the turbines of *Queen Mary* the latest wonder ship. The casting of the large 200 inch diameter glass disc for the largest reflecting telescope, its cooling and annealing, the edging, grinding and testing of a 74 inch reflecting telescope mirrors are other suggestive illustrations in light. In sound one comes across sound pulse photographs and condenser microphones.

Thus these provide excellent opportunities for the keen student to exercise his curiosity and imagination upon, and in that way the book is an inspiring example. This is a factor of great importance so often lost sight of by most of the text-book writers who confine themselves to an unrelieved presentation of absolutely dry textual matters of examination importance.

However the fact remains that most of the teachers of this standard especially in India brought upon books and traditions of the old standard and fashion might find these novel items quite incomprehensible. They might complain that the text is not sufficiently detailed to make these new ideas quite intelligible not only to the student but to the lecturers themselves. A typical example of this is the illustration of the Hartmann test on page 275. Concentrating as they do so much in coaching their students to meet examinations on specific syllabuses they are likely to be of the opinion that these are all beyond the syllabus and hence to be omitted.

It is at the same time quite a wellknown fact that if Indian science has been so barren of useful results the cause is to be traced to this textual teaching of the sciences so common in India as it leaves most of the students untouched and uninspired. In the circumstances a very desirable change will be the adoption of such modern books that will certainly act as a good corrective.

The get up of the book is good and there are many numerical examples worked out and given as exercises. The worked out answers to the problems given at the end of the book, is a useful feature and the chapter on musical instruments given under sound though short is very much to the point.

H. P. W.

A CLASS BOOK OF MAGNETISM AND ELECTRICITY. By H. E. HADLEY. Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Price Sh. 6/6.

Mr. Hadley's more advanced text-book of magnetism and electricity for students is a well-known and popular volume. The advent of his new book is sure to be welcomed by all connected with the teaching of electricity to junior students at the university. The incorporation into the book of much information regarding the practical applications of electricity, and the history of the subject, makes it valuable, as it is the only way to create an interest in the subject in beginners. The principle of proceeding from the familiar to the less familiar and abstract, is not new to the teachers, but is all too often thrown aside. Instead they often start from some theorems, without making it quite clear that they are the product of much experimental work, and proceed to build up the rest of the subject thereon. This method, though it may satisfy the demands of logic, and though it may be satisfactory from the examination point of view, is hardly capable of giving students a real grasp of the subject as a living, changing and growing science. The book under review avoids this mistake.

The arrangement of the chapters is judicious, and the results of much modern research have been incorporated, bringing the book fairly up-to-date. The chapters on static electricity, electrolysis, etc., gain greatly by the introduction of modern ideas of atomic structure. The time-honoured hydrostatic analogy for electrical potential has been wisely abandoned in favour of the gravitational analogy. The historical part of the book is extremely interesting, and shows considerable industry and research on the part of the author. We find in the historical notes on page 41 that the author does not credit the Chinese with an early knowledge of the directive property of the lodestone. But, if as the author states on p. 43, the legends of lodestone mountains arose as a sort of primitive attempt to account for the variation of the compass, there seems to be some evidence in the Arabian Nights and other Eastern tales, that the variation of the compass, and hence, the directive property of the lodestone, was known to Chinese and Near Eastern mariners if not in remote antiquity, at least long before it was generally known in Europe. On p. 26 we come across the statement "the imaginary line joining the poles, is termed the magnetic axis of the lodestone." It would have been better to have avoided the use of the word 'imaginary' in this connection.

The book is clear and readable. The illustrations are good. The later chapters on the more advanced modern applications of electricity are well written and full of interesting and informative matter. The volume can be heartily recommended for the use of Intermediate and B.A. (*Pass*) students.

R. N. S.

“A TEXT-BOOK OF PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY.” By SYLVANUS J. SMITH. Publishers,—Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 5s. 6d.

The list of text-books on elementary physical chemistry is not too large to make Mr. Sylvanus J. Smith's “Text-Book of Physical Chemistry” an unnecessary or unwelcome addition to it. According to the author, “the book is intended primarily to provide a course of physical chemistry for students in advanced science courses preparing for the Higher School Certificate examinations” (in England). The range of subjects covered in this little book, however, is sufficiently wide to make it a useful guide to the third year student in our colleges.

The account given of the usual topics such as molecular weights, abnormalities, properties of gases and of solutions, mass action law, catalysis, colloids, etc., is simple, concise and clear. Nearly a third of the book is taken up by the ionic theory and electro-chemistry and the subject has been treated very fully though in an elementary manner. It is noticed that while the newer concepts such as activity co-efficient, complete ionisation of strong electrolytes, dipole moments, etc., receive, perhaps justifiably, only a passing mention, the electronic theory of valency has been treated in greater detail.

The dictum that physical chemistry is better understood by working numerical examples has been borne in mind by the author. An interesting feature of the book is the collection of questions and numerical examples at the end of each chapter which is calculated to make the book more helpful to the beginners. The mathematical formulæ used and the calculations based on them are also easy to follow, higher mathematics being hardly requisitioned at all.

While admitting that in an elementary treatise as this it is not possible to deal with all the physico-chemical principles, it may be mentioned that a few paragraphs about the Parachor and Refracti-

vity would have materially enhanced the value of the book. This omission, it is hoped, would be made good by the author in the next edition.

The book is well got up and moderately priced, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their having placed within easy reach of the student of elementary physical chemistry such an excellent summary of the main themes.

B. B. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The following books were received from Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. :—

Heat, Light and Sound. By R. G. Mitton. 4s.

Mechanics and Hydrostatics. By R. G. Mitton. 3s.

Rome Republic and Empire—Vol. I—The Republic. By H. W. Household. 3s. 6d.

Physics : Mechanics, Properties of matter, Light and Sound. By G. T. P. Tarrant. 8s. 6d.

Selected Essays of Havelock Ellis. Everyman's Library.

From Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.—

A Text-book of Physical Chemistry. By Sylvanus J. Smith. 5s. 6d.

Mathematics for Technical Students, Part II. By F. G. W. Brown, 3s. 6d.

The Elements of Analytical Geometry—Part III—Conic Sections. By J. T. Brown. 2s. 6d.

Introductory Biology. By E. Stenhouse. 4s. 6d.

From Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd.—

The Problem of the Indian Polity. By Pratapagiri Ramamurthi. Rs. 10.

The Vaishnavas of Gujarat : Being a study in methods of investigation of social phenomena. By N. A. Thoothi. Rs. 15.

The Nature and Grounds of Political Obligations in the Hindu State. By J. J. Anjaria. Rs. 7-8.

From the Popular Book Depot.—

An Introduction to Politics. By Pratapagiri Ramamurthi. Rs. 2-8.

Supplement to the Madras University Journal

THE HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY IN SOUTH INDIA

BY

K. S. VENKATARAMAN, B.A. (HONS.), B.L.

(SIR PARASURAMBHAO COLLEGE, POONA)

*"There is only one way of seeing things
rightly and that is seeing the whole of them."*

MADRAS

PRINTED AT THE DIOCESAN PRESS, VEPEERY

1936

APPENDIX I

A study of the census of hand-loom in Salem District

Sources of information

There are four distinct sources from which we can gather information regarding the distribution of the hand-loom industry in each district. First come the village statistics published along with the census reports. They refer to the number of weavers in each village. But this reference was omitted since 1901. There is no separate grouping of weavers in the present village statistics. By the discontinuance of this practice we are deprived of a very useful source of information regarding the migration of the weaving community. At the time the writer commenced his work he was told that the original returns 'were destroyed as soon as the Census report was completed as they were considered to be of a confidential nature'.

The second source of information is the returns on the minor industries which the Tahsildar is asked to make at the time of the *Jamabandhi*. (Ref. Taluk Office Manual.) But these returns are seldom made and, even where they are submitted, they are rarely reliable.

Thirdly comes the village register maintained by the village officers. They enumerate from year to year the population of the village, the classification of the land, the extent of land cultivated etc., all with reference to the revenue administration of the village. Returns are also noted as to the number of artisans as blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters etc., and also the number of indigo vats, country oil presses, sugarcane presses and hand-loom. The village registers are a very satisfactory source of information regarding the revenue administration of the village but they are thoroughly unreliable so far as the agricultural stock, the industrial returns and other things not directly connected with the collection of revenue are concerned. Many village registers do not contain returns under these heads at all. To cite an instance of how returns are entered by the village officers: the sum of the number of hand-loom returned in the two previous quinquennial censuses is mentioned as the present number of hand-loom. No attempt is made to verify these figures. The village officers are not to blame; they have neither the intelligent guidance nor the practical training in the collection of statistics.

Fourthly come the quinquennial cattle census returns. They are no better than the village register, being returned by the same village officers. The higher revenue officials do not scrutinise the returns

In many cases the forms are not even completely filled up. We cannot expect anything better in the returns in the near future unless the status of the village officers is improved and their strength is increased. Many of the village returns are not even available in the Taluk Office.

Considering all this the writer proceeded to take a census of the hand-looms in each Taluk with the help of the Revenue Inspector of the firka. But that was an uphill work for a single person. He was just then informed that a special hand-loom census was taken by the Weaving Superintendent in 1926. The writer is much obliged to him for the copy of the returns he had given him. The returns were made in the form prepared by the Director of Industries.

The following remarks regarding the conditions of the hand-loom industry in Salem District are based on the returns of the Weaving Superintendent.

THE NUMBER OF HAND-LOOMS

Nearly all the villages in the district made the returns except the villages in Hosur Taluk and some in Harur Taluk. The working of hand-looms—cotton, silk, kora, and kumbli—is reported in 245 revenue villages. There are 29,052 hand-looms of which about 1,600 looms are reported to be idle. The distribution of looms according to the census of the Weaving Superintendent and according to the returns of the Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1921, and the density of the population Taluk-wise are given below :—

Taluk	Density of Population per sq. mile	Number of hand-looms	
		Census of the Weaving Superintendent	Statistical Atlas, 1921.
Hosur ...	153	496	1,082
Krishnagiri ...	255	364	355
Uttangarai (Harur) (Harur firka only) ...	168	200	287
Dharmapuri ...	229	1,439	1,483
Tiruchangode ...	552	5,550	3,000
Rasipuram ...	439	5,502	8,674
Salem ...	472	10,846	4,467
Omalur ...	420	3,090	3,052
Namakkal ...	470	1,564	1,049
Attur ...	276	...	441
Total ...	—	29,051	23,890

It is evident that nearly 80 per cent of the looms are found in the Taluks of Salem, Omalur, Tiruchangode and Rasipuram. The difference in the number of looms noted in the two censuses

cannot be explained. But the concentration of the industry in that belt is striking, and may be explained by the following facts :—

1. concentration of population and hence a local market ;
2. proximity to Salem which is the trading and financial centre for the industry.

IMPROVEMENTS ON LOOMS

More than 55 per cent of the looms are fitted with flyshuttle sleys. The localisation of the industry also leads to its rationalisation. In other taluks looms are most primitive and crude. They are mainly pit looms with throw shuttles.

Number of looms with and without flyshuttle sley,

Taluks	Number of looms fitted with flyshuttle	Number of looms with throw shuttle	Percentage of flyshuttle looms
Hosur	7	489	1·5
Krishnagiri	58	306	16
Harur	64	136	32
Dharmapuri	706	733	48
Tiruchangode	3,344	2,206	60
Rasipuram... ..	3,265	2,237	58
Salem	6,526	4,320	60
Omalur	1,526	1,564	49
Namakkal	454	1,110	27
Attur ... ..	...	...	...
Total ...	15,950	13,101	56

Many looms in the taluks of Salem, Tiruchangode, Omalur and Rasipuram are manufacturing fine fabrics and solid bordered cloth; therefore throw shuttles are used.

The village officers do not note returns of dobbies and warping mills in use. These are not generally working in the industrially backward taluks. There are many in operation in Omalur, Salem and Rasipuram but no returns are made. Satisfactory returns are, however, available for the taluk of Tiruchangode—at least so far as the Tiruchangode firka is concerned—where the Superintendent himself directed the collection of data. On the whole, 74 warping mills and 273 dobbies are noted. Their introduction is due to the indefatigable propaganda of the Weaving Party. Of the 74 warping mills, 34 are of the vertical type. 55 looms are fitted with weaver's beam which economises space occupied by the loom and saves time and labour involved in the shifting of lease rods and the arrangement of threads under the old system. Besides, 18 warping mills in Namakkal and 5 in Harur are also noted. But it is surprising that no warping mills, or weaver's beams or dobbies are noted in Salem. Salem is

easily the first and foremost in weaving industry. And it was here that the Department of Industries tried its experiments in hand-loom factories with all the modern equipment, and one would naturally expect there a large number of time-saving appliances in use. But no returns are made regarding this. This is an obvious error of omission. It is reported that there are only 24 dobbies in Salem Taluk. Salem weavers make special designs on the body and border of the cloth and they are exactly the province of the dobby and the jacquard harness. It is possible that the prohibitive initial cost of the jacquard harnesses might stand in the way of their adoption. But the failure to introduce simple and cheap dobbies in the draw-boy looms is unaccountable; perhaps they were not properly and carefully noted. In this connection it must be said that a local weaver of the Mudaliar community who is an expert in textile designing, has made a simple and cheap harness for elaborate design weaving. The country chain harness is cheap and therefore everywhere in use. The introduction of the new harness will benefit the industry.

THE NATURE OF YARNS USED

The Counts of Yarns Used.—Details of yarns used by looms are available for 20,500 looms. No information regarding the kind of yarn employed is noted in the case of 8,500 looms in Salem Taluk. It may be safely assumed that Salem being the centre noted for fine cloths, the count of yarn generally employed is above 30s. Of the 20,500 looms, 11,760 are using yarns of 40s and below, while many of the rest employ yarns varying from 20s to 100s. It is not definitely known how many looms are actually engaged in weaving cloths of count above 40s. But it is estimated that about 30 to 35 per cent of the looms manufacture fine cloths.

The Extent of Colour Yarn Employed.—13,887 looms are employed in manufacturing coloured fabrics. They use colour yarn wholly or partially. Only about 6,600 looms are using pure grey or bleached yarns. It is in the latter case that more fine counts are employed. A careful analysis indicates that the survival of the hand-loom is in no small measure due to the kind of fabric it manufactures. It employs more coloured yarn and manufactures such fabrics as are intended to suit local tastes, and as are not produced on power-looms. The looms using coloured yarn are mainly looms manufacturing sarees.

The Classification of Looms according to their Employment of Silk or Artificial silk or Cotton alone.—This classification is made in order to understand how much of hand-loom production is directly

competing with mill product. Power-looms cannot compete so successfully against the hand-loom in the manufacture of mixed or purely silk fabrics. It is also said that hand-looms survive because they have now taken to the manufacture of silk or rayon.

The returns under this head are as usual incomplete. The writer is aware that there are at least 50 looms in Rasipuram which employ silk alone; but nothing is mentioned about silk looms there. Again, many looms employing both silk and cotton are manufacturing the celebrated Salem *Gundanjo* which has a narrow silk border. Again, it is not mentioned how many looms are manufacturing solid bordered cloths which are not generally produced on power-looms. The village officers who have noted returns do not seem to appreciate what is meant by 'solid border'. Imperfect as these returns are, certain facts are worth noting. 66 per cent of the looms employ cotton alone while others employ silk, or silk and cotton, or rayon and cotton.

TALUKWAR DISTRIBUTION OF LOOMS USING DIFFERENT KINDS OF YARN

Taluk	Number of Looms Using Yarns of						
	40s and below	Above 40s	Grey yarns only	Coloured wholly or partially	Silk alone	Cotton only	Mixed silk, cotton, rayon
Hosur ...	465	..	77	388	..	105	360
Krishnagiri ...	240	..	12	228	..	160	140
Dharmapuri ...	1,332	20	84	1,268	..	1,110	242
Harur ...	200	..	55	145	..	200	..
Namakkal ...	1,680	480	312	1,248	..	1,146	414
Omalur ...	2,137	853	1,453	1,537	..	1,890	1,100
Tiruchangode ...	4,155	1,291	1,708	3,738	..	3,895	1,551
Rasipuram ...	1,926	3,636	2,705	2,857	..	3,635	1,927
Salem ...	251	2,326	199	2,378	72	1,423	1,154
Total ...	11,786	8,606	6,605	13,787	72	13,504	6,888

Finer count is used more in the Taluks of Rasipuram, Salem, Tiruchangode and Omalur. Looms manufacturing grey cloths employ more fine count yarn than looms manufacturing sarees. It is remarkable that in this district the extent of lungi and kaili manufacture is limited. And where fine count is employed it is used for the manufacture of laced cloth. Most of the saree looms are manufacturing sarees for peasant women. Looms manufacturing high class saree and urumal are found in Salem and Rasipuram and in a few other centres.

The Range of Fabrics Woven on Looms in Salem District.—The range of fabrics woven on hand-looms in Salem district is

wide. In pure grey cloths, dhoties with or without border, towels, duppaties and shirtings are important. There are laced and silk-bordered cloths also. Sarees with or without solid border, cloth for bodice, angavasthram or upper cloth, urumals, peethambaram, are some of the important silk fabrics. The celebrated *Mayilkan* (peacock's eye) for which there is a craze among well-to-do Hindus is a staple article of manufacture in Salem town and Ammapet. Carpets, bedsheets, jamakkalam, sarees with or without solid border are some of the prominent manufactures of pure coloured cotton. There is now a demand for certain kinds of cloths made of mercerised yarn and artificial silk thread, and their manufacture is now expanding.

CLASSIFICATION OF LOOMS ACCORDING TO FABRICS MANUFACTURED.

The looms can be classified under the following heads :—looms manufacturing 1. sarees or other mainly colour fabrics, 2. veshtis or other cloths, mainly grey, and 3. both grey and colour cloths about which there is no definite information.

Information under this head is available for 20,500 looms, of which 55 per cent are employed in the manufacture of coloured cloths of some kind or other. The manufacture of the coloured cloths of the kind in demand in rural parts is the province of the handloom, and this accounts for its survival. The remaining 45 per cent of the looms, except so far as they manufacture solid bordered and laced cloths, compete directly with power-looms.

NUMBER OF LOOMS IN EACH TALUK ACCORDING TO THE KINDS OF FABRICS THEY USUALLY MANUFACTURE.

Taluk	Number of Looms Manufacturing		
	Sarees only	Grey or bleached cloths only	Both coloured and grey
Hosur	388	77	...
Krishnagiri	162	12	66
Dharmapuri	925	84	427
Harur	93	55	52
Namakkal	487	299	774
Omalur	1,076	1,453	560
Rasipuram	1,069	2,787	1,706
Salem	1,524	241	884
Tiruchangode	2,941	1,918	598
Total	8,645	6,926	5,067

N. B.—Details for 8,200 looms are not available in Salem taluk. There are about 5,000 looms in Salem alone. Roughly speaking, the whole of Arisipalayam is manufacturing silk bordered grey and bleached cloth for men

with yarns of counts 40s. to 80s. There are about 500 such looms. In Gohai there are about 2,500 looms and all of them employ colour yarn. They manufacture carpets and sarees. Here is the big colony of Devangas. In Ammapet there are 200 pure silk looms worked by Kaikolar Mudaliars. They manufacture costly cloths with silk and cotton and gold lace, sometimes with beautiful patterns. In Salem town there are nearly 1,000 looms and 60 per cent of them manufacture silk and rayon fabrics. There are a few saree looms which prepare very costly cloths, say from Rs. 150 to Rs. 500 sometimes.

THE SIZE USED

The census of hand-loom indicates that the weavers use no special size for the warp. They prepare their own size with the locally available materials as ragi or rice with sesame oil.

CASTES OF WEAVERS

The investigation reveals that nearly 85 per cent of the weavers are weavers by caste and by hereditary occupation. The important weaving castes are Kaikolar Mudaliars, Devanga Chettis and Naidus and Jedars. The following groups are not weavers by caste:—Padayachi, Siveyar, Sembadavar, Pulavar, Lingayats, Vellalas, Muslims, and Adi-Dravidas. The Sourashtras are weavers by caste, and they are found in Salem and Rasipuram towns only. There are about 300 to 400 families of Sourashtras in the two centres. The following table shows the distribution of certain weaver-castes.

Taluk	Number of families of				
	Devangas	Kaikolars	Jedars	Adi-Dravidas	Kurumbars
Hosur ...	360	...	...	6	...
Krishnagiri ...	78	...	...	...	...
Dharmapuri ...	231	1,069	...	41	...
Harur ...	...	130	...	55	...
Omalur ...	1,250	1,600	...	...	...
Tiruchangode ...	1,338	1,550	986	36	...
Rasipuram ...	859	2,650	...	...	...
Namakkal ...	700	810	...	87	...
Salem ...	1,425	...	...	...	...
Attur ...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	7,542	7,809	986	225	...

The census of the castes of weavers is very imperfect. But some conclusions are possible. The caste weavers account for 80 to

85 per cent of the weaving population, the Devangas and the Kaikolars being the two important sects. The Sourashtra and the Jedars come next. The Thogatars weaving dupatties, the Padmasales weaving sarees, and the Kurumbars weaving kumblis are important weaving castes found in Hosur, Krishnagiri and Dharmapuri Taluks. Adi-Dravida weavers are found in non-weaving taluks e.g. Harur, Namakkal and Dharmapuri. They are the relics of the old village communities.

Caste Specialisation.—Thus far we have proceeded on the basis of the hand-loom census. But certain features of the industry are not brought out by the census which can be gathered only from personal investigation. The first thing that strikes one is the fact that there is a conventional caste specialisation in the manufacture of products. The Devangas and the Sales generally manufacture only coloured goods such as sarees, jamakalams, etc. The Kaikolars specialise in the manufacture of grey and bleached goods, dhoties, towels, dupatties and towels. The Sourashtras mainly manufacture costly cloths of silk. There is very little specialisation among other castes.

As in fabrics, so in the counts of yarn employed there is some sort of specialisation. The Sourashtras and the Kaikolars employ fine count yarn, silk or lace. The Devangas and other communities use coarse and medium count yarns for dupatties, sarees and carpets.

Another factor worth noting is that there is a sort of local specialisation also. Salem and Rasipuram are noted for their high class fabrics: silk and cotton cloths with lace, dupatas, angavasthrams, sarees, etc. Dharmapuri is noted for its sarees for the middle class people. There are many villages where generally a particular variety of cloth alone is manufactured. There are certain advantages in this local specialisation: e.g., in the purchase of yarn, in the preparatory processes etc.

Tendency of the Industry to Localise

The next important feature of the industry is its tendency to localisation or concentration in a particular locality. The tendency is getting stronger now. Scattered artisans are now coming to towns or some semi-urban centres. With the passing away of the self-contained nature of the village and its isolation, the village weaver and the oil-monger are the first to come out of the village for they are not directly dependent on the agricultural industry. The carpenter, the blacksmith and the cobbler are necessary and indispensable artisans in the agricultural community—the carpenter must repair the plough or the mhote, the blacksmith will have to replace the worn-out parts of some agricultural

implements, the cobbler must provide the hide for the pickkota and keep it in proper repair. And for doing all this their immediate presence is necessary. But that is not the case with the weaver or the oil-presser. The demand for their services is neither so continuous nor so urgent as it is for the service of the primarily rural or agricultural artisans.

Besides, the weaver is attracted to the town or to the place where there is a weaver colony, for two other reasons: 1. There is economy in the preparatory processes in large weaving centres where they are done by classes of workers who specialise in each process. The advantage is that firstly, the cost of preparatory processes is reduced and secondly, some time is saved. This enables the weaver to increase his earnings by increasing his output. 2. The presence of the capitalist, specialising in cloth trade and financing the industry and trade, attracts the impecunious weavers who suffer for want of work and lack of capital. There are other advantages incidental to localisation: easy availability of the accessories to weaving such as flyshuttle, reeds, healds etc.; direct touch with the cloth and yarn market; knowledge of the changes in the demand; and a greater scope for work.

Rationalisation of the Industry

Though the investigation attempted to obtain facts regarding rationalisation in the matter of organisation of production, the material obtained is very scanty and unsatisfactory. The number of independent workers and the hired labourers and the size of each unit of production have not been properly ascertained. So nothing can be said regarding them. Nor is there any basis for comparative study of the recent changes in the condition of the industry.

But there is ample evidence to show that the rationalisation of the industry on the technical side is going apace. Now, the old system, where the weaver did everything from winding to weaving with the help of the members of his family, is giving place to a more rational system of division of labour. The tendency to specialisation and adoption of improved appliances deserves notice. The old peg warping has now given place to warping mills, except in the upland tracts where the industry is carried on by isolated workers. In those places, of course, all the preparatory processes are done by women and children of the weaver. But in all centres where weaving is of some importance, warping mills are found. But winding and sizing are done in the old way. Children and old persons do the bobbin winding at 2 to 3 pies per ladi or 10 hanks. Warping is the special function of some persons who are mainly

weavers by caste, and their rates for warping vary according to the weight and count of yarn. Sizing is slowly becoming a specialised process. In some places it is done by weavers themselves on a co-operative basis. Those that help the weaver are given a nominal remuneration of 2 annas each per warp. In Salem and Rasipuram and other centres where weaving is the chief industry of the locality, sizing is done by special groups of workers. This obtains only where long warps are prepared. In Salem, sized warp is also sold by the merchant. Where short warps are prepared—say for sarees in Rasipuram—women do the sizing. But where longer warps are needed—more than 30 yards or so—sizing is done by men only.

The following facts become clear from a study of this hand-loom census :—

(i) improved weaving appliances are generally in use ; more than 50 per cent. of the looms have flyshuttles. Drawboy harnesses, multiple sleys, and warping mills are also used. Only sizing and winding are done on primitive lines.

(ii) The tendency to localisation of the industry, the adoption of specialisation in processes and manufactures and the general tendency for the rationalisation of the industry are now in evidence ;

(iii) nearly a third of the looms are producing cloths in direct competition with power-looms ;

(iv) and the industry is not so primitive in its technical equipment as is often stated.

APPENDIX II

THE HAND-LOOM CENSUS: A CRITICISM

The authors of the various provincial census reports in 1921 recognised that census figures as at present compiled, could not afford any useful information regarding the progress of the hand-loom weaving industry. This is true in all cases of small industries in India. It was observed by Mr. Talents: 'we must on the whole conclude that any estimate of the tendency of the home weaving industry based on the census figures is at present inconclusive. But the record of the hand-loom census if it be continued may afford material for a better estimate at a future census'. Sir Alfred Chatterton also emphasised on the need for the collection of useful occupational statistics: 'We desire to draw attention to the unsatisfactory means provided by the ordinary census for the collection of useful occupational statistics and to suggest the adoption of special enquiries; for, the object is at least as important as the ethnological discussions that have hitherto figured largely in the census report'. Mr. Amalsad, Textile Expert to the Government of Madras, writes: 'It is found that it is extremely difficult to estimate the decline in the condition of the cottage workers in India as no figures exist which will enable one to compare the past condition of the industry with that of the present. The census statistics are usually compiled by persons not in close touch with the industry and the classification of the various branches of the textile trade adopted in these figures affords very little help. The statistical publications regarding Cotton Mills in India give figures regarding the consumption of yarn in terms of weight without stating the counts of yarn. This conveys no meaning whatever regarding the decline in the industry and the changes in the economic condition of the weaver'. The quantity of yarn used by the loom, the daily outturn, the number of days the weaver gets work in the year, the counts of yarn used and the kind of fabric woven, the subsidiary occupation of the weaver, the average prices of yarn and cloth and other raw materials required for weaving, are essential data to gauge the changes in the economic status of the weaver and the progress of the industry and in some measure the economic progress of the country. The census of 1931 while offering no basis for comparison is yet an improvement on previous censuses. The workers are divided into three groups (a) persons following it as principal occupation, (b) persons following it as subsidiary occupation and (c) those who are 'working dependents'.

The Director of Industries, Madras, passing orders on the resolutions passed in the Handloom Conference in 1925 and recognising the value of a survey of the weaving industry observed that a certain amount of information in the form below would be helpful if collected by Weaving Superintendents.

Statistics of Hand-looms

1. Name of the weaving centre visited.
2. Taluk and district.
3. Village population.
4. Weaver population in the village : Men, Women—Total.
5. Probable number of persons engaged in
 - Winding
 - Warping
 - Sizing
 - Dyeing.
6. Classification according to weaver's caste.
7. Number of looms in the centre—Total.
 - (1) Looms fitted with flyshuttle sley.
 - (2) Ordinary looms with throw shuttles.
8. Number of looms lying idle.
9. Number of improved appliances at work.
 - (a) Dobbies, (b) warping mill, (c) sizing plant,
 - (d) jacquard harness, (e) weaver's beam etc.
10. Particulars of fabrics manufactured.
 - (1) Details—Sarees or dhoties, solid or other bordered cloth, plain weave or otherwise etc.
 - (2) Counts of yarn used (colour, grey or bleached).
 - (3) Nature and count of silk and artsilk thread used.
11. Character and composition of the size used.
12. Nature of dyes used.
13. Number of weaving factories.
14. Number of co-operative societies

{	Total number of members.
	Number of weaver members.
15. Nature of any other textile industry followed there.
16. Remarks.

If the survey of the industry is carried on these lines periodically—say every ten years—it will indicate the tendency of the industry to localise, the movement of the industrial population, the changes in the range of articles manufactured in hand-looms, the technical progress of the industry, the mobility of labour and its employment, the changes in the caste monopoly in industrial occupations, the tendency or otherwise of the industry to concentrate in

factories, the changes in the sex distribution of workers in the industry and in the various processes connected with the industry etc., etc.

But there is one great omission in this survey. It fails to get at the human factor in the industry. The two main objects of a study of an industry are 1. industrial progress, and 2. human progress. A study of the former without reference to the latter is necessarily incomplete ; and what the Textile branch of the Industries Department has so far done is that its attention was mainly focussed on the technical progress of the industry and nothing was so far done to ascertain the changes in the economic status of the weaver. It is true that if a comprehensive statistical census along with the general census is taken, nothing more can be done. But this must be supplemented by special surveys in selected centres. A special survey will require workers with efficient training in practical economics, who have the training, tact and patience necessary to investigate the household budgets of a number of weavers, their general indebtedness to capitalists, the actual output of the loom with and without fly-shuttle, the wages of cooly workers for different operations, the prices of yarn and other raw materials, the sale of manufactured articles and their prices in different shandies and many others.¹ A special staff is necessary to collect data simultaneously in all centres. Mere statistics on the lines suggested by the Director of Industries is of no value. And it is unscientific to collect data in a few centres at random and apply them to the industry as a whole. The census of the hand-loom industry and all other important small industries must be taken periodically and must be supplemented by special investigation on the human side². One cannot say how far the census of production contemplated by the Government of India will realize the objectives of the census of hand-loom stated herein.

¹ The Research Department of the University can carry on this work systematically with the help, and through the co-operation, of the Industries and the Co-operative Departments.

² The recent investigation in the Madras Presidency carried out by a special officer for cottage industries is a welcome departure in the industrial policy of the Government. But, unfortunately, for various reasons for which the special officer is in no way responsible, neither the enquiry nor the report is fruitful from the point of view of either technical and commercial organisation of the hand-loom industry or economic and social regeneration of the weaving community.

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire

I. GENERAL CENSUS.

1. Name of the village and Taluk.
2. Population :
 Men
 Women
 Children (below 10).
3. Number of weaver families.
4. Total weaving population (including dependents):
 Men
 Women
 Children.
5. Number of actual workers in
 (*a*) cotton, (*b*) silk, (*c*) mixed, (*d*) others :
 Men
 Women
 Children.
6. Number of looms (*a*) working and (*b*) idle.
7. Number of looms fitted with flyshuttle sley
 „ with throw shuttle sley
 „ with lever dobbie
 „ with jacquard harness
 „ with country chain harness
 „ with weaver's beam
 „ with multiple sley box
 „ with other mechanical improvements
8. Number and kind of warping mills used.
9. Number and kind of sizing plant in use.
10. Number of yarn depots in the locality.
11. Number of cloth dealers in the place : (*a*) dealers who are weavers themselves, and (*b*) dealers who are not.
12. Castes of workers.
13. Number of actual workers (*a*) winding, (*b*) warping, (*c*) sizing, and (*d*) weaving, and number of men, women and children in each.
14. Number of (*a*) textile dyers, and (*b*) textile bleachers.

15. Civil condition of workers :
 - (a) literate or illiterate.
 - (b) age of workers—Below 10, 11–15, 16–60. Above 60.
 - (c) sex of workers.
 - (d) married, unmarried and widowed.
16. Extent and means of subsidiary income of the family.
17. Number of persons owning their looms.
18. Number of persons owning their houses and place of work.
19. Number of weavers who are members of the Co-operative Society.
20. Number of families and workers who are—
 - (a) independent cottage workers
 - (b) hired or wage earners (independent)
 - (c) dependent on the sowcar
 - (d) master craftsmen
 - (e) capitalist workers.
21. Number of looms manufacturing—
 - (a) sarees (ordinary)
 - (b) grey cloth
 - (c) sarees with solid border or lace or grey cloth with solid border or lace
 - (d) special kinds of cloths.
22. Number of families where all the preparatory processes are done by the members of the families themselves or at least part of the processes is done by them. Mention the processes that are done by them.
23. Number of looms using—
 - (a) grey yarns below 40s
 - (b) „ above 40s
 - (c) coloured yarns below 40s
 - (d) „ above 40s
 - (e) mixed cotton, silk, and rayon.

APPENDIX IV

Questionnaire

II. CENSUS OF HAND-LOOM FACTORIES.

1. Name of the factory, name of the place etc.
2. Nature of the company : Private or public.
Limited or otherwise.
Jointstock or partnership or individual basis.
3. Number of looms : Working
Idle
4. Number fitted with flyshuttle
 „ with dobbies
 „ with weaver's beams
 „ with jacquard harness
 „ with swivel or multiple sley.
5. Number of looms manufacturing—

KINDS OF FABRICS WOVEN.

- (a) coating
- (b) shirting
- (c) sheetings
- (d) others
6. Number of workers : Men
Women
Children.
7. Number of Weavers : Men
Women
Children.
8. Number of Warpers : Men, Women and Children.
9. Winding : Men, Women and Children.
10. Dyeing : Men, Women and Children
11. Castes of workers.
12. Number of families
 - (1) Where only one member works in the factory.
 - (2) Where two members work in the factory.
 - (3) Where more than two members work.
13. Number of workers with whom weaving is the hereditary calling.

14. *Wages*: for pirn winding
 for bobbin winding
 for warping
 for sizing
 for dyeing
 for weaving.

(State wages per operation in respect of different kinds of clothes woven, different kinds of yarns used, and different textiles used, at cotton, silk and rayon) and also the average earnings of workers.

15. Systems of remuneration—
 (a) period : weekly, or monthly etc.
 (b) piece rate or time rate
 Wages for overtime work.

16. Hours of work per day.
 17. Hours of work for the week.
 18. Fines etc.
 19. Provision for provident fund, profit sharing, bonuses etc.
 20. Provision of sanitary and other amenities in the factory.
 21. Provision of facilities for education, purchase of things etc.
 in the factory.
 22. Details of improved appliances used.
 23. Number, pay and qualification of special technical staff
 (a) weaving foremen, (b) dyer, (c) business manager etc.
 24. Special investigation on BUSINESS SIDE.

- (1) Amount of capital invested.
 (2) Amount of working capital.
 (3) Amount of borrowed capital. Rate of interest.
 Securities offered, if any.

(4) Average monthly turnover. Quantity and value-
 Examination of the day sheet of workers in different
 processes.

Examination of the costing sheets in the factory.

Other matters of interest, e.g., study of balance sheets etc.

Questionnaire

(The purpose of the investigation is firstly to ascertain the cost of production so that it might be known where the hand-loom is beaten by the power-loom and secondly to ascertain the changes in the economic condition of the weaver. The following questionnaire is framed with these two objects in view.)

1. Purchase of raw materials :—Number of yarn dealers ;

„ „ dealers in other accessories ;

Compare prices in towns and villages ; Systems of purchase:
cash or credit or otherwise noticing the advantages and disadvantages of each.
2. Sale of manufactured goods : Agency for distribution : How
goods are marketed : Conditions of the market.
3. Finance for production and distribution : note rates of
interest, condition of security, systems of repayment etc.

1. Kind of cloth woven : (*a*) description regarding the kind of weave, (*b*) the length of warp, (*c*) the number of ends and picks per inch, (*d*) the count and kind of yarn used for warp and weft : state the amount of the colour yarn used, (*e*) the amount of silk and lace used, (*f*) the dimensions of the cloth, (*g*) the cost of yarn and other raw materials employed, (*h*) the selling price of the cloth : (1) to the middleman and (2) to the consumer, (*i*) the weight of yarn required for warp and weft, (*j*) the warp if sized or not.
2. In regard to the operations mentioned below state—
 - (*a*) time and labour required ;
 - (*b*) by whom done : by the weaver or his relations or by outsiders.
 - (*c*) wages paid or usually paid for
 1. Bobbin winding.
 2. Warping.
 3. Sizing.
 4. Pirn winding.

5. Joining the threads.
6. Rolling on the beam.
7. Weaving.
8. Others.

III. Economic Status of the Weaver to be studied in respect of each group.

1. Classification of workers (*a*) according to their industrial status
 1. Master craftsman.
 2. Independent cottage worker.
 3. Hired labourer.
 4. Indentured worker.
 5. Others.
- (*b*) Classification according to the kinds of cloth woven.
 1. Cloths that are also produced in mills.
 2. Cloths that are the special province of hand-loom.
2. The weaver's family : Number of members : number of workers—men, women and children ; number of dependents.
3. Income : Number of looms working : Work available daily. number of full working days in the year. Kinds of operation done by the members of the family : Nominal and real wages of workers and of the family.
4. Family budget : Expenditure (*a*) rice and other staple food grains and other food articles, (*b*) clothing, (*c*) housing and lighting, (*d*) education, (*e*) industrial equipment, (*f*) drink, (*g*) conventional extravagances etc.
5. Indebtedness of the family : Causes of indebtedness : Economic condition of the family in the last generation. Extent of debt : Interest : Secured or not : Capacity of repayment. When was the debt contracted.

APPENDIX VI

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CHAPTER XVI

HAND-LOOM VERSUS POWER-LOOM

‘It is generally believed that the hand-loom weaving industry is doomed. I am not so pessimistic as that. Indeed I am confident that it is capable of great expansion. Handweaving is capable of competing with power weaving in a factory The weaver in the cottage has got everything to his advantage. His stores cost very little; he has no depreciation, no interest or excise duty. The only thing against him is production.’—B. D. MEHTA, *ex-Manager, Empress Mills, Nagpur, at the Indian Industrial Conference, 1907.*

‘If the hand-loom can compete with the power-loom in England, where the cost of skilled labour is many times greater than it is in India, where the perfect weaving machinery worked by steam and electricity is in use, what a much greater prospect must there be in India, where you have an unlimited supply of the most skilful hereditary weavers, content with earnings of three to eight annas per day. There are splendid possibilities open to the hand-loom industry in India, and it is a preventible loss to India that the skilled weavers should day by day leave their looms and add to the already overgrown agricultural population.’—*Bulletin of the Department of Industries, of Bihar and Orissa.*

The critics of the hand-loom are generally of opinion that hand-loom cannot hope to supersede the power-loom, nor can it resist for long its advance. They conclude from their experiences in western countries that man-power cannot compete with mechanical power and ere long all handicrafts will give place to factory and machine production.¹ They assign one reason for this inevitable consummation which, according to their wisdom, applies with equal force to all handicrafts; further, they believe that because the rate of production in the hand-loom is far less than it is in the power-loom, the cost of production on the hand-loom must be greater. We shall examine the truth of this conclusion.

¹ A writer in the *International Labour Review*, June 1928, shows the remarkable expansion of handicrafts in many industrial countries and their persistence elsewhere in spite of the growing competition of large scale industries. The data, he has collected, are instructive. In Germany out of 1,000 non-agricultural workers, 373 are still employed in handicraft undertakings. According to the French occupational census of 1921, out of 551,141 undertakings in the transforming industries alone employing 4,027,335 wage-earners, 466,036 employ fewer than 5 wage-earners each. In Great Britain 40 per cent of the industrial workers are employed in undertakings not using motive power. In Switzerland 328,008 are handicraftsmen out of a total of 827,624 workers. Japan, Russia, U. S. A. and the Balkan States are no exceptions.

The writer further points out that the modern handicrafts are not the relic of the past but play a very important part in modern industrial organisations. They have a great future as indicated by the industrial policies of Russia and Germany.

RATE OF PRODUCTION AND ITS RELATION TO THE COST OF PRODUCTION

The production on the power-loom is ordinarily five times as much as it is on the hand-loom. This, however, does not mean that the cost of production in the power-loom is only a fifth of the cost on the hand-loom; for, besides the cost of labour, there are other items of expenditure which must be included in the cost of production on the power-loom e.g. overhead costs arising from expensive machinery, building, and other equipments; their repair and maintenance charges, taxes, fuel and power charges, cost of establishment, supervision etc. The high initial cost of equipment and the recurring cost of maintenance and the scarcity of skilled labour in Indian industrial centres are some of the factors which may outweigh for a long time all the advantage of the speed of power-looms. In India the minimum cost of erection per loom in a mill is Rs. 600 and the average cost is Rs. 800 while an efficient hand-loom fitted with a flyshuttle sley and weaver's beam can be set up for Rs. 30. A comparison of the rate of production may be instituted between 20 hand-looms and one power-loom if the initial cost alone is the basis for comparison, for, 20 hand-looms can be set up for the cost of one power-loom. Now the quantity of production on 20 hand-looms will be nearly five times as much as it is on a power-loom. But this comparison is equally fallacious. The real efficiency of the power-loom and the hand-loom can be measured only in the light of initial cost, running and other costs. It is loose thinking if one states that the power-loom is superior to the hand-loom because the production in the former is four times greater; it is equally wrong to say that the power-loom weaver is more efficient than the hand-loom weaver because the former attends to four looms in India and to nearly twelve looms in U.S.A. and produces over 80 yards a day, while the poor hand-loom weaver struggles to manufacture 10 yards. 'Efficiency' without reference to the cost of production has no meaning. The high speed of production does not minimise the cost on the power-loom and it has no relation to the cost of production which alone can determine the real advantage of mechanical power over man-power.

This brings us to the question of mechanical power versus man power. The main cause of the introduction of machinery and the employment of more capital than labour in an industry is the comparative cheapness and efficiency of capital. Generally speaking, in industrially advanced countries labour compared to capital is dearer from the producer's point of view and therefore the tendency in rationalising industry is in the direction of increasing employment of capital in the form of machinery and improved implements. In countries like India and China, on the other hand, labour is abundant and is cheaper than capital in spite of its low productive power. And this explains the hesitation in increasingly employing capital in agriculture and industry in these countries. Costly plant driven by power cannot be employed in many branches of industries as long as its introduction has not got a decided advantage in reducing the cost of production (e.g. in spinning mills) or in eliminating time and space (e.g. in transport industries). In many cases the advantage accruing from its introduction is only temporary; for labour, unfortunately, in certain countries is prepared to compete with capital for employment on any terms. Where time is not an essential factor in production, labour in such countries competes successfully with capital and mechanical power. This is the condition in Indian industries, particularly in textile industries today. So long as there is this abundance of labour and skill which cannot find more remunerative occupation, the present quantum of production can be, and will be, well maintained by hand-looms. Further so long as the present economic order is not thoroughly changed increasing substitution of mechanical for man-power cannot be hoped for and where it does, it creates unemployment.

The remarks of E. B. Havell will bear repetition. 'After carefully considering the ethics of machinery and the limits of hand-loom weaving, he concludes, 'Weaving is not one of those operations in which steam or electric power has an inherent superiority over hand-loom labour. There are many operations in which the superiority of the former is incontestable as wielding a huge mass of iron, railway engines and steamships. But a loom is a machine in which the force re-

quired to work it does not usually exceed the strength of one man and any excess of the force required absolutely prevents good weaving. In all countries where skilled manual labour is plentiful and cheap, the power-loom has no inherent superiority over the hand-loom, provided that the latter is made as mechanically perfect as the former, so that the working power of the hand-weaver is not wasted. The only question is whether the unit of mechanical power can be produced at a cheaper rate than the average cost of manual power'.¹

To come back to the original theme, we have found that it is very nearly impossible to ascertain the exact point at which any useful comparison can be made between the hand-loom and the power-loom; that neither the initial cost, nor the rate of production, nor working expenses can alone prove useful and that it is the final cost of production per unit of output on the power-loom and the hand-loom that can determine their real efficiency. The retail prices of hand-loom and power-loom manufactures will not afford us any basis for this purpose, for the trade and commercial organisations for the mill and hand-loom products are different and any conclusion based on the difference of their retail prices will be misleading. For our present enquiry the prices of cloth ex-mill and ex-handloom must be ascertained. This we shall do in the next chapter. Definite data as to the cost of production in the mill are not available. Yet certain inferences regarding the cost of production in the mill and in the hand-loom can be made from certain observations and statements of writers on the cotton textile industry; and on that basis we shall ascertain the differences in the cost of production and examine whether the hand-loom can manufacture the same cloth at the same cost as the mill does, if not at a lower cost; and if so, under what conditions it is possible.

First there is the statement regarding the cost of production in mills prepared by Sir Victor Sassoon in 1926 and presented to the Royal Commission on Indian Currency. The statement is published as an appendix to the memorandum presented by the Bombay Millowners' Association to the Cotton Textile Tariff Board (Refer: Statement A). He

¹ E. B. Havell : *Artistic and Industrial Revival in India*, p. 163.

has given the cost of production of a piece of standard shirting cloth with 20s warp and 20s weft with details of the cost of converting raw cotton into finished cloth. Deducting three annas per pound of yarn used as the spinning cost¹ when cotton sells at Rs. 300 per candy, and four annas per pound when cotton sells at Rs. 700, the cost of weaving, according to Sir Victor Sassoon, is $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound of cloth (inclusive of size) when cotton sells at Rs. 290 per candy and 6 annas when it sells at Rs. 700 (the difference being due to the weaving waste and insurance). The cost does not include the excise duty on cloth. The statement does not give anything about the ends and picks per inch, the amount of size in the cloth and other relevant details.

Secondly, there is a statement of cost in the memorandum presented to the Textile Tariff Board, 1927, by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association (Statement B). This does not give any specifications of the cloth taken for costing. Nothing is said about the dimensions of the cloth, the counts of yarn used and the ends and picks per inch. Like Sir Sassoon's, it includes the cost of spinning and weaving but not of spinning and weaving waste. It includes also the cost of dyeing and excise duty. Deducting the cost of dyeing and excise duty and 3 annas as spinning cost, the cost of weaving per pound of cloth comes to a little less than 4 annas. It must be remembered, however, that no reduction is made for the size in the cloth and the cost given here is for the weight of cloth and not for the nett weight of yarn used.

Thirdly, there is the statement of the cost of maintenance per loom in Bombay, in up countries and in Ahmedabad in the Report of the Indian Tariff Board 1927 (Statement C). The average daily cost in Bombay is 517 pies and in Ahmedabad and up country mills 470 pies. The average production per loom depends on the kind of yarn used and the kind of cloth woven. The average output of cloth of

¹ The cost of maintaining one spindle according to the report of the Tariff Board is 10·6 pies in Bombay and 9·4 pies in upcountry mills. The average outturn per spindle of 20s is $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and is seldom less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Assuming that 3 spindles can produce one pound of 20s the maximum cost of production is 32 pies in Bombay and 28 pies in other places. We have assumed throughout that the cost of producing one pound of 20s is 36 pies. This error will underestimate the weaving costs in mills.

20s is about 10 lbs. of cloth or 50 square yards and if we deduct the size used in it, 10 per cent of the weight of cloth, the daily output is 9 lbs. The cost of weaving a pound of cloth is 47 pies in Ahmedabad and 52 pies in Bombay. The cost of size used must be added to this, which will make the cost of weaving for an ordinarily sized cloth in Ahmedabad $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound and in Bombay 6 pies more.

There are yet two other statements regarding the cost of production on power-looms in India prepared in 1930, by Arno S. Pearse of the International Master Spinners' Association, Manchester. In a first class mill in Ahmedabad (Statement D) whence he collected details regarding costing of cloth with $24\frac{1}{2}$ s warp yarn, the cost of spinning per pound of yarn is 3.04 annas and the cost of weaving is 4.98 annas per pound. He has also prepared a statement showing weaving charges per piece of cloth of different sorts in Indian mills. The cost of weaving varies from 9 pies to $13\frac{1}{2}$ pies per yard and from 45 pies to 67 pies per pound of yarn. The Statement E (p. 202) can be briefly stated thus :

Name of cloth.	Dimensions.	Reeds.	Picks.	Count of		Weaving charges per	
				Warp.	Weft.	Yd.	Lb.
						Pies.	
Dyer's cloth ...	41" × 36 yds.	36s	36	24s	20s	9	49
Shirting ...	35" × 22 "	56s	52	24s	20s	$12\frac{3}{11}$	45
Dhoti ...	28" × 7 "	48s	52	$24\frac{s}{2/32}$	20s	$11\frac{7}{8}$	67
Dhoti ...	39" × 10 "	48s	52	$24\frac{s}{2/32s}$		$13\frac{1}{2}$	59
Dhoti ...	49" × 11 "	48s	48	24s	34	$13\frac{3}{11}$	$58\frac{1}{2}$

In the above statement excepting for shirting where the cost of weaving per pound of yarn is 3 annas 9 pies only, in all other cases, it does not seem in any way to compare favourably with that on the hand-loom. It must also be noted that the cost of production per yard of cloth is one anna where the picks per inch are 52 and the width of the cloth is 36 in. and it is 5 pies per yard where the picks per inch are 36.

The costing sheet of an up country mill prepared in respect of grey chaddar in 1908 is appended herewith as Statement F. Even though trade union activity was then less effective and so wages were low, though the burden of taxation was light and though the general level of prices was low, the cost of wearing in 1908 was $5\frac{1}{4}$ annas per pound of cloth and 3 annas 9 pies per yard excluding railway charges and excise duty.

How far these widely differing estimates of the cost of production can be relied upon is a legitimate question. But let us for the purpose of comparison take the lowest estimate i.e. $3\frac{3}{4}$ as. per pound of cloth, though it does not obtain in most of the mills in India.

COST OF PRODUCTION ON HAND-LOOM

Two statements regarding the cost of production on hand-loom are appended to this chapter as Statements G and H one from the memorandum of the Textile Expert presented to the Textile Committee of the Madras Legislative Council (1928), and the other from the writer's enquiry in Kumaramangalam in Salem District (1928). According to the former, the cost of winding, warping, sizing and weaving of one pound of yarn is 4 annas 9 pies. If we include the weight of size so that this can be compared with mill cloth, the cost of manufacturing one pound of cloth will be 4 annas 4 pies on the assumption that 10 per cent of size is retained in the cloth. And in Kumaramangalam in Salem District the cost of production of cloth per pound of yarn of $18\frac{1}{2}$ s varies according to the prices of mill cloth in the market between $3\frac{1}{4}$ annas and $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas. But this cost will go up by 2 pies in the case of 20s and this is more than set off against the weight of size in the cloth which will reduce the cost of production per pound of cloth. In a village in Chingleput district the cost of production per pound of grey cloth is 2 annas 3 pies.¹

The writer is aware of the dangers of so many assumptions and hypothetical calculations but he ventures to state that if the weight basis for comparison of cost on power-loom

¹ The Report of the Special Officer for Cottage Industries.

and hand-loom is taken the error will be very negligible. If linear basis is taken the results will be very misleading unless the cloths of power-looms and hand-looms are comparable in all respects. Also he is aware that in the hand-loom industry, there is nothing like costing. The handweaver is content to make a living and accepts whatever price he gets for his manufactures as a result of the mill competition. His earnings have all the characteristics of profits rather than of wages.

However, a careful examination of the cost of production shows that the minimum cost in mills is 4 annas per pound of cloth of 20s with size but excluding the excise duty while the cost runs upto 6 annas where the yarn used is about 25s. In the hand-loom the respective costs are $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas and 5 annas. Thus it is clear that the cost of production on the hand-loom, if not always lower than it is on the power-loom, is not much higher. For, the hand-loom weaver adjusts himself according to trade conditions and accepts higher or lower wages and competes with the mill.

This persistence of competition of the hand-loom with the power-loom brings out certain facts which one must bear in mind in any scheme of industrial reconstruction. The abundance of cheap skilled labour and the comparatively high and sometimes prohibitive cost of capital equipment are two limiting factors in the expansion of cotton mill industry in India. This explains why still a fourth of the total consumption of cloth in India and four-fifths of the consumption in China, where labour is abundant and cheap, are still produced on the hand-loom. Now, one cannot deny the advantages of mechanised mass production. But there is a limit to the concentration of the industry and with the increased cost of land transport and labour troubles on the one hand and the possible abolition of customs duties on imported yarns, the weaving section of the Indian mill industry will have to face a serious situation,¹ in which the hand-loom

¹ The great losses that many weaving mills are sustaining and the number of weaving mills that are annually going into liquidation are clear indications that these mills driven by power have their own difficulties which the hand-looms have not to face. The weaving mills as a rule fare worse than spinning mills which means that power-loom weaving is not as economically sound as it is generally assumed. Eighteen Indian cotton mills with an authorised

weaver may probably triumph if he is now properly organised. It would be either stupendous folly or wickedness to waste the inherited skill of the Indian weaver by forcing him to power-loom factories as a means of educating him in the science of modern industry. 'Rationalisation'—that magic word of modern industrial organisation—is not open only to power driven factories but also to small scale industries. But it is not courageously advocated by its well-wishers, for they are haunted by the fear of gigantic machines driven by mechanical power. This fear is unfounded. How the mill industry is rationalised and how the hand-loom industry can be modernised will be indicated in a later chapter. It is attempted here to show that the case for the mill industry is exaggerated; and it is loose thinking that leads to the conclusion that the higher the speed of production the lower is the cost of production. It is made out in this chapter that the cost of production in mills is not very much lower than in hand-loom though the speed of the power-loom is greater. It may safely be asserted that if the import duty on yarn is abolished and the industry is properly organised in its technical and commercial aspects, the hand-loom in India can turn the tables against the power-loom.

capital of Rs. 4·7 crores, fifteen mills with Rs. 2·36 crores, twenty-three mills with Rs. 4·97 crores went into liquidation in 1925-26, 1926-27 and 1927-28 respectively. The Lancashire mills fared no better. The liquidation of the weaving mills was more common than that of the spinning group. All schemes of cartellisation and rationalisation have so far proved ineffective. It is wrong to imagine that since India imports 1,000 million yards and manufactures over 2,000 million yards in indigenous mills that power weaving is flourishing. A number of mills have been forced into liquidation and what is most striking is that the average dividend paid by the Lancashire weaving mills for the past several years ranges only from 2 to 3 per cent. In fact very few mills are working very satisfactorily in spite of the great financial assistance given by the bankers. These mills can be said to be run merely to find employment for the people; and in spite of the huge outlay invested in maintaining and running 1,200 weaving concerns with 739,000 looms the number of persons employed is comparatively insignificant. This is due to the fact that it is not possible on the one hand to employ the minimum labour by installing labour saving appliances in order to obtain adequate return on the capital invested and on the other to provide employment instead of doling large sums of money to the unemployed. It is for this reason that the placing of the hand-loom on an economically sound basis so as to provide adequate remuneration to the weaver is urged as a means of preventing the unemployment problem assuming such large proportions in India as to necessitate the grants of doles to the unemployed.—Mr. Amalsad, *Cotton Cloth Impasse*, pp. 13-14

STATEMENT 'A'

Allocation of cost as given by Sir Victor Sassoon in 1926 before the Indian Currency Commission, page 385 of Vol. II *Evidence: Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile)*, 1927.

ALLOCATION OF COST OF STANDARD SHIRTING 9 LBS. 40
YARDS 20S WARP AND WEFT WITH COTTON

	Price of cotton per candy of 784 lbs.	
	at Rs. 290.	at Rs. 700.
Raw cotton	45.46 annas	109.82 annas
Waste in spinning	6.80 "	16.47 "
Waste in weaving	3.96 "	7.67 "
Insurance, spare parts	3.01 "	3.01 "
Stores	7.44 "	7.44 "
On cost	11.21 "	11.21 "
Power	5.82 "	5.82 "
Mill management	5.22 "	5.22 "
Wages	30.93 "	30.93 "
Commission	1.91 "	1.91 "
Total	121.76 "	199.50 "

Taking the cost of spinning at 3 annas per pound when raw cotton sells at Rs. 290 and 4 annas per pound when it sells at Rs. 700, the cost of spinning and weaving may be analysed thus:—

	COTTON			
	@ Rs. 290		@ Rs. 700	
Cost of cotton	45.46 As.	37.35%	109.82 As.	54.90%
Cost of spinning including spinning waste	27.00 "	22.19%	36.00 "	18.85%
Cost of weaving including waste in weaving and size	49.30 "	40.46%	53.82 "	26.95%
Cost of weaving per yard of cloth ...	1.23 "		1.345 "	
Cost of weaving per pound of cloth ...	5.48 "		5.98 "	

If 10 per cent size were to be allowed the weaving cost per pound of yarn used will be from 6.08 annas to 6.64 annas.

STATEMENT 'B'.

Cost of production of 1 lb. of cloth in mills as given by the Bombay Millowners' Association in their Memorandum to the Cotton Textile Tariff Board.

Coal	...	...	10.09
Stores	...	...	14.46
Labour	...	...	39.69
Office supervision	...	...	3.41
Fire Insurance	...	...	1.67
Municipal and other taxes	...	...	1.57
Interest	...	...	5.66
Commission on cloth	...	...	4.60
Agents' Commission	...	...	0.83
Excise duty	...	...	9.35
Dyeing charges	...	...	4.40
Income and super-tax	...	...	1.94
Total ...			97.67*
<hr/>			
Total less excise duty and dyeing charges	...	...	83.92
Total less spinning and dyeing charges and excise duty	...	...	47.92
			<hr/>

* This includes the cost of spinning, weaving, dyeing and the excise duty. Deducting 36 pies for spinning and 4.4 pies for dyeing and 9.35 pies for excise duty, the cost of weaving including preparation of warp and finishing and folding and baling of cloth is 3.95 annas per pound of cloth. If we allow 10% for the weight of size the weaving cost will be 4.4 annas per pound of yarn used in weaving.

STATEMENT 'C'

Expenses per loom in Mills.¹

In Bombay.	517 pies.
In Ahmedabad.	470 pies.

This does not include the cost of size, nor the excise duty.

The rate of production on the power-loom is 35 yards to 60 yards per day of ten hours. It depends on the nature of the weave, the kind of yarn used and the number of picks per inch. The average daily outturn is 35 yards per loom when 26s to 30s yarn is used and the pick per inch is 64. It is 60 yards when 14s yarn is used and the pick per inch is 42. It is about 50 yards per loom when 20s yarn is used and the pick per inch is 52.

¹ Report of the Indian Cotton Textile Tariff Board, 1927.

STATEMENT 'D'

COSTING FOR 24½S WARP YARN IN ANNAS PER POUND OF YARN

Arno S. Pearse in his book on the *Cotton Industry of India* gives the costing as furnished by a mill in Ahmedabad, 1929.

Spinning Department			Weaving Department		
		ANNAS.			ANNAS
Spinning wages	...	0·87	Stores including yarn pur-		
Card and frame wages	...	0·36	chased	...	2·05
Engine wages	...	0·25	Wages	...	1·51
Coal	...	0·36	Coal	...	0·25
Stores	...	0·37	Depreciation	...	0·28
Depreciation	...	0·35	Interest charges	...	0·20
Interest charges	...	0·25	Brokerage	...	0·17
Commission	...	0·04	Agency commission	...	0·52
Ground rent	...	0·07			
Water rates	...	0·05			
Miscellaneous	...	0·07			
Total spinning charges.		3·4	Total weaving charges.		4·98

Spinning and weaving charges per pound of yarn used in cloth is 8·02 annas.

STATEMENT 'E'

Statement showing weaving charges per piece of cloth of different sorts in Indian Mills.

(From Arno. S. Pearse : *The Cotton Industry in India*).

Description of cloth <i>a</i>	Dhoti <i>b</i>				Dyer's Cloth <i>c</i>			
Width of cloth	...	32"			46"			
Speed of loom	...	205			190			
Reed	...	48s			36s			
Picks	...	52			36			
Warp counts	...	{ 24s			24s			
Weft counts	...	2/32s col.			20s			
Dimensions of cloth	...	20s						
		28" × 7 yds.			41" × 36 yds.			
Charges per piece in pies	1900	1910	1914	1928	1900	1910	1914	1928
Preparatory engine and other charges	...	22	29	29	57	71	95	232
Weaving wages	...	7	9	10	24	34	39	92
Total	...	29	38	39	81	105	134	324
Efficiency per cent	56·09	61·9	65·7	...	67·9	63·2
Cost of production per yard of cloth	...	4½	5½	5½	11½	2½	3½	9

				Rs.	A.	P.
Cost of production excluding excise duty and railway freight				1	6	6
Do.	per pound of cloth	...	...	0	5	3
Do.	per pound of yarn used	...	...	0	6	0
Do.	per yard of cloth	...	...	0	3	9

These rates include cost of baling, folding and other charges. Still the cost of production in the hand-loom is nothing prohibitive.

The cost of production in mills at present is twice the cost of production in 1910 according to Statement E. On this basis the cost of production at present will be 10 As. 6 Ps. per pound of cloth, 12 As. per pound of yarn used and 7 As. 6 Ps per yard of cloth in the above case.

STATEMENT 'G'

Cost of production on the hand-loom.—Cost of producing one yard of cloth (4.75 oz.) of 20s warp and weft on the hand-loom as stated by Mr. D. M. Amalsad in his Memorandum to the Textile Conference.

Specification of cloth:—Length 1 yd; breadth 48"; ends 48; picks 52. weight of 1 yard of cloth 4.75 oz; add 10 per cent size.

				Rs.	A.	P.
Cost of yarn	...	...	...	0	3	6
Cost of winding, warping and sizing	...	...	...	0	0	6
Cost of weaving and winding	...	...	...	0	0	11
Total cost				0	4	11
Cost of weaving 1 lb. of cloth with size				4 annas	4 pies.	
Cost of weaving 1 lb. of yarn				4 annas	9½ pies	
Cost of weaving 1 yard of cloth with size				1 anna	5 pies.	

STATEMENT 'H'

Cost of weaving in Kumaramangalam in Salem District (1928.)

Specification :

Grey Veshti with thin black border 18½s warp and weft ; picks and ends per inch about 50 ; length of the warp 84 yds. ; breadth 45".

Yarn for the warp.	228 hanks, i.e.	...	...	...	12.2 lbs.
Yarn for the weft.	228 hanks, i.e.	...	...	...	12.2 lbs.
Total yarn				...	24.4 lbs.

Add 10 per cent size ; weight of cloth is ... 26.8 lbs.

				Rs.	A.	P.
Wages paid for the warp in 1923	...	...	...	7	0	0
Wages paid for the warp in 1928	...	...	...	5	0	0

				1923	1928
Cost of production per lb. of yarn used	...	...	...	0 4 7	0 3 3½
Cost of production per lb. of cloth	...	...	...	0 4 2½	0 3 0

Details of cost —

				Rs.	A.	P.
Winding and warping	...	...	...	0	10	0
Sizing cooly	...	...	...	0	8	0
Cost of size	...	...	...	0	4	6

Total preparatory charges ... 1 6 6

Weaver's gain in 1928 ... 3 9 6

CHAPTER XVII

HAND-LOOM VERSUS POWER-LOOM

In this chapter we propose to explore the possibility of resuscitating the hand-loom industry and to examine in greater detail the commercial basis for its reorganisation.

The lay opinion is that hand-woven cloths are dearer than mill cloths and it is usually attributed to the higher cost of production on the hand-loom. This may be true in some cases and in some places but the higher price of the hand-woven cloth is not mainly due to the higher labour cost. Cost of labour is not the only factor that determines the cost of production. There are other factors as well to be considered such as cost of yarn, overhead charges, cost of marketing etc. The hand-loom industry as at present organised for the purchase of raw materials, for the production of cloth and for marketing accounts for the higher price of cloth; and economy in these directions will reduce the cost of production. The yarn from the mill passes through many hands before it reaches the weaver and so does the cloth pass through a series of middlemen before it reaches the consumer. But where the weaver himself markets the cloth in the shandy the price is sometimes much lower than that of the mill cloth. Again the weaver gets his yarn from mills and his price includes (a) the profits of the spinner, (b) profits of the middleman through whom the yarn passes and (c) the duty on yarn. In a place 15 miles from Coimbatore, to cite an instance, the price of yarn per pound of 20s is 9 pies higher than the retail price in Coimbatore. The power-loom gets its yarn at a price which does not include middleman profits and duties and thus enjoys another advantage over the hand-loom. Again there is a psychological factor. There is usually less size in the hand-loom products than in many Japanese and Ahmedabad mill cloths which are neatly filled and finished; and the latter therefore compare favourably with hand-woven cloth where the weight or the appearance of the cloth is the determining factor. It must also be remembered that the hand-loom weaver, not being able to dictate the price for his labour, sells his cloth for whatever price it fetches him. Cost of production does not regulate his output

or determine the price of his cloth. He is willing to slave for hours on any terms so long as it gives him a living. On the other hand the cloth merchant for whom most of the weavers are bound to work tries to get the best price for the cloth. He knows that buyers are willing to pay more for hand-woven cloths and takes full advantage of this. Thus it is not because that the cost of production in the sense that relative cost of labour is higher on the hand-loom than in mills that the hand-woven cloth is dearer but it is due to the cost in other respects viz., in the distribution of yarn to the weaver, the marketing of cloth and the import duty on yarn. The one great advantage the power-loom enjoys is in the preparatory process. The slasher sizer is decisively cheaper than street sizing or even the Yorkshire dresser sizer. It is also asserted that the higher price of the hand-woven cloth is not too much when the quality of the cloth is considered. There is much to be said for this view. But these impressions are the results of personal prejudices and individual judgment and they are not helpful in determining whether the hand-loom or the power-loom is more commercially advantageous.

The hand-woven cloth is not standardised and therefore it does not lend itself to a comparative study of costs. Even where there are fairly standardised products, the cost of production varies from place to place and time to time according to the demand for cloth and the necessity of the weaver. We cannot therefore state with any certainty the difference between the cost of production on the hand-loom and on the power-loom.

We must pursue a different course of enquiry: 'Can cloths of stated quality be produced on the hand-loom at the same cost as on the power-loom?' To answer this question one must ascertain the kind of the cloth, its dimensions, its weight, the nature of the weave, the percentage of size in it, the count of yarn used for warp and weft, the number of ends and picks, the weight of different yarns used, the price of yarn, its quality, the nett cost of that cloth in the mill, the cost of manufacture per pound and per yard of cloth, whether at such rates cloth can be produced on the hand-loom and if so, under what conditions. These are points which must

be fully investigated. The present writer has examined some mill cloths on the lines indicated above from the data given in the report of the Indian (Cotton Textile) Tariff Board, 1927, and the evidence of the Bombay Millowners' Association and the result is appended to this chapter as Statement B. Absolute accuracy cannot be claimed for it, for the difficulty of obtaining accurate information from the mills in a fluctuating market is obvious. The selling price of the cloth is for ex-mill delivery during the last quarter of 1926. It is not stated in the report nor is it stated in the evidence at what price the cost of yarn was taken so that we can calculate the weaving cost in mills. To be on the safe side the cost of yarn is based on the top price of cotton during 1925 i.e. the year previous to that when the prices of cloth were ascertained by the Board and the Millowners' Association, though the average price of cotton in 1926 was Rs. 360 per candy of 784 lbs., i.e., $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound. The following prices for different counts of yarn are adopted on the basis of 9 annas per pound of cotton and spinning rates mentioned in column 3 in the accompanying table:—

Count of yarn	Price of cotton	Spinning charges per pound ¹	Price of yarn per lb.
14s ...	9 annas	$1\frac{1}{2}$ annas	$10\frac{1}{2}$ annas
20s ...	9 "	3 "	12 "
24s ...	9 "	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "	$12\frac{1}{2}$ "
30s ...	9 "	5 "	14 "
36s ...	9 "	$6\frac{1}{2}$ "	$15\frac{1}{2}$ "
40s ...	9 "	7 "	16 "
44s ...	9 "	$8\frac{1}{2}$ "	$17\frac{1}{2}$ "

¹ The spinning rates adopted here are overestimated when compared with the rates calculated on the cost of maintaining a spindle in Bombay mills as given in the Cotton Textile Tariff Board Report. On the basis of 10·6 pies per spindle in Bombay and on the basis of the number of spindles required to produce a pound of yarn indicated in col. 2 below the probable cost of spinning different counts of yarn is given below:—

Count	Spindles per pound	Cost of spinning per lb. at 10·6 pies per spindle
10	1·25	13 pies
20	2·50	$26\frac{1}{2}$ "
30	4·30	45·6 "
40	6·66	70·7 "

When definite information is not forthcoming, many things have to be assumed. As regards the rate of production and the cost of production on the hand-loom, the ordinary weaver can furnish no reliable information as he maintains neither production sheet nor costing sheet. Mr. Chatterton observed in his book that the average rate of picking in a country-loom is about 30 per minute.¹ It is over 40 in a country-loom fitted with a flyshuttle sley. A weaver can do six to fifteen yards in a day of 10 hours, varying according to the dimen-

¹ THE AVERAGE RATE OF PICKING IN HAND-LOOM COMPETITION

	20s warp. 20s weft.	30s warp. 30s weft.	100s warp. 100s weft.
Best country loom with throw shuttle.	31	...	...
Improved pitloom with fly shuttle ...	45	...	47
Frame loom with fly shuttle ...	62½	66½	48½

The average rate of picking in the Government Textile Institute, Madras, in respect of different sorts of cloth and different kinds of looms is given below :—

Loom	Kind of cloth	Width	Warp and weft	Rate of picking
Flyshuttle	Long cloth ...	44"	20s × 20s	36
Do.	Fine dhoti ...	46"	60s × 60s	27
Do.	Plain striped shirting ...	35"	2/64 × 30s	60
Do.	Towels with dobby border ...	34"	20s × 20s	36
Do.	Twil shirting ...	38"	20s × 20s	38
Drawboy harness	Saree ...	44"	2/64 × 30s	27
Flyshuttle loom	Fancy shirting ...	43"	60s × 40s	31
Do.	Grey cloth ...	24"	2/42 × 20s	45
Hattersley's	Do. ...	24"	20s × 20s	54
Flyshuttle	Coating with different cotton weft ...	36"	2/36 × 16s	32

sions of the cloth, the count of yarn used, the number of picks per inch, the pattern woven and the kind of loom used. In Statement A, a scale of wage-rates varying in proportion to the number of picks, the width of the cloth and the count of yarn used is adopted to ascertain the probable cost of production on the hand-loom. The weaving rates are so arranged that the weaver gets at least 10 annas a day, for this is 25 per cent higher than the general level of wages. He is given 15 pies per yard when the picks to an inch are 64, 12 pies when there are 52 picks and 9 pies when 40 and below. If he increases his rate of picking, which he can easily do if he uses a frame loom with weaver's beam, he can earn more than 10 annas. Now neither do the average earnings of the most fortunate weaver, nor the daily earnings of the ordinary weaver or the agricultural worker generally work at the rate of 10 annas a day.

A perusal of Statement A shows that the cost of manufacturing cloth in Indian mills is 3 annas 9 pies per pound of yarn of 14s, 5 annas per pound of 20s, 7 annas per pound of 24s, 8 annas per pound of 30s, 8 to 10 annas per pound between 30s and 40s and 12 annas for 44s. It is evident from Statement A that almost all cloths of counts below 40s, not even excepting shirting and drill, (for, the prices of yarn in those cases are overestimated), can be manufactured on hand-loom at the same cost as on power-loom. But in counts above 40s the hand-loom is handicapped because of the very high price of yarn which is maintained at the level.¹ But it may be observed that the cost of production on the hand-loom does not include the cost of supervision, stores, insurance, interest and commission which amount to about 12 to 15 per cent of the cost of production of

¹ The sudden jump in prices of 40s and 50s is very suggestive in the following prices of yarns (in 1928).

Price of grey yarn in Madras in 1928 March.

40s mule	Rs. 1-2-6	per pound.
50s medio	Re. 1-14-0	"
60s	Rs. 2- 1-6	"
80s	Rs. 2- 9-0	"
100s	Rs. 2- 0-0	"
120s	Rs. 3- 6-6	"

cloths in mills.¹ The expenses on this count may not be so much on the hand-loom but at least a portion of it will be necessary when the hand-loom is organised on the lines indicated in this book. Against this can be set off the import duty on yarn which the hand-loom pays and the mills in India do not which, at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound or 5 per cent *ad valorem* whichever is higher, works at 12 per cent when yarn sells at 12 annas per pound. The savings on account of the abolition of the import duty on yarn will be considerable i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound. Again, it might be pointed out by the advocate of the power-loom that the hand-loom cloth is not finished, folded and baled as the mill cloth. The cost of production in mills includes the cost of finishing, folding and baling which must be deducted from the cost of production in mills in order to make it comparable with the cost of production on hand-looms. The cost of this ordinary finishing and baling in mills will be from 6 to 9 pies per pound of cloth. Now as against this, there are two items in favour of the hand-woven cloth: (1) the cost of production is cheaper on the hand-loom than on the power-loom by a few annas as indicated in col. 23 of Statement A, and (2) the cost of yarn is calculated on the basis of 9 annas per pound of cotton while the average price of cotton in the year 1925-26 was $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound thus leaving a margin of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound. Also the price of yarn to the hand-loom weaver includes the profits of the spinners and the commissions of the agents. Though it is not possible to ascertain with any precision the extent of the difference in prices on account of profits, etc., it is not too much to assert that the cost of production on the hand-loom will not at any rate be higher than it is on the power-loom, provided the industry is organised on proper lines.

¹ PROPORTION OF MANUFACTURING AND OVERHEAD CHARGES PER LOOM.

—	In Bombay	Percentage of total cost	Up-countries	Percentage of total cost
Manufacturing charges.	453·7 ps.	88 per cent	400·3 ps.	85 per cent
Overhead charges ...	60·36 ps.	12 „	70·9 ps.	15 per cent
Total cost ...	514·16 ps.	100 per cent	471·2 ps.	100 per cent

STATEMENTS

STATE-

STATEMENT REGARDING THE COST OF PRO-

DESCRIPTION OF THE PIECE	Grey Drill	3640 Gusto Shirting	Waller Yama Mfg. Shirting	AAAA Shirting
(1) Width, length and weight of the piece.	30 × 40 × 13½	36 × 40 × 13½	36 × 40 × 12	36 × 40 × 12½
(2) Count of warp ...	14	14	24	24
(3) Count of weft ...	14	14	24	24
(4) Reed ...	3/40	40	60	2/60
(5) Picks per inch ...	42	44	64	64
(6) No. of warp ends ...	1940	1600	2380	2360
(7) Tape length in yards...	44	43½	42¾	43
(8) Size per cent ...	16	28	34	40
(9)a Weight of warp yarn. lbs.	7.25	5.91	5.05	4.64
(9)b Weight of weft yarn. lbs.	4.49	5.59	4.77	4.77
(10) Total weight of yarn in the piece. lbs.	11.74	11.5	9.82	9.41
(11) Cost of yarn. Rs.	7 11 5	7 6 10	7 11 1½	7 11 1
(12)a Cost price of cloth per piece (to the mills.) Rs.	10 6 9	10 4 6	12 0 9	12 7 9
(12)b Net C.I.F. Price of Japanese goods. Rs.	11 5 9	...	...	11 5 9
(13)a Selling price ex-mill. Rs.	11 8 4	11 6 11	13 10 2	14 6 0
(13)b Selling price of Japa- nese goods. Rs.	13 0 0	...	...	13 0 0
(14) Cost of production per piece excluding profits on power-loom (12a—11). Rs.	2 11 14	2 13 8	4 5 7	4 12 8
(15) Cost of production per pound of yarn used. Annas.	3.7	3.9	7.07	7.7
(16) Cost of production per yard of Cloth. Pies.	13	12¼	20.8	21.75
(17) Cost of production per pound of Cloth. in mills Annas.	3.2	3.14	5.8	5.9
COST OF PRODUCTION ON HAND-LOOM				
(18) Cost of winding, warp- ing and sizing and beaming on dresser sizer. Rs.	0 14 6	0 11 9	0 15 2	0 15 2
(19) Weaving charges per yard. Rs.	0 0 9	0 0 10	0 1 3	0 1 3
(20) Weaving charges per piece. Rs.	1 14 0	2 1 4	3 2 0	3 2 0
(21) Cost of production on the hand-loom. Rs.	2 12 6	2 13 1	4 1 2	4 1 2
(22) Savings in hand-loom : (difference between Cols. 21 & 14.) Rs.	+0 1 2	+0 0 7	+0 4 5	+0 11 6

N.B.—Cols. 1 to 8, 12 and 13 are taken from the Report and Evidence includes 5% for contraction and a similar allowance is made for wastage. Cost Handloom versus Powerloom. How much of coloured yarn is used is not

MENT A

DUCTION ON POWER-LOOM AND HAND-LOOM

Ali Shirting	Toyo Shirting	3938 Gusto Shirting	9999 Cotton Japan	Toyo Shirting	44000 Shirting	36210 Shirting
36 × 40 × 12	36 × 40 × 12	38 × 38½ × 10	40 × 38½ × 10½	36 × 40 × 5½	44 × 38 × 6¼	38 × 38 × 5¼
24	24	30	30	36	40	36
26	26	30	36	36	44	46
2/60	2/64	64	68	2/52	2/56	2/56
64	64	60	68	42	48	56
2360	2520	2680	3290	2050	2720	2350
43	43	40½	40½	42½	40	40
42	34	40	17	11	28	12
5·03	5·38	4·31	5·02	2·88	3·24	3·11
4·42	4·42	3·68	3·67	2·10	2·27	2·20
9·45	9·80	7·99	8·69	4·98	5·51	5·31
7 8 7	7 12 9	6 15 7	8 4 8	4 13 6	5 13 6	5 7 11
12 3 9	12 8 0	10 13 0	13 4 3	7 11 6	9 10 3	9 9 0
11 5 9	12 3 9	10 14 9	13 1 8	6 1 6	...	...
14 1 6	14 5 0	12 15 6	15 2 7	8 13 6	11 1 7	11 2 6
13 0 0	14 0 0	12 8 0	15 0 0	7 0 0	...	...
4 11 2	4 11 3	3 13 5	4 15 7	2 14 0	3 12 9	4 1 1
7·9	7·6	7·7	9·2	9·25	11·0	12·2
22·5	22·5	20	25	13·75	19	17·5
6·25	6·25	6	7·6	8·36	9	11·1
0 15 3	1 0 6	0 15 0	1 1 6	0 12 11	0 15 5	0 14 0
0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 2	0 1 4	0 0 9	0 1 0	0 1 1
3 2 0	3 2 0	2 12 11	3 5 4	1 14 0	2 6 0	2 9 2
4 1 3	4 2 6	3 11 11	4 6 8	2 10 11	3 5 5	3 7 2
+0 9 9	+0 8 9	+0 0 6	+0 8 11	+0 3 1	+0 7 4	+0 9 11

of the Indian Cotton Textile Board. In Col. 9(b) the weight of weft yarn of yarn in Col. 11 is arrived at on the basis of the prices noted in Chapter on stated in the report.

CERTAIN FACTS RELATING TO THE PRODUCTION ON HAND-

Particulars.	Longcloth Loom No. 1.	Fine cloth with Dobby harness Loom No. 2.	Plain Striped Shirting Loom No. 3.	Towels with Dobby Border Loom No. 4.
Count of warp ...	20	60	2/64	20
Count of weft ...	20	60	30	20
Count of reed ...	44	72	72	48
Picks per inch ...	48	72	80	48
Width of warp in reed (inches) ...	44½"	46"	35½"	34½"
Width of cloth on the Counter (inches).	41½"	42½"	32½"	32½"
Weight of warp per yard of cloth (in ounce)	2 oz.	1½ oz.	1.55 oz.	1.65 oz.
Weight of weft (in ounce) ...	2½ oz.	1½ oz.	1.85 oz.	1.65 oz.
Contraction in warp ..	5%	5%	5%	5%
Contraction in weft ...	6½%	8%	7%	6%
COST OF PRODUCTION PER YARD	Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P
Cost of yarn ...	0 1 3	} 0 2 9	0 2 6	} 0 2 1
Cost of weft yarn ...	0 1 4		0 1 7	
Cost of warp preparation including sizing.	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 0 3	0 0 5
Cost of weft preparation and weaving.	0 0 11	0 2 4	0 1 0	0 1 0
Cost of bleaching and Dyeing...	...	...	0 0 3	...
Cost per yard of cloth ...	0 4 0	0 5 9	0 5 7	0 3 6
Cost of production per yard includes preparation and weaving charges only.	0 1 5	0 3 0	0 1 6	0 1 5
Production per day of 8 hrs. (actual results).	10 yds.	5 yds.	10 yds.	10 yds.
Weaver's earnings per day Rs.	0 9 2	0 11 8	0 10 0	0 10 0
Length of cloth per pound (in yard).	3½ yds.	6½ yds.	4½ yds.	4.6 yds.
Cost of production per lb. of yarn used in the cloth excluding the price of yarn and charges for bleaching and dyeing. Re.	0 5 6	1 5 4	0 5 10½	0 6 10

MENT B.

LOOMS IN THE GOVERNMENT TEXTILE INSTITUTE, MADRAS.

Twill Shirting Loom No. 5.	Fancy Shirting Two (Shuttles) Loom No. 9.	Sari (draw boy harness). loom.	Looms 27 & 28 (two weavers) Double loom.	Salvation Army Loom No. 33.	Hattersley Domestic Loom No. 35.	Coating (multiple Shuttle) loom.
20	60	2/6	2/20	2/42	20	2/30
20	40	30	10	20	20	16
52	80	72	40	52	44	60
64	84	72	40	50	48	72
33½"	46"	4½"	48"	23½"	44"	35½"
30½"	43"	42½"	46½"	22"	40½"	32½
1¾ oz.	1.3 oz.	2¼ oz.	4 oz.	1½ oz.	2 oz.	3 oz.
2.15 oz.	2 oz.	2¼ oz.	4 oz.	1½ oz.	2 oz.	3.1 oz.
4¾%	6%	5%	6%	4%	5%	6%
10%	7%	5%	3½%	7%	8¾%	9%
Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P	Rs A P
0 2 4	{ 0 1 6	0 3 11	0 2 10	0 1 2	0 1 3	0 2 9
	{ 0 1 6	0 1 7	0 1 9	0 0 8½	0 1 3	0 1 9
0 0 6	0 0 9	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 1½	0 0 6	0 0 0
0 1 3	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 1 9
...	0 1 0	...	...	...	...	0 1
0 4 1	0 7 3	0 8 3	0 5 6	0 2 8	0 3 9	0 8 0
0 1 9	0 4 3	0 2 9	0 0 11	0 0 9½	0 1 3	0 3 6
yds.	5 yds.	5 yds.	24 yds.	12 yds.	15 yds.	6 yds.
0 10 0	0 12 6	0 12 6	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 11 3	0 10 6
4 yds.	4½ yds.	3½ yds.	2 yds.	6¾ yds.	3¾ yds.	2½ yds.
0 7 2	0 15 9	0 9 9	0 1 10	0 5 4	0 5 0	0 5 3

CHAPTER XVIII

COTTON FABRICS

MR. PATEL, a former Director of Agriculture and Industries of Baroda, prepared an estimate of the quantity of different kinds of cloth consumed in India and the extent of supply from (1) foreign imports, (2) Indian mill production and (3) hand-loom production in India.¹

(In Million yards).

Class	Counts of warp	Counts of weft	Hand-loom supply		Indian mills	Foreign imports	Total consumption of cloth	
			Patel's	Corrected ²			Patel's	Corrected ²
Coarse ...	6-20s	6-20s	900	600	60	300	1,260	960
Coarse-medium ...	20-26s	20-40s	150	100	500	1,100	1,750	1,700
Medium ...	26-40s	30-50s	450	300	40	750	1,240	1,090
Fine ...	over 40s	over 50	150	100	...	350	500	450
Total ...			1,650	1,100	600	2,500	4,750	4,200

It is not stated how he arrived at the output of hand-looms. He evidently estimated the hand-loom supply on the basis of 6 yards to a pound of yarn. The Indian Textile Tariff Board (1926) took 4 yards of cloth to a pound of yarn and on that basis the corrected figure in the above table is arrived at. The Tariff Board (1930) considered this to be an over estimate. While 3 to 10 sq. yards of cloth can be manufactured from a pound according to the count of yarn and nature of the cloth, we are safe to assume that on an average a pound of yarn is equal to 4 yards of cloth.

The above table was prepared in 1906-07. As denoting generally the relative importance of cloths of different fineness, it is fairly accurate. The bulk of the consumption of cloth i.e. 60 per cent was made of coarse and coarse-medium yarns. Medium accounted for 25 per cent. This is

¹ *Indian Review*, 1907.

² (Corrected 1 lb. = 4 yards of cloth.)

nearly so even today though the relative importance of the hand-loom, the Indian mill and foreign cloths has changed.

From the available statistics the changes in the hand-loom and in mill consumption of yarn cannot be correctly stated. But certain conclusions are possible from Mr. Patel's table. The bulk of coarse cloth i.e. over 65 per cent was prepared by the hand-loom; the shares of the Indian mills and foreign imports in coarse-medium amounted to 90 per cent; and regarding cloth of the medium and fine counts, the foreign imports accounted for nearly two-thirds of the supply while the hand-looms supplied the other third. The share of the Indian mills was insignificant, though of late it has increased considerably.

THE NATURE OF THE SUPPLY AND CONSUMPTION OF CLOTH

Though definite statistical information is not available on this point, it is possible to state broadly the extent and nature of the supply from the three sources of (1) hand-looms, (2) Indian mills, (3) foreign imports. In 1926-27 which was a normal year and when there were no heavy protective duties nor boycott of foreign goods, the estimated Indian consumption of 5290 million yards was made up of 1758 million yards of foreign imports, 2166 million yards of Indian mill goods and 1366 million yards of hand-woven cloth.

The cloths can on the basis of the fineness of yarn used, be grouped under three heads:

- (a) coarse : below 24s
- (b) medium : 24-40s
- (c) fine : above 40s.

On a careful study of the cloth market and the literature on the subject the following points suggest themselves:—

(1) Regarding imported cotton piecegoods, the bulk of the import is of medium counts i.e. 24s to 40s. The bulk of the Japanese cloth imported is of the coarser variety. As regards the coarse and grey cloth events have shown that Lancashire has lost much ground in competition with the east. It is observed by the Committee on Industry and Trade (U.K.) that the fall in the exports of coarse grey cloth to

India was great after the war and the Indian mills captured the local market. Now the total imports of foreign piece-goods have declined, and the fall is greater in the common varieties of grey coarse goods than in finished goods. But how far this decline is made good by the Indian mills and hand-loom respectively, it is difficult to state. Lancashire is now said to be specialising in the production of non-competitive goods. It stands to reason to assume that there has been a slight increase in the import of non-competitive piecegoods, such as finer grey cloths and white and coloured piecegoods of fine counts.

(2) As for the Indian mill production, the nature of the mill consumption of yarn is determined by the progress in the spinning section of the mills. The mills were producing about 600 million yards in 1906 and today they produce nearly 3,000 million yards. An examination of the quantity of the different counts of yarn spun in Indian mills suggests that the mill production of cloth is mainly in counts from 16s to 36s. The consumption of fine counts yarn is still small.¹

PRODUCTION OF YARN IN INDIAN MILLS

(in million lbs.)

Counts	1903	1913	1926	1931	1934
1 to 10	149	131	115	114	109
11 to 20	342	362	401	400	453
21 to 30	123	167	248	259	274
31 to 40	22	20	27.5	60.7	91
above 40	2.7	2.7	11.5	27.3	42

¹ Mr. Hardy, I.C.S., in his *Report* estimates that over 90% of the goods produced in Indian mills is of counts below 30 and that the consumption of counts above 40 is less than 4%. The consumption of finer counts by hand-loom is comparatively larger. The writer is of opinion that the hand-loom has not been worsted by the power-loom in India in respect of fine cloth manufacture. But the scope for the extension of its manufacture is limited. Those who talk of hand-loom taking to the production of finer counts cloth are not evidently aware of the difficulties of the hand-loom such as (a) the limited demand for such goods, (b) the dependence for yarn supply on Lancashire which enjoys a practical monopoly of it, and (c) the more formidable opposition of foreign interests.

At present the export of yarn to other countries is almost negligible being less than 3 per cent of the total manufacture. Nearly the whole quantity is consumed by Indian mills and hand-loom. It is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of different kinds of yarn consumed by mills and by hand-loom respectively. But it is safe to assume that weaving mills which are also spinning mills mainly produce such kinds of yarn as are required for their own consumption. Foreign imports of cloths made of coarse-medium and medium count yarn and hand-loom manufactures of medium grey cloths having declined, the increase in the production of cloth in Indian mills must have been in the class of fabrics employing yarns from 16s to 36s.

(3) The hand-loom manufactures have increased from 260 million lbs. in 1907-8 to 320 million lbs. in 1926-7, and 390 million lbs. in 1932-33. But the increase is mainly in the production of cloths made of coarse and coarse-medium yarn (14s to 36s) obtained from local mills. Regarding the province of the hand weaving industry, it is well known that cloth of coarse yarn is the monopoly of hand-loom, that the bulk of very coarse cloths is woven on them from Indian mill yarn. This is made from very inferior cotton. Some of the mills in Bombay tried to produce this class of cloth but the yarn could not stand the speed of the power-loom. They had to give it up as a bad business.¹ This cloth is very thick, warm and durable and is made everywhere in the country for local sales. This may, therefore, be considered as coming within the absolute sphere of the hand-loom. Foreign cloth of this class was being once imported but with the increased local production the foreign imports have practically ceased; but before 1935 Japan was a formidable competitor.

In regard to the production on hand-loom certain conclusions are possible: (a) the coarse counts yarn is the monopoly of hand-loom; (b) hand-loom consume practically all the imported yarn, (It was estimated that of 47 million lbs. of yarn imported in 1920-21, 44 million lbs. were used by the

hand-loom;¹ (c) that the rest of the yarn consumed by hand-loom is from Indian mills of counts 12s and above. On this assumption the following comparative table of the hand-loom production for 1908-09 and 1926-27 and 1931-32 is made out:—

Yarns available for hand-loom
(In million lbs.)

	1907-1908	1926-1927	1931-1932
I. Below 10s. Indian yarn ...	148½	108	114
II. 11s. to 40s. Do. ...	77	166	174
III. Above 40s. Do. ...	nil	4 ²	13 ²
IV. 11s. to 40s. foreign yarn. ...	26¾	29	16
V. Above 40s. imported yarn ...	7½	8½	13
Total ...	259¾	315½	330

The progress in the hand-loom production is mainly in the class of goods produced from the coarse-medium and medium and also fine yarns. There is a decline in the output of very coarse yarn which is used for the manufacture of jamakkalams, durries, dhupatis, carpets, and for making cotton ropes and strings. The coarse medium from 16s to 26s is employed in the manufacture of coloured goods and sarees. The medium yarn is used for lungis, kailis and sarees. Grey cloths such as towels, dhoties, bedsheets etc., are also produced from the coarse and medium counts. Grey and bleached men's wear such as dhoties and upavasthrams and laced cloths are usually manufactured from fine yarns.

THE CHANGES IN THE RANGE OF GOODS SUPPLIED BY HAND-LOOMS, INDIAN MILLS AND FOREIGN IMPORTS.

The case of *the hand-loom* can be dismissed with a word. There is no statistical information regarding the quantity

¹ Ainscough, *British Trade in India*, 1921, p. 34.

² It is assumed that yarns above 40s produced in Indian mills are shared equally by the hand-loom and the power-loom.

and varieties of goods manufactured on the hand-loom. The difficulty of collecting information systematically and comprehensively regarding the volume and kinds of output in this cottage industry is obvious. All that can be said is that the production has increased about 20 per cent mainly in coloured cotton fabrics and cloths with solid border, or some special weave or having a mixture of silk, artificial silk or gold lace.

To begin with *foreign imports*. Before 1910 nearly 60 per cent of the demand for cloth was met by foreign imports. In 1927 they did not exceed 30 per cent of the total consumption of cloth. In 1931 they declined to 14 per cent. A comparison of the various items of imports during 1907-08 and 1933-34 will be interesting and indicate in what lines there is either an increase or decrease. (*Vide Tables below.*) The imports are grouped under three heads: (a) grey, (b) white or bleached and (c) coloured, dyed or printed. Each group is again sub-divided according to the trade name of the cloth (a) dhoties, sarees and scarves, (b) drills and jeans, (c) T-Cloths and domestic, (d) long cloth and shirting, (e) nainsooks, (f) prints and chintz, (g) jaconets, madapolam, mulls and cambrics and others.

IMPORT OF COTTON PIECEGOODS INTO INDIA

(In million yards)

(A)

1907-8

	Grey	White	Colour	Total
1. Dhoties, sarees and scarves ...	501	79	50	630
2. Longcloth and shirtings ...	581	156	62	799
3. Jaconets including cambrics, madapolam mulls ...	139	200	73	412
4. Nainsooks ...	...	247	...	247
5. Prints and Chintz...	...	...	200	200
6. Others...	32	51	159	242
Total ...	1,253	733	544	2,530

(B)

1925-26

	Grey	White	Coloured	Total	Percentage of 1907-1908
1. Dhoties, sarees and scarves ...	428	72	29	529	84%
2. Longcloth and shirting ...	170	94	72	336	42%
3. Jaconets, cambrics, madapolam, mulls ...	80	177	34	291	70%
4. Nainsooks ...	...	77	...	77	31%
5. Prints and Chintz...	...	...	56	56	28%
6. Others... ..	22	45	174	241	...
Total ...	700	465	365	1,530	60.4%

(C)

EXTENT OF THE FALL IN IMPORTS IN 1925-26 AS COMPARED
WITH THE IMPORTS IN 1907-08.

(In million yards)

	Grey	Bleached	Coloured	Total	Percentage of decline
1. Dhoties, sarees and scarves ...	73	7	21	101	16%
2. Longcloth and shirting ...	411	62	+ 10	463	58%
3. Jaconets, cambrics, Madapolam, mulls ...	59	23	39	121	30%
4. Nainsooks etc. ...	...	170	...	170	69%
5. Prints and Chintz...	...	...	144	144	72%
6. Others... ..	10	6	+ 15	1	...
Total decline ...	553	268	179	1,000	39.5%
Percentage total decline ...	44.2	35.5	32.9	39.5	

The following points are well brought out:—

(1) The fall in the import is greater in the case of grey goods than in that of bleached and coloured ones. The market is now captured by Indian mills.

(2) Of the first five classes of cloths enumerated in the table which themselves represent nearly 85 to 90 per cent of the total imports, the greatest fall quantitatively, however, is in respect of long cloth and shirting and dhotis and sarees. They declined from 1429 to 865 million yards—a drop of 564 million yards. This fall is made up by an increase of 671 million yards of long cloth and shirting and dhotis produced in Indian mills. The drop is also great in respect of prints and chintz of the coloured group and nainsook of the bleached group.

Production in Indian Mills has increased from 800 million yards in 1907-8 to 2,200 million yards in 1926-27 and over 3,000 million yards in 1932-33. The production is classified under three main heads (1) grey and bleached; (2) coloured piecegoods and (3) cloths other than piecegoods i.e. hosiery, cotton mixed with silk or wool. The first group is again sub-divided into ten heads according to the trade names of fabrics. If the volume of production of grey and bleached goods is separately stated, it would enable us to note the direction in which the mill industry has advanced.

The accompanying table will indicate in what lines the mill production in India has advanced since 1907-08.

PRODUCTION OF CLOTH IN INDIAN MILLS

(In million yards or dozens or pounds)

	1907-1908	1926-1927	Increase or decrease
(1) <i>Grey and Bleached Piece goods—</i>			
Chaddars ... yds. ...	42·8	65·5	+ 23
Dhoties ...	237·9	585·7	+ 348
Drills and Jeans ...	21·5	79·7	+ 58
Prints ...	7·7	20·9	+ 13·2
Shirting and longcloth ...	207·2	580·0	+ 373
T. cloth, domestics, sheetings ...	120·3	93·0	— 27
Khadi, dhungri and Khaddar ...	26·1	98·7	+ 72·6
Tent cloth ...	2·5	6·7	+ 4·2
Other sorts... ..	14·0	42·7	+ 28·7
Total of Grey and Bleached goods...	680·0	1,577·2	+ 897·2

	1907-1908	1926-1927	Increase or decrease
(2) Coloured piecegoods ... yds. ...	128.3	681.5	+ 553
(3) Grey and coloured goods other than piecegoods	0.46 dozens	1.01	+ 0.55
(4) Hosiery	0.27	0.35	+ 0.12
(5) Miscellaneous	0.19 lbs.	4.29	+ 3.1
(6) Cotton goods mixed with silk or wool	—	2.31	+ 2.31
Total ...	808.4	2,258	+ 1450

Thus it is evident that there has been an increase in the output all round except in the case of T.-Cloth, domestic and sheetings. The increase is important, however, in respect of coloured piece goods, long cloth and shirtings, dhoties and drills and jeans stated in the order of importance. Of the total increase of 1,450 million yards, coloured piecegoods, long cloth and shirting, and dhoties alone account for 1,250 million yards. The increased Indian output in coloured goods is not the result of corresponding fall in foreign imports which indicates that the imports under that head are of the non-competitive type.

Since 1926-7 there has been a further decline in foreign imports followed by an increase in the Indian mill production due mainly to the policy of protection. The following table will indicate that while total consumption of certain staple varieties remains more or less constant, Indian mill goods are rapidly replacing foreign imports:—

	1926			1934		
	Foreign imports	Indian Mills	Total	Foreign imports	Indian Mills	Total
Grey and White						
(1) Dhotis and Saris ...	619	590	1209	102	1073	1175
(2) Chaddars	1	65	66	...	59	59
(3) Long cloth and Shirting	336	587	923	207	827	1024
(4) Drills and Jeans ...	20	80	100	5	117	122
(5) Cambrics and lawns ...	16	3	19	6	113	119
(6) T.-cloth, Domestic and Sheetings	24	84	108	3	159	162
(7) Coloured, dyed or print- ed	429	645	1074	341	734	1075

Jaconets, madapollams, and mulls besides fine dhoties, sarees, long cloth and shirting, and coloured fabrics are the only varieties of foreign imports that have maintained themselves against Indian mills competition.

THE RANGE OF PRODUCTION ON HAND-LOOMS

The products of the hand-loom can be classified with reference to the fineness of yarn used in their manufacture, the colour of goods produced, and the arrangement of the warp and weft threads. These variations constitute the various patterns which are produced,

- (a) by the use of different coloured yarns,
- (b) by the use of more than a single pair of treadles,
- (c) by both these means,
- (d) by specially interweaving yarn on a set system as the weaving of the fabric proceeds, and
- (e) by processes subsequent to the weaving as needle work and embroidery.

To this classification must be added patterns which are the result of printing and dyeing.

It must however be remembered that this classification is neither exhaustive nor exclusive and there is a great confusion with reference to the names of fabrics in the various districts. Again it would be tedious, uninteresting, probably out of place to mention all the details regarding ends, picks, warp, weft, weave, colour, texture etc., of all hand woven fabrics. Therefore, they would be considered under three main heads :—

- I. Plain woven grey materials.
- II. Plain woven coloured or printed fabrics.
- III. Patterns requiring more than one pair of treadles, coloured, printed and white.

I. *Plain woven uncoloured materials.*—The typical fabrics of this kind are dhupatis, bedsheets, dhoties, thundus, chaddar, munduhs. They are usually of coarse count yarn obtained mainly from Indian spinning mills. The yarn used is usually coarse. With the increased handspinning which supplies coarse yarn plain shirtings are also now woven. The counts used vary from 8s to 24s. According to quality the

number of threads varies from 24 to 48 per inch. They are all strong thick material as closely woven as the yarn used will permit. This kind of fabrics is used generally by the poorer classes for clothing, bedsheets, blankets, and wrappings. The fabrics under this group differ only in respect of their length and width rather than of materials used. The dhoti is used as the loin cloth, the thundu or dupatta is a sort of scarf worn loosely round the neck or over the shoulders or sometimes as the head dress. The materials of which these are made vary according to taste, caste and wealth of the consumer. The plain coarse white cloth of 6 yards is usually favoured by the Vellala women in the south.

Fine upavasthrams, and veshties and turban cloths are also woven in various parts of the country. The yarns used vary from 40s to 200s. The ends and picks vary from 60 to 80 per inch. Plain muslins and white sarees are also woven with nice coloured borders or with gold lace and silk borders.

II. *Plain woven Coloured Fabrics.*—Under this head come the coloured checks and stripes used by men and women for apparel, such as sarees, pyjamas, urumals, turban cloths, carpets, bedsheets, Madras handkerchiefs, lungis and shirtings with stripes and check effect. The carpets are specially made of very coarse yarn. The lungis generally have 32s warp and 36s weft. The Madras handkerchiefs have 40s and 50s warp and 60s weft. The texture and the number of ends and picks per inch vary in respect of each cloth. But on an average 42 to 64 picks are put in per inch, though in the case of lungis and handkerchiefs, the picks and ends are twice as many. But the bulk of the production under this group consists of sarees made of coarse count yarn with or without figured borders, and they are worn generally by the poor agricultural and the lower middle class women.

III. *Patterns requiring more than one pair of treadles.*—Twills, drills, satins and figured cloths fall under this group. They are produced in hand-loom factories in the West Coast, Madura, and Salem Districts. Sateens are still produced in Ayyampet in Tanjore District.

Another classification of the hand-loom products is based

on the nature of the border: (1) solid bordered cloth, and (2) cloth with ordinary border. The former requires more than one shuttle and one weaver, as the weft yarns for the border and the body of the cloth are different e.g. Bangalore sarees.

ANALYSIS OF MILL CLOTHS

We shall now examine the reeds and picks, the counts of warp and weft yarns, the nature of the weave and the finish of the chief classes of mill goods, both foreign and Indian, with a view to see the extent to which they can be produced on hand-loom; for the future of the hand-loom industry depends on its regaining its lost ground.

Long cloth and Shirting. The total consumption under this head is more than 1,000 million yards: 200 million yds. from other countries and 820 million yds. from Indian mills. *Long cloth and shirting* are plain woven cloth, grey bleached or coloured, manufactured in various widths. 36s for warp and 38s for weft for imported long cloth and 32s for warp and 40s to 50s for weft for imported shirtings are used. There are different qualities both in long cloth and shirting, the reeds and picks varying from 42 to 46 per inch.¹ The Indian long cloth and shirting are coarser and more heavily sized.

Dhoties, Sarees, and Scarves total 1,150 million yards, 90 per cent being from Indian mills. All of them are plain-weave, while in the case of dhoties and sarees the border is also 'crammed' and coloured. The imported dhoties and sarees are made of 30s/40s for warp and 36s/46s for weft and have from 56 to 66 ends and picks per inch. Imported dhoties are of three kinds: (1) shirting dhوتي where the warp is less than 40s, (2) jaconet dhوتي where the warp is from 40s to 48s, (3) mull dhوتي of finer warps.² The sarees are of similar texture and pattern but the border design and the

¹ The term '*shirting*' is often used with reference to quality. In the sizes given above very little cloth woven from finer yarns than 40 to 44s is shipped to India and shirting quality is therefore used to indicate a cloth not exceeding this limit of fineness. However white shirting is often made from the finer counts yarn and is normally 40 yards in length.

² Hardy's *Report*.

length of the piece are different from those of dhoties. The scarves are most loosely woven with 44 to 60 ends and 36 to 60 picks; and from 28s to 34s for warp and from 32s to 40s for weft are employed.

Next in importance come the *Jaconets*, *Mulls*, *Nainsooks*, *Madapollams* and *Cambrics*. *Jaconets* are plain grey cloths with 64 ends and 52 picks, woven with 38s for warp and 40s for weft. They are made of all widths but generally from 18 to 22 yards in length. *Mulls* are plain woven cloths, mainly bleached with 64 to 80 ends and picks woven with different kinds of yarn from 60s to 100s, both for warp and weft. *Nainsooks* are also plain bleached cloths made in various qualities from the fineness of cambrics downwards. *Cambrics* are fine woven plain cloths with 60s warp and 50s weft. *Madapollams* are bleached plain cloths used by ladies for underwear. They have from 72 to 80 picks and 84 to 96 ends and are woven with yarns from 50s to 60s for warp and weft. *Domestics* are plain heavy grey cloths; the warp is finer than the weft and the length is from 20 to 66 yards with various widths.

T.-Cloth, Domestics and Sheetings. They are heavy piece-goods. *T.-Cloth* is a plain heavy grey cloth. The warp and weft are usually of the same count and the length is 24 yards with different widths. *Domestics* have a finer warp than weft. *Grey sheeting*, as known in the Indian trade, is a plain heavy grey cloth and has the warp coarser than the weft, the usual dimensions being 35 ins. by 40 yards weighing from 14 to 17 lbs. per piece. *Voile* is an open mesh wiry fabric of a plain weave and hard twist cotton. *Printers* constitute a class of coarse grey cloths of special dimensions and specially surfaced to receive a printed pattern. The machine-printing industry has always been very small but there is a considerable output in the Indian mills which is used for hand-printed quilt covers. *Prints and chintz* form a particular class of coarse printed goods of special dimensions. In the 'dyed' print goods printing is done on dyed cloth, while in 'printed' this is done on grey or white pieces. The *lungi* is a coloured garment generally with a pronounced check and is worn in Burma with the two ends stitched together. The length is from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The *sarong* is the Malay equivalent of

the lungi and like the latter is a nether garment. The cotton *lungi* or *sarong* is worn by the poorer classes of Burma, men and women alike, and by certain classes of men in East Bengal, Ceylon, and the Muslims in South India. *Dungri*, *khaddar* and *khadi* are coarse cloths woven from the lowest counts of yarn. They are sold in competition with the hand-loom cloth from hand-spun yarn. *Coatings* and *trouserings* are terms applied to a variety of heavy coarse fancy cloths, sometimes loaded almost to the consistency of serge or felt; tweeds and checks are similar to coatings and trouserings. *Checks*, *spots* and *stripes*, as applied to white goods, imply self-coloured patterns woven by the use of different kinds of white yarn or by modification of the weave in different parts of the cloth.¹

The nature of *the weave* is also an important point for investigation. It is well known that the texture of a cloth is largely dependent on the manner in which the warp and weft threads are interwoven. The '*plain*' weave which is adopted for the majority of cloths is that in which each thread in either direction runs alternately under and over another in the opposite direction. Another common weave is the '*twill*' in which the method of interlacing warp with weft describes a uniform diagonal line on its surface. There are some special weaves as *bird's eye pattern* (produced on four shafts), *sateen* and *Italian* (generally of five shafts or more), *honey comb* and *mat weave*.

Cotton fabrics can again be classified into three kinds according to their finish (a) grey, (b) bleached or white, and (c) coloured. Cloth can be finished in different ways by (i) filling and finishing with starch and additional weight, (ii) calendering, (iii) mercerising, (iv) bleaching, (v) printing, and (vi) dyeing. Cotton fabrics can also be classified into (i) garment units and (ii) piecegoods. The former is distinguished from the latter by 'borders' and 'headings'. At present the hand-loom produces more garment units than piecegoods.

¹ W. Hough, *Cotton Fabrics*. Hardy's *Report and Industry Year Book*, Calcutta.

We can now divide the cotton fabrics according to their weave, finish and tradenames as follows:—

Plain weave		Special weave	
Garment units	Piecegoods	Garment units	Piecegoods
GREY— Chaddars, dhoties, sarees and scarves	Jaconet, mull, madapollam, cam- bric, longcloth shirting, printers sheeting, T.-cloth and domestics	...	Drills and jeans.
WHITE— Chaddars, dhoties, sarees and scarves	Mulls, jaconets, madapollam, cam- brics, muslins, lawns, nainsooks, longcloth and shirting	...	Checks, spots and stripes; drills and jeans and twills.
COLOURED— Chaddars, dhoties, sarees and scarves, lungis, sarong	Cambrics, mado- pallam, muslins, mulls, jaconets, shirting	...	Checks, spots and stripes, drills and jean twills.
PRINTED GOODS— Printed dhoties, sarees, etc.	Prints and chintz	...	...

Regarding the manufactures in Indian mills more than 95 per cent relate to the fabrics woven out of coarse and medium count yarn i.e. from 14s to 32s and nearly 80 per cent of them are plain weave.

Now we shall make a comparative table of the relative importance of the foreign imports, the Indian mill production and the hand-loom manufactures in the Indian market in 1926 and in 1934, the former representing the post-war protection period and the latter representing the present day of discriminate protection and Imperial preference:—

SUPPLY OF CLOTH
(In million yards)

Cloths of	1926					1934				
	Imports	Indian mills	Hand- looms	Total	Percentage of total consumption	Imports	Indian Mills	Hand-looms	Total	Percentage of total consumption
Coarse counts : 1s-25s	250	1675	985	2910	53·4	...	1950	1000	2950	53·9
Medium counts : 26s-40s	850	500	215	1565	29·8	375	1025	275	1675	30·6
Fine counts : Above 40s	650	25	100	775	14·8	500	225	125	850	15·5
Total ...	1750	2200	1300	5250	100	875	3200	1400	5475	100

[N.B.—It is assumed that 4 yards of cloth can be manufactured from one pound of coarse yarn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards from medium counts and 6 yards from fine yarn.]

It is evident from the above table that

- (1) the total consumption of cloth has increased under all three heads: coarse, medium and fine;
- (2) the imports of coarse cloth have practically ceased and of medium and fine qualities have declined 56 per cent and 23 per cent respectively;
- (3) the fall in the imports is made up by increased Indian production; but the benefit to the hand-loom is very insignificant;
- (4) there is a tendency for greater preference for cloths of medium and fine yarns due partly to the system of protection; but there is no marked change in their percentage of total consumption. This suggests unmistakably that the scope for fine goods which the well-wishers of hand-loom weavers desire them to produce is limited, for the demand for the fine goods at their prices is almost inelastic. It is also doubtful whether fine goods can be produced on hand-looms as economically as they are produced on power-looms. Further

this will drive them into a hopeless competition with the powerfully organised mill industries both at home and abroad. Therefore much cannot be hoped for by inducing hand-loom weavers to use more of fine yarns. They must capture, if they are to prosper, the other vast spheres of the power-loom.

Now our enquiry regarding the weave and the counts of warps and wefts etc., of imported and Indian mill fabrics reveals that:—

- (a) about 1,750 million yards produced in Indian mills are of plain weave with warps below 25s;
- (b) about 500 million yards produced in Indian mills are of plain weave with warps above 25s but below 32s;
- (c) about 250 million yards of Indian mill manufacture and 300 million yards of foreign imports are of plain weave with warps above 32s but below 40s;
- (d) about 450 million yards of foreign goods and about 200 million yards of Indian mill goods are of plain weave with warps above 40s and
- (e) about 500 million yards of Indian mill goods and 150 million yards of foreign goods are of special weave.

For special weaves hand-looms are less suited than power-looms as the automatic device in the latter makes the manipulation of the shafts much easier than the treadles in hand-looms.¹ Advantages in respect of finishing, large scale production, etc., can be secured for hand-looms by establishing central finishing and dyeing factories and co-operative centralisation of the business.² Limitations imposed by mechanical devices are the only limitations to the development of the hand-loom industry. In the production

¹ It is interesting to note that in the Government Textile Institute, Madras, cotton voiles are now manufactured on handlooms at almost the same cost as in mills.

² The cost of finishing (which relates to filling, bleaching, dyeing, printing, folding, baling etc.,) varies from one anna to twenty annas per pound of cloth according to the nature of the finish. *Balfour Committee Report* and Anro Pearse: 'Indian Cotton Mills.'

of plain woven cloths, especially of yarns below 40s, hand-looms seem to have the same advantage as power-looms. The extent of this class of goods now produced in mills in India and imported from abroad is nearly 3,000 million yards, a part of which, if produced on hand-looms, can employ over two more million persons. If this were done along with the development of the present lines of hand-loom production the lot of the hand-weavers can be infinitely improved.

TABLE A

DETAILS OF COTTON PIECEGOODS IMPORTED FROM OTHER COUNTRIES AND PRODUCED IN INDIAN MILLS IN 1927-28 (IN MILLION YDS.)

Names of cloths	Imported from other countries						Indian mills		Grand Total
	Grey	White	Coloured				Grey and bleached goods	Coloured goods	
			Printed	Dyed	Woven	Total			
Dhuti, Sari, Scarves and Chadder ...	528	72	23	24	3	50	66 (Chadder)	...	716
Saris and Scarves ...	...	...	30	3	5	38	616 (Dhuti)	...	654
Jaconets, mulls, madapollams, cambrics, muslins ...	80	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	} 304
Mulls ...	...	208	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cambrics and lawns ...	...	8	...	...	...	...	5½	...	} 13½
Long cloth and shirt-ing ...	223	112	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sheeting ...	...	...	29	39	20	88	620	...	} 1,053
T.-cloth and Domestic sheetings ...	23	...	...	...	...	...	39	...	
Drills and Jeans ...	11	7	31	10	23	64	92	...	174
Checks, spots, stripes. ...	...	14	2	10	7	19	...	...	33
Nainsooks ...	...	93	...	...	...	...	...	...	93
Twills ...	...	15	15	13	12	40	...	...	55
Flannels and Flannel ...	...	...	12	4	4	20	...	...	20
Sarong and Lungis ...	...	...	11	...	9	20	...	...	20
Prints and Chintz ...	...	...	68	2	...	70	...	...	70
Sateens and Italians ...	...	...	5	25	...	30	...	...	30
Velvet and Velveteen...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	2
Coating and Trouser-ing ...	...	...	...	...	9	9	...	...	9
Printers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	20
Tent cloth ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	6
Khadi, Dungri and Khaddar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	116	...	116
Unspecified ...	1	11	9	28	17	54	41	681	788
Total ...	876	556	235	158	111	504	1 621½	681	4238½

TABLE B

DETAILS OF COTTON PIECEGOODS IMPORTED FROM OTHER
COUNTRIES AND PRODUCED IN INDIAN MILLS IN
1934 (IN MILLION YDS.)

Names of cloths	Imported from other countries				Indian mills		Total of all goods
	Grey	White	Colour- ed	Total	Grey & bleach- ed goods	Colour- ed goods	
Dhoties, Saries and Scarves ...	92.9	8.9	...	101.8	1073	...	1174.8
Saries and scarves ...	...	...	22.6	22.6	...	...	22.6
Sarongs and lungis ...	...	...	14.0	14.0	...	...	14.0
Chaddar ...	0.7	...	...	0.7	59.1	...	59.8
Khadi, Dungri and Khaddar ...	...	...	...	...	101.6	...	101.6
Cambrics ...	...	...	44.2	44.2	112.7	...	162.9
Lawns ...	...	6.0	...	6.0			
Jaconets, Madapollems, Muslins and Mulls ...	23.2	23.3	...	46.5	...	...	177.8
Mulls ...	...	131.3	...	131.3	...	...
Long cloth ...	134.5	...	...	134.5	827.3	...	1116.0
Shirting ...	...	...	81.5	81.5			
Long cloth and Shirting ...	...	72.7	...	72.7			
Twills ...	...	6.4	18.6	25.0	...	...	25.0
Nainsooks ...	...	14.1	...	14.1	...	...	14.1
Drills and Jeans ...	0.8	4.1	52.2	57.1	117.0	...	174.1
T.-cloth, Domestic, and Sheeting ...	2.5	0.1	...	2.6	158.6	...	161.2
Checks, Spots, and Stripes ...	...	4.2	14.4	18.6	...	...	18.6
Flannels and Flannets. ...	...	0.1	9.4	9.5	...	...	9.5
Printers ...	...	...	...	...	18.9	...	18.9
Prints and Chintz ...	...	...	28.4	28.4	...	...	28.4
Sateens and Italians ...	...	...	23.2	23.2	...	...	23.2
Velvet and Velveteens...	...	...	6.3	6.3	...	...	6.3
Coating and Trouserings ...	...	...	3.4	3.4	...	...	3.4
Embroidered ...	4.1	...	2.7	6.8	...	...	6.8
Tent cloth ...	...	...	...	...	5.7	...	5.7
Unspecified ...	1.0	2.1	19.7	22.8	...	734.4	757.2

TABLE C

THE COUNT OF YARN IN THE WARP AND WEFT, THE NUMBER OF PICKS AND ENDS PER INCH AND THE NATURE OF THE WEAVE OF CERTAIN CLOTHS USUALLY IMPORTED INTO INDIA.

Name of cloth	Warp	Weft	Ends	Picks	Nature of weave	Size used	Remarks
1. Dhoti ...	30s-40s	36s-46s	56-66	56-66	Plain weave with coloured borders.	...	Mainly grey.
2. Saris ...	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	...	Colour-ed.
3. Scarves ...	28s-34s	32s-40s	40-60	36-60	Plain weave.	...	...
4. Longcloth	36s	38s	72	72	Do.	...	Cockle. finish.
5. Twill ...	36s	38s	64-76	76-108	Twill weave.	10% Size.	...
6. Shirtings.	32s	40s-50s	64-76	60-76	Plain weave	Heavily sized 25-100%	striped
7. Printers ...	36s	42s	...	...	Plain grey cloth.	...	27", 28" and 31" width.
8. Domestics.	18s-24s	36s-40s	56-64	56-64	Plain weave	...	grey.
9. Cambrics.	60s	50s	90-100	90-110	Plain weave.	...	Fine.
10. Jaconets.	38s	40s	64	52	Do.	...	Grey 18-22 yds.
11. Mulls ...	60s-100s	60s-100s	64-80	64-80	Do.	...	Bleach-ed.
12. Nainsooks.	40s-60s	36s-50s	...	...	Do.	...	18 yds. piece.
13. Madapol-lams ...	50s-60s	50s-60s	72-80	84-96	Do.	...	Bleach-ed.
14. Muslin ...	80s-100s	80s-100s	48-96	48-84	Do.	...	Bleach-ed Printed and Dyed.
15. Voils ...	2/100s	2/100s	58	58	...	...	...
16. Drills ...	32s-36s	36s-42s	112-128	60-80	Five shaft weave.	...	...
17. Lungis ...	32s	32s-40s	60	60	Plain.	...	Poor quality.
18. Kerchief.	32s	46s	96	80-100	Plain.	...	Good quality.
19. Jeans ...	16s-20s	20s-32s	80-90	52-60	Three shaft twill weave.	...	...

[From W. Hough : *Cotton Fabrics.*]

CHAPTER XIX

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY

'If the cottage industry is to survive as a means of livelihood the hereditary craftsman, the artistic patron, the philanthropic helper—all these uneconomical elements of the present systems must be modified in conformity with modern industrial ideas or else be eliminated. But if the inherent obstinacy and conservatism of individuals in the cottage industry prove to retain economic vitality, it must be so modified as to bring about the salvation of the worker.'

'The improvement of the hand-loom industry if undertaken at all must be done on a comprehensive scale and by tackling the problem from all sides'—DAVIES, I.C S., *Formerly Director of Industries, Madras*.

'Any method by which the hand-loom weaving can be preserved deserves a prolonged trial and it may be pointed out that there are no justifiable grounds for any undue pessimism regarding its future.'—*Maclean Committee on Co-operation*.

THE PROBLEM

The problem of the hand-loom and of the hand-weaver is only a part of the larger problem of poverty and unemployment in India. It is a sad feature of the present industrial system that everywhere factory workers have to face a very severe competition from poor-paid workers in handicrafts and unorganised industries. Sir Alfred Chatterton noted the significance of this.¹

The consequences of the development of industries with the aid of imported machinery are many. Unemployment has increased. There is no appreciable improvement in the economic conditions of the Indian working classes. If there is any betterment, it is more the result of world forces than the consequence of internal development. And what is gained by the few is nothing compared to the sufferings of the many. It is now becoming increasingly clear that merely mechanising production cannot solve our problems. It is on this consideration that the revival of the handicrafts in general, and of the hand-loom in particular, is here advocated.

We may now proceed to state our objectives. Firstly, in view of the peculiar economic condition in India we have

¹ 'Industrial Evolution', p. 22,

to evolve an industrial system whose chief aim should be 'to employ human power to the greatest extent possible and in the way more advantageous to the individual.' This end cannot be realised by the mere development of large scale industries without a radical change of the present social, economic and political system. But one cannot deny the necessity for providing employment. Every power-loom and every mill hand displaced, it must be noted, can provide employment to at least four persons. The extent of the increased employment depends on the extent to which the hand-loom can capture the province of the power-loom. The defence of the machinery by the Classical Economists fails in this case, as no new avenues of employment as indicated by them have so far been opened to absorb displaced labour. In India the introduction of foreign machinery has created permanent unemployment. This ugly feature cannot be found if the hand-loom is developed. It is a simple machine which can be made in India and does not displace labour.

Secondly, we must increase the national income by all possible means and secure its proper distribution. The benefit of increased production to be permanent must be shared by the whole community. This is what is meant by the co-ordination of production and distribution. Economic progress consists not merely in the increased earnings of workers individually, but in the number of workers sharing this prosperity. If the present mill outturn in India is made on the hand-loom the aggregate earnings of workers will be about Rs. 12 to 15 crores i.e., an increase of 50 per cent of the purchasing power of the working class. This is not negligible. The extent to which new purchasing power of the community is created depends on the extent of the replacement of the power-loom by the hand-loom.

Thirdly, we should bring about the much desired co-ordination between agriculture and industry. The development of the handicrafts, particularly the hand-loom, will benefit agriculture by creating a larger demand within the country for the products of Indian agriculture, will increase the purchasing power of the rural population by providing

additional means of livelihood and will enrich the Indian rural life by establishing rural factories.

The organisation of the hand-loom industry has its limitations. It is not advocated here that all capital and organisation should be wiped out immediately. The transformation must take place gradually. Further, this preference for the hand-power is not for eternity. It is a necessary intermediate phase. Other limitations are also noted. Having in view all these considerations the following suggestions on the reconstruction of the hand-loom are made.

Before we proceed to sketch out the lines of reorganisation and the revival of the industry, we shall recapitulate the following facts which bear on the re-organisation of the industry: (a) The scope for weaving special patterns of cloths and for encouraging hand-looms to use more of finer counts is limited, and the market for very fine cloth cannot expand to any appreciable extent unless there is a great increase in the purchasing power of the agricultural population. And so long as very fine count spinning is a practical monopoly of Lancashire, Indian hand-loom cannot compete with Lancashire in the production of such fine varieties as mulls, muslins etc.¹ (b) The prosperity of the hand-loom cannot be looked for by devoting attention to the artistic aspect of weaving alone; the industry cannot prosper unless it regains much of its lost ground in common varieties; and the weaver will continue to sink in poverty if the industry does not expand. (c) Lastly, the expansion of the hand-loom industry is determined by the nature of the demand for cloth, the nature and extent of the imports and Indian mill production and the possibility of manufacturing them at the same cost, if not lower, on hand-looms. Now more than 80 per cent of cloths consumed in India, it is estimated, have warps with counts below 40s. A large portion of it is plain weave. Taking the grey plain cloths alone produced in Indian mills,

¹ Machinery for fine count spinning, it is said, is a British monopoly. The cost of erecting a spindle is nearly twice in India as it is in England. Hence the very high cost of production of fine counts in India.* In this connection it must be noted that Japan successfully competes with Lancashire and India in the manufacture of many kinds of cloth, because Japan manufactures her own looms and spindles and this, besides other advantages, reduces its cost of production. (Refer Arno Pearse, 'Cotton Industry in Japan and China').

the annual consumption is not less than 2,000 million yards. Add to this 500 yards of grey cloth imported. The bleached and coloured, printed or dyed piecegoods differ from grey ones in their finish. There is not much difference in weaving which would render the manufacture of such cloths on hand-loom impossible or unprofitable. The bulk of the manufactures of the Indian mills is of coarse-medium counts varying from 14s to 32s and that of the imports, of medium counts from 24s to 50s. Only when the hand-loom is organised to produce these types of cloths without increasing the cost of production, can we look forward to the amelioration in the conditions of the weavers and the solution of the problem of unemployment and misery of the rural population.

It must also be noted that the immediate objects in organising the hand-loom industry are: (1) to increase the earnings of the weaver and his family by giving him a continuity of employment and by substituting the more remunerative work of weaving for preparatory operations; (2) to standardise hand-loom products, which does not mean a creation of monotony of patterns or absence of varieties, but the introduction of that principle of business which makes the product answer to the sample and, in general, the improvement of the trading and manufacturing systems; and (3) to standardise wages by eliminating exploitation of all kinds, and lastly (4) to realise the other objectives mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.

LINES OF ORGANISATION

I. LINKING OF THE WEAVERS AND HAND-LOOM FACTORY WITH SPINNING MILLS

The future of hand-loom weaving depends on the improvement of the loom, the preparatory processes, the business organisation and the system of education and industrial training. Leadership, organisation, co-operation, technical and general education, technical assistance, better business arrangements for producing and marketing are obvious necessities.

The first step in the reorganisation of the industry is to

ensure a steady supply of yarns of reputed count and quality to hand-loom weavers at reasonable prices. At present the weaver depends on the mills for the supply of yarn. In spite of the semblance of competition the price of yarn to the weaver is higher than it need be. Due to the presence of import duties on yarn, its price to the hand-loom weaver is further enhanced. In the case of mulls, muslins, etc., the difference between the price of cloth and the price of yarn at market rates is so low that it raises the reasonable suspicion whether it is sufficient to cover the cost of preparation, weaving and finishing in mills and whether the price of yarn is not artificially maintained at a high rate.¹ While the price of raw cotton lags behind the general level of prices and the level of wages the rise in the price of yarn is higher than that of

¹ 'I find it strange that the cost of yarn we import is greater than the imported cloth of the same weight. It is not possible to produce mulls of the well known 1703 type even at the cost they are sold in the bazaars though we use the same yarn and weave at the lowest possible cost. My experience tells me that the price of imported yarn is specially raised by some combination of foreign spinners and cloth manufacturers'.—*Mr. Churchill of Ahmednagar at the Industrial Conference, 1908.*

The writer has examined some foreign cloths in 1928 in the manner given below and the examination substantiates the view expressed above, viz., that the price of fine yarn is artificially maintained.

Specifications.	9000 Glasgow mull.	1703 Bleached mull.	'Lady' grey mull.
Length	20 yds.	20 yds.	20 yds.
Width	52"	52"	49"
Weight of the piece	1.9 lbs.	2.9 lbs.	2.9 lbs.
Ends	84	84	80
Picks	84	90	80
Warp (apparent count)	116s	80s	66s
Weft (do.)	114s	80s	64s
Percentage of size	1.5	2.5	3.5
Weight of yarn	{ 0.90 lbs. 0.93 lbs.	{ 1.3 lbs. 1.4 lbs. }	2.6 lbs.
Price of yarn excluding yarn duty 5 per cent	Rs. 6- 3-0	6-10-0	5-10-0
Price of the piece excluding cloth duty of 15 per cent	Rs. 11- 0-0	10-12-0	7-5-0
Difference* being the cost of production	Rs. 4-13-0*	4- 2-0*	1-11-0*
Cost of production per yard	Re. 0- 3-10	0- 3-4	0- 1-4

* This includes the cost of preparation, weaving, finishing, baling, transport to India, and other incidental charges. In the case of the grey mull the cost of production works out at the rate of one anna and four pies per yard and this cannot cover even the cost of preparation and weaving of even medium cloths in India. Refer appendix XII.

cloth and of raw cotton.¹ It means either that greater economies have been secured in the production of cloth than in the production of yarn or that the price of yarn is artificially maintained at a high level. The latter seems to be more probable. Taking the index number quoted in the *Indian Trade Journal* since July 1914, the rise in the American yarn in the Manchester market is 65 per cent while the rise in the price of cloth is only 52 per cent in 1928. The difference between the rise in the prices of Egyptian yarn and cloth is still greater. Regarding the supply of Indian mill yarn and cloth, the same tendency is observed. Taking again 1914 prices as 100, the index numbers of the prices of raw cotton, yarn and cloth are 136, 225, 170 respectively in July 1928. The conclusion is irresistible that in the absence of any radical inventions or changes in business practice which can reduce the cost of weaving in mills, the high level of prices of yarn is maintained artificially.

There is no regularity or steadiness in the supply of yarn to weavers; when the price of cloth tends to fall, more yarn is sold to them; and when the price of cloth is rising more yarn is used in mills and the weaver cannot have his quantity of yarn unless he is willing to pay a premium for the yarn. The fluctuations in the price of yarn due to causes other than the fluctuations in the price of raw cotton or in the cost of spinning, make the position of the weaver depending on the mills for the supply of yarn absolutely insecure.

As regards the quality of the yarn sold to the weaver, it is distinctly inferior. It was observed by Mr. Churchill in 1908 that the spinning mills prepared two qualities of

¹ *The movement of the prices of raw cotton, yarn and cloth:*

'The price of yarn may be regarded broadly as the price of cotton plus the spinning margin and the price of cloth as the price of yarn plus the weaving margin. When the index number of yarn is above the index number of raw cotton, the implication is that the spinning margin has risen in greater proportion than the price of raw cotton and where the index number for yarn is below the index number of raw cotton the implication is that the spinning margin has risen in smaller proportion than the price of raw cotton. A similar statement is made *mutatis mutandis* regarding the relation of yarn and cloth prices as bearing upon the weaving margin.

The figures suggest that the spinning margin in the case of American cotton has been consistently higher relatively to 1913 than the price of raw American cotton. This holds good of Egyptian yarn too.

The weaving margin rose on the whole less proportionately than the price of yarn upto 1925 but lately when yarn prices were reduced the weaving margin did not fall in proportion.'

yarn, one for their own use and the other for the market. Besides, the cotton yarns supplied by many Indian mills are badly reeled, contain many knots, do not possess the tensile strength necessary for warp and are often not of the declared count. It is suggested that false labelling and short reeling should be penalised.¹ The system of double numbering practised by certain Ahmedabad mills to pass off low count yarn as superior one is a great defect of which special mention was made by the Indian Textile Tariff Board.² The method of bundling and packing, the weight of the bundle, the number of knots in a bundle and the number of hanks in a knot, the method of stamping the count of yarn and its quality must be standardised.

In order to ensure a regular supply of specified qualities of yarn in the required form it may be necessary for the State to impose certain conditions on spinning mills regarding hall-marking of yarn. But these conditions may prove vexatious and it may be difficult to enforce them. It is necessary in that case to organise weavers' societies to arrange with spinning mills for the supply of yarn and where that is not possible, to start spinning mills in suitable centres for the supply of yarn to weavers through co-operative societies or other suitable agencies. Spinning mills as adjunct to weavers' societies will be the ideal condition for the steady supply of good quality of yarn at reasonable and competitive prices.

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF WARP DISTRIBUTING CENTRES.

The second step in the reorganisation of the industry is the reduction in the cost of the preparatory processes as

¹ Amalsad, *Cotton Cloth impasse*.

² 'There is reason to believe that in Indian mills generally efforts are made to spin a finer count of yarn than the quality of the cotton justifies, the result of which is inferior yarn. Instances were given of 18s yarn being supplied as 20s with the consequence that the length was reduced to make up for coarser counts. This practice appears to have led to the stamping of double numbers. It was, for example, stated that yarn from Ahmedabad stamped as 28s x 40 was being placed on the market. The representative of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association admitted that in some instances, 28s yarn had been placed in the market in bundles of 40 knots but explained that this was done at the request of the merchants and that although the yarn was marked 28s x 40 the price realized was that for 28s only. They considered that marking in this manner made it perfectly clear what the count actually was but we are told that the supply of 28s yarn in bundles of 40 knots facilitates its being passed off as 40s. The practice is obviously undesirable and should, in our view, be discontinued.'—*Report of the Textile Tariff Board, 1927*.

practised in the country system and the distribution of ready warps to weavers which is most essential for the standardisation of cloth. The economics of the dresser sizer and Amalsad sizing plant have been considered in an earlier chapter. They have not reduced the cost of preparation as much as it is desirable for enabling the hand-loom to have the same advantage that the power-loom enjoys from slasher-sizer.¹ Therefore the problem of reducing the cost of preparation in hand-loom weaving remains still unsolved. But both the dresser sizer and the various hand-driven sizing plant can eliminate the waste of time and labour involved in country sizing, and enable the weaver's family to take to more remunerative occupations than winding, warping and sizing. Still, however, the improved hand-driven sizing machines have not become common nor has the dresser sizer under the Department of Industries or under private management in Ganjam District proved a success. The weaver who is to find out the market for his manufactures prefers to have small warps in ball form to long beamed warps so that he can change the designs, textures and weaves as easily as possible. The warp distributing centre which saves to the weaver the time lost and trouble involved in the country method of warp

¹ The following table will show that the introduction of the dresser sizer reduces slightly the cost of preparation which now obtains in some centres :—

The count of Warp	Cost per pound of warp of specified count											
	Under the indigenous processes									Under the Dresser-sizer		
	Madura			Rasipuram			N. Circars					
	RS	A	P	RS	A	P	RS	A	P	RS	A	P
20s	0	5	4	...			0	3	6	0	2	9
30s	0	6	11	0	3	9	...			0	3	6
40s	0	8	0	0	5	6	0	5	3	0	4	9
60s	1	0	0	...			1	0	3	0	7	3

The cost of preparation on the slasher-sizer is considerably low ; even two pies in some cases.

preparation and which gives him long warps and thereby saves the time lost in piecing the warps cannot become a practical proposition unless it provides the finance required by weavers and undertakes the marketing of cloth, and has the regular custom of 200 weavers. At present it is not difficult to find centres with 200 weavers producing the same kind of cloth. But the real problem is to find a regular market for the increased outturn. The weavers, poor, ignorant and unaided, cannot be expected to explore the possibilities for extending the market. The warp distributing centres can become a success only when they undertake the marketing of hand-loom manufactures and also introduce the second loom or more looms in the weaver's family.

There are other advantages of the central warping mill. Yarn can be tested regarding its count, strength, colour, finish and suitability for the purpose required. The length of the warp and the number of ends supplied can be guaranteed to the weaver. The fraudulent practices of the mills and the merchants may be prevented, thus improving the quality of the cloth.

The case for the central warp distributing agencies rests on one more ground. The economy of mechanical power is greater in preparatory processes than weaving. Secondly the spinning mill, the warp distributing centre and the finishing and dyeing house around which can flourish the hand-loom weavers working in their cottages will lead to the establishment of rural factories which, while rationalising production, would correct the evils of excessive industrialism and extreme ruralisation.¹ In the woollen industries in Wales, hand-loom cottage weavers flourish in the neighbourhood of small spinning mills driven by water-power. The merits of rural factories cannot be exaggerated. They avoid the evils of urban factory life but still adopt mechanical

¹ The weaving industry seems to me eminently suited to the Indian craftsman working in his own village, if his circumstances can be bettered and if I am correctly informed, the success achieved by Japan has been due largely to a splendid organisation of cottage weaving centred round factories which only collect and finish the fabrics. Whether we achieve a similar result by the individual weaver, the group of weavers, or the hand-loom factory is a matter of local circumstances purely but it cannot ordinarily be by any development of mills.—Maxwell-Lefoy, *Silk Industry*.

power within necessary and desirable limits. They possess the advantages of handicrafts without foregoing the essential economies of large-scale production. Also, these rural factories are the essence of the linked system¹ which is said to be adopted in Switzerland. 'There are a number of hand-loomes linked to a factory which does all preliminary work of spinning, warping and beaming and the weaver begins his work direct with weaving. By this, the weaver saves a lot of time which he used to spend upon the processes uneconomically and is thus able to produce more cloth than before'.² It will of course take a long time to make the weaver adapt himself but yet a beginning in this direction must be made to facilitate his work and thus make his production more rapid and perfect. The keynote of the Swiss system of cottage industries is expert control and a constant market and also a reasonable intelligence on the part of the working population. The difficulties in introducing the linked system in India are many. The hand-loom weavers are scattered over the whole presidency and there are difficulties in having the combination to the same extent as in a small country like Switzerland. But the scheme is not an extravagant imagination impossible of realisation if it is given a fair trial.³

III. INTRODUCTION OF MORE LOOMS IN THE FAMILY

The third step would be the introduction of the two-loom system. The object of it is to increase the earnings of the weaver's family by substituting weaving for the unremunerative preparatory processes now done by the members which take more time and labour than weaving without any corresponding advantage. But still these preparatory

¹ *Indian Fiscal Commission* : Evidence Vol. III, pp. 596-604.

² There are many mills in India to which the weavers can be linked ; especially with the growth of new mills in the upcountry the growth of the linked system can greatly be facilitated.

³ By 'linking' is not meant that there should be a factory system of labour at all. The weaver will take the product to his own home and weave it there. He will be supplied with yarn by the mill. Economies of power and large scale production in some respects are secured without the attendant evils of overcrowding, and other industrial problems.

processes are done by the members of his family because some income is better than none at all. The weaver himself cannot be persuaded to give up the preparatory work unless there is scope for increased production and income and there is an organisation which can prepare the warp for him at the same, if not lower, cost. The tendency to increase the looms in the family is evident even now in a number of centres where special warping and sizing agents exist. But that is possible only when there is an increased demand for the hand-loom product. But in the general scheme of re-organisation we cannot hope for the weaver to take the initiative. To be more effective and for the results to be permanent, an external organisation for production and marketing, preferably on co-operative lines, is necessary.

The two-loom system is nothing radical and strange in industrial rationalisation. We find this principle adopted in spinning and weaving mills. Where speeding up the machinery is not possible, the usual step towards economy is by increasing the outturn per worker by increasing the number of looms or spindles he will have to attend to or by a more intensive use of capital equipment by increasing the shifts of employment. It is also based on the modern idea of increasing the efficiency of the worker, which aims not so much at obtaining a higher efficiency per machine as per operative. In the hand-loom organisation the efficiency or the income of the worker's family as a whole rather than of the weaver alone is to be aimed at.

At present where there is one loom in the family and winding and warping are not done by its members, and the adult male works the hand-loom, the daily earnings of the family according to the statement on the next page are from 9 to 13 annas. If the warp is prepared by the family, its earnings will be from 13 annas to a rupee. But where the two looms are introduced the family earnings are from 15 to 20 annas though the cost of production falls by about 25 per cent. Add to this the advantage of a greater regularity of employment.

The difficulties in the introduction of more looms in the family are many. Firstly, while the weaver with his one loom cannot find a market for his product, how can he sell

his increased outturn? This difficulty can be obviated by the marketing organisation proposed herein and also there will be an increased demand for the hand-loom product as its price can be lowered and its quality improved. Secondly women in India, it is stated, cannot stand the strain involved in weaving. This is not quite true. Women are found to work silk looms and also cotton looms in certain centres. In Japan women and young girls are mostly employed in hand-loom sheds.¹ There will be no difficulty in inducing women in India to take to weaving. Thirdly, there is the financial difficulty. This can be overcome by the system of State-aid and co-operative finance outlined below.

Details of the cost of production per yard of cotton cloth made on hand-looms (1927).

		<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>
Cloth		Coarse dhoties	Women's sarees	Fine dhoties	Turban cloth	Angavas-thram
Count of yarn	...	20s	40s	60s	80s	100s
Length	...	1 yd.	1 yd.	1 yd.	1 yd.	1 yd.
Width	...	48"	48"	48"	48"	48"
Weight	...	4.75 oz.	3 oz.	2.3 oz.	2 oz.	1.8 oz.
Ends per inch	...	48	60	72	80	90
Picks per inch	...	52	64	72	80	90

(A) Under the single loom system where winding and warping are done on indigenous lines.

		<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>
		RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P
Yarns	...	0 3 6	0 3 9	0 3 9	0 5 4	0 5 6
Sizing	...	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 10
Weaving	...	0 0 11	0 1 9	0 2 4	0 3 4	0 4 5
Cost of production	...	0 1 5	0 2 4	0 3 0	0 4 2	0 5 3
Output per day in the family	...	10 yds.	6 yds.	5 yds.	4 yds.	3 yds.
(a) Earnings per day of the family where warp preparation is not done by the weaver.	...	0 9 2	0 10 6	0 11 8	0 13 4	0 13 3
(b) Daily family earnings if warp preparation is done by the family.	...	0 13 3	0 13 6	0 14 6	1 0 0	1 0 0

¹ Freda Utley. *Lancashire and the Far East.*

(B) *Under the double loom system where Dresser sized warps are supplied.*

	a			b			c			d			e		
	RS	A	P	RS	A	P	RS	A	P	RS	A	P	RS	A	P
Yarn ...	0	3	6	0	3	9	0	3	9	0	5	4	0	5	6
Power preparation ...	0	0	4.5	0	0	6	0	0	7	0	0	8	0	0	9
Weaving ...	0	0	9	0	1	4	0	1	6	0	2	3	0	3	3
Cost of production ...	0	4	1.5	0	1	10	0	2	4	0	2	11	0	4	0
Output per day in the family ...	20 yds.			12 yds.			10 yds.			8 yds.			6 yds.		
Daily family earnings.	0	15	0	1	0	0	1	1	6	1	2	0	1	4	6
Reduction in the cost of production ...	0	0	4½	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	1	3	0	1	3
Percentage of reduction in the list of production ...	26			21			22			30			22		
Percentage of increase in the daily earnings of the family ...	13			18			21			12			25		

IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRAL CLOTH EXAMINING BOARD

The fourth step in the organisation of the hand-loom industry is the introduction of a device for uniform picking in weaving and the establishment of a central cloth board for examining and passing the cloth manufactured.¹ It is said, and it is true to some extent, that uniform weaving can be obtained if weavers are trained and paid by results and if the product is closely examined as it was done in the Itchapur Weavers' Co-operative Society and as it is now done in the case of Madras hand-kerchief and Salem Weavers' Co-operative Society. However, the possibility of introducing in the ordinary loom a simple mechanical device for uniform wefting, as it obtains in Hattersley's hand-loom, is worth investigation.

V. ESTABLISHMENT OF CENTRAL PRINTING, DYEING, AND FINISHING FACTORIES

Since our object is to substitute the hand-loom product for the mill cloth, it is necessary to finish the former and

¹ The establishment of a cloth examining board attached to the Co-operative Society or other marketing organisation² for examining the picks and ends of the cloth and stamping it as of specified length, width and picks and ends cannot be a costly one. It is estimated that it will be less than 0.5 pie per yard.

make it answerable in all respects to the latter. It must be bleached, printed, dyed or finished in the same manner as the mill cloth and for this purpose small cottage plant for printing, dyeing, bleaching and finishing may be attached to the warp distributing factories. Thus it is the warp distributing centres with small cottage finishing plant that will constitute the real rural factories round which can flourish hand-loom weavers. The weavers with no knowledge of modern methods of finishing cannot be expected to manufacture those finished products made in mills. Central factories for this purpose in suitable centres can alone help them to get the upper hand in mill competition.¹ Thus it is necessary to link the hand-loom with the spinning mill and the warp distributing centre on the one end and the finishing factory on the other. Then it would be possible to work co-operation in all spheres successfully and effect various other measures of improvement in the quality of the product, in the conditions of the industry and the position of the weaver.

VI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF (a) A CENTRAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, (b) A MUSEUM OF DESIGNS AND PATTERNS AND (c) A RURAL INDUSTRIES INTELLIGENCE BOARD

The future of the hand-loom industry depends on the improvement of the designs, patterns and quality of its output, as dyeing and calico printing play an important part in the development of the industry. The Bihar and Orissa Government made a good beginning in 1926-27 by appointing a staff consisting of a dyeing demonstrator and four maistries to conduct dyeing demonstration and to teach the weavers dyeing fast colours. The Madras Government Textile School has introduced autograph printing. Further progress in this respect depends on the establishment of a museum where different designs and patterns are collected. At a conference held in Simla of the Directors of Industries, 1920, Sir Alfred

¹ The economics of the cottage finishing plant have not been fully investigated by the writer. But so far as he can see the practices in Switzerland and Italy encourage him to believe that they are not unsuitable to India. Switzerland and Italy import cloths from the United Kingdom, finish them in their small factories and export them to other countries.

Chatterton, pleading for the establishment of central experimental workshop for hand-loom weaving, stated: 'What we now want in India is a Central Research Institute intimately connected with some of the larger schools in the country, so that the results of experimental work, on what may be termed a laboratory scale, may be given a more extended trial on what will be generally semi-commercial conditions'.

After enumerating the work of the research institute in the direction of improving the preparatory processes combining the advantages of indigenous methods with the productive capacity of the machine used in factories and of evolving suitable cottage plant, he emphasised the need for the establishment of a museum of designs and patterns. 'Even more important than the improvement of appliances is the provision of patterns and designs to meet the demand for change and variety if new markets are to be opened out both in India and abroad'.¹ While the research institute will make new designs, a museum for the collection of patterns and designs must be established with a view to educate the weavers and to enable them to produce for foreign and home markets.

Besides, each province must have an institution like the Rural Industries Intelligence Board, London, to offer advice on designs, to maintain a workshop for experiments, to run a library, to collect samples and to publish tracts and journals. The Department of Industries has done much work in this direction. But it can probably be more effectively done by an independent non-official body. Organising weaving competitions and textile exhibitions in important weaving centres will give a great impetus to the industry. The publication of magazines in vernacular will be highly educative.

VII. The next problem is the avoidance of mill imitation of hand-loom products for which there is a great demand. Buyers are often deceived by unscrupulous dealers in mill goods. Legislation on the lines of the Irish Hand-loom Weavers' Act² will give the hand-loom the necessary security against mill imitation and competition. By legislation it is

¹ *Proceedings of the Conference of the Directors of Industries, Simla, 1920.*

² The Irish Hand-loom Weavers' Act of 1909 compels the term 'handwoven' to be stamped in all goods manufactured on hand-loom, and prohibits such a description of cloth woven in mills.

not sought to prevent the mills from producing the kinds of cloth that are usually woven on hand-loom but to prevent the possibility of palming off mill goods as hand-woven ones. The existing laws of copy-right and trade marks are inadequate and the weavers are too ignorant and poor to take full advantage of the same.

VIII. Then the further possibility of the export trade in hand-loom products must be explored. There is even now a great demand in other countries for many kinds of cloth made on Indian hand-loom. Handkerchiefs to the extent of several millions of rupees in value are exported from Madras every year; and lungis and kailis and other coloured goods are usually in demand in places where Indians have settled. But during the last few years we witness a decline in the export trade, especially in the Madras handkerchiefs. It must be noted that the expanding market will not come to us; it will have to be made. A Trade Commissioner must be appointed to create a market for hand-loom products in other parts of the world who will educate the manufacturer and acquaint him with the requirements and the changing tastes of the distant consumer. The establishment of a central co-operative wholesale depot will be a great source of help especially to weavers manufacturing for distant markets.¹

IX. There are two other important lines in which the industry needs re-organisation, viz. (1) business and (2) finance. In regard to both of them the industry has very little organisation to speak of. The primitive character of his trade places the weaver at a disadvantage. What can be achieved in this direction is indicated by the experience of Japan. 'Not a little of the industrial success of Japan is due to the attention that has been paid not only to the educational and technical training of cottage workers but to the building of business organisations which take over the products of the industry and dispose them all over the world.' Therefore the urgent and immediate step in the permanent amelioration of the conditions of the weaver is to provide him with an agency for marketing his goods on fair commercial terms. The maximum benefit from the

Cf. Export Development Society for cotton goods, Japan.

introduction of improved working processes can be derived only when the business organisation relating to the purchase of raw materials and to the sale of finished products is systematised.¹ The appointment of a marketing officer by the Government of Madras in 1931-32 was a successful experiment. The sales of hand-loom products developed greatly but the experiment was given up too soon. The present wasteful methods of middlemen and the primitive and crude indigenous system of marketing must give place to a more economic and effective method of distribution. The organisation of the trade depends on a proper survey of production, the demand for the products, advertisement, experimental production and so on. All these cannot be done by the individual weaver. The hand-loom factory or any other central organisation with some governmental assistance can do much for extending the market. Mr. Davies, a former Director of Industries, Madras, said that the only hope of the weaver was in the hand-loom factory. But it is often supposed that the hand-loom factories are unsuited to the habits of the weaver and the failure of the Salem hand-loom factory is often cited in support of that opinion. But the prosperity and growth of hand-loom factories in South India and elsewhere indicates that future business organisation of the hand-loom industry lies in some sort of co-ordination and not in the present independent, wasteful and uncoordinated system of cottage production.

The market for the hand-loom product can expand only with proper transport facilities. Reduction in the railway rates, lowering the rates for yarn,² special concessions in regard to hand-loom products and yarns required for hand-

¹ Prince Kropotkin says in respect of small industries: 'In the immense number of trades it is not the superiority of the technical organisation of the trade in a factory nor the economies realised in the prime motor which militate against the small industry in favour of the factories but the more advantageous conditions for selling the product and for buying raw materials which are at the disposal of the big firms. Whenever the difficulty has been overcome either by means of associations or in consequence of a market being secured for the sale of the produce it has always been found first that the condition of the worker has immediately improved and next that a rapid progress was realized in the technical aspects of the respective industries.'—*Field, factory and workshop*.

² 'At present both yarn and cloth are charged the same freight with the result that foreign countries and mills in India prefer to trade in cloth rather than in yarn as the finished cloth is of less freight than the yarn.'—*Travancore Industrial Bulletins*, No. 15.

looms, abolition of the import duty on yarn and gold and silver lace and abolition of professional and other local taxes on looms are some other ways of bettering the industry.

In respect of financial assistance to the hand-loom industry the establishment of yarn bank which can purchase yarns, advance loans to weavers against yarn and cloth pledged to it or the organisation of a bank on the lines of the Home Manufacturers Bank in China will be of great help to the weaver. Certain facilities must be given to the bank. Capital should be provided by the State with necessary safeguards. The bank should purchase and sell yarn to recognised co-operative societies of weavers. Concession rates in railway transport and exemption from duties on yarn imported by the bank and provision of free audit by Government are some directions in which the State can assist the bank and the weaver. The present State-Aid to Industries Act must be so amended that weavers can be adequately supplied with funds without undue insistence on the furnishing of real securities. Co-operative organisation for credit, purchase, and sale and production must be strengthened, for there can be no more powerful lever for the uplift of a community steeped in poverty, ignorance and vice than co-operation.

The finance required by the state for the establishment of central warping and finishing factories, and the museum of patterns and designs and for making the present work of the Department of Industries more effective and all-embracing can be obtained by imposing a small duty on yarn for the special purpose of assisting the hand-loom industry. At present the amount spent on education, propaganda, and research connected with the hand-loom industry in different provinces cannot be definitely ascertained; but it is negligible. If a tax of one pie per pound of yarn consumed in mills is levied it will yield more than Rs. 30 lakhs. This tax cannot be exorbitant, for even on the basis of the present prices of yarn it is hardly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The opposition of the mill owners to this excise duty can be changed into active co-operation if the duty so collected is not used for general purposes by Government but is earmarked for the development of the hand-loom industry. The Department

of Industries can extend its activities in different directions without being as at present unduly handicapped in its work for want of funds.

X. The mere organisation of the industry which does not improve ultimately the conditions of weavers nor modernise them is not commendable. Their economic and social conditions must be bettered.¹ The home-workers are at a special disadvantage in regard to bargaining; they cannot easily be reached by organised effort to better their wages; thus they do not benefit by the gains which trade union organisation has secured for the factory worker. How to create and work an organisation if home-workers on trade union lines is the problem. The influence of the trade union on home-workers has been slight except in Soviet Russia, in the cigar trade in Germany and to a small extent in the clothing industry of France.²

Legislation in the interest of industrial home-workers began in England with the factory laws but it was inoperative as they could not be reached and effectively regulated by inspectors. The Trade Boards Act of 1908 introduced the minimum wage and it achieved some measure of success. In the U.S.A. the system of licensing was introduced, especially in respect of cigar-making in tenement houses. The object of the legislation was to improve the sanitation of the work-place. Another law provided that the tenement where industrial home-work was carried on was to be inspected every six months. But it was not possible to carry out inspection thoroughly. In Germany the law provides that employers should register all their home-workers and the social legislation relating to home-work concerns itself with sanitary conditions and wages of the home-workers. It determines piece rates and fixes the hourly minimum rates. Industrial home-workers in Russia are now brought under Producers' Co-operation and Governmental Agencies.

There is very little legislation in India in the interest of

¹ The isolated weavers require an organisation to protect their interest against those of manufacturers and merchants who provide the yarns and have performed the necessary preparatory processes. Otherwise they would, by under-cutting, destroy their own standard of living.' Forrester; *History of the French Cotton Industry*, p. 62.

² *Social Science Encyclopaedia*.

home-workers. Recently some effort was made to safeguard the interests of workers in the beedi industry in Madras and the Central Provinces. It is obviously difficult to deal with the entire organisation of cottage industries which is built of the merchant, the contractor, the entrepreneurial home-worker and the home-workers who are members of the family and the hired home-workers.¹ Nevertheless some attempt must be made to improve their lot and strengthen their bargaining power and improve their sense of self-respect and thus educate them to better their standard of living. The present system of remuneration of labour and the payment of wages based, not on the needs of labour but determined by supply and demand, ignores the human claims of labour, especially so in regard to cottage workers. Mr. Hobson says: 'To accept the view that to buy labour power, like other commodities at a price determined purely by relations of supply and demand is a policy dangerous to the life and well-being of the individual whose labour power is thus bought and sold, to those of his family and society. . . . The private human needs of a working family should be regularly and securely met out of their weekly and fortnightly pay. The life and health of the family and the sense of security which is essential to sound character and regular habits, to the exercise of reasonable foresight and the formation and execution of reasonable plans, all hinge on their central demand for a sufficiency and regularity of weekly income based upon the human needs of the family'. Though this is not possible of realisation fully all at once something can be done by the constitution of the Trade Boards.

Boards consisting of employers and workers and representatives of the Government must be constituted in different areas for the regulation of wages and hours of

¹ The problem of protecting the home-worker from the evils of sweat shop conditions is not solved. Licensing home-workers or the place of home-work will not destroy child labour which is easily concealed. Registration is desirable but useless without effective inspection. Indirect control of home-work through general social legislation is equally faulty. Hours cannot be regulated when the work is performed during leisure time or on 'rush' orders. If the fixing of wage rates by the Trade Board is effective it would probably destroy the entire home-work and leave without means of support many persons unable to secure work in the factory. The problem is full of difficulties.

work, conditions of employment and welfare. More than that there must be an organisation on the lines of All India Spinners' Association which will give the worker the full reward of his labour, prevent sweating and exploitation, develop the technique of the industry and the morale of the worker and organise production, purchase raw materials and sell finished products. But to wait for such an organisation to appear spontaneously would be to miss the opportunity not only of the very immediate remedial action but also of acquiring accurate information with regard to the hand-loom and other valuable handicrafts.

The education of the weaver is equally important in the regeneration of the industry. At present the education given in the industrial school is not of the nature which will ultimately enable the children of the weaver to take their place in the organisation of the industry. The majority of the schools are in practice not regular schools but small hand-loom factories and the training offered does not help the people to earn an independent livelihood. The weaving schools should not be mere charitable institutions but effective centres where better types of artisans and captains of industry from among the community are reared up. More vocational schools at suitable centres for the education of weavers' children must be established under the control of the Department of Industries. A technological institute for the study of problems in connection with dyeing and textile technology should also be started. A weaving institute under a weaving expert for the improvement of processes and mechanism of hand-loom weaving and a large increase in the number of peripatetic parties to control and assist in the economic regeneration, specialised education and the improvement of manipulated processes are desired.¹

¹ 'The question of practical importance is how the great changes stated herein are to be brought about ; how a new generation of weavers is to be created, who will at any rate ply their trade on terms of equality with other artisans. Education alone can do this and that to be effective it must be begun at an early stage. Besides provision for the training of the rank and file adequate arrangements must be made for the education of those who will be leaders in the trade and the masters of the future associated groups of weavers. For them a high grade technical school is required where the art may be studied in all its varied branches and experimental work can be carried on.'—Sir A. Chatterton : *Industrial Evolution*.

In the absence of a sound organisation, technical instruction and state patronage will prove futile. A practical spirit is wanted. It is because of the insuperable difficulty of modernising the independent weaver who, as long as he remains the entrepreneur, will not move out of the deep rut in which his ancestors have travelled, that those who believe in the future of the hand-loom industry advocate the erection of the hand-loom factory. In such a case, a private capitalist, preferably educated, would install a certain number of improved looms in his own premises, engage weavers on a monthly salary, and set them to work upon the kind of fabric for which he has discovered there is a market. Thus the organisation of the industry on a factory basis will facilitate an early regeneration of the industry. The moral and material conditions of workers would further improve if the factory is organised on co-operative lines. But this factory organisation of the hand-loom would be useful, though not as indispensable as the warp distributing factory, for the revival of the industry. Nor need it be feared that the establishment of the factory will result in the recrudescence of all those evils of large-scale industries which we are anxious to avoid.

Another way by which the industry can greatly be advanced lies in the perfection of the tool the weaver uses and of the methods he adopts. The possibility of introducing a mechanism for automatic and uniform wefting, must be explored. The strain involved in weaving must be minimised. But such improvements must be simple and cheap and within the reach of the weaver. When the use of power is considered desirable and when electric power becomes cheap and easily available, the weavers must be encouraged to use it.¹

In this connection it must, however, be noted that the mere adoption of labour-saving appliances will not do.

¹ The prospect of rapid development of electrical power raises the question of the advisability of applying that power to the hand-loom. (There is no standing prejudice to the use of mechanical power if it does not take one's bread out of his mouth.) Weaving in that case will cease to be hand-done but may continue to be a cottage industry. When power becomes so cheap as to be of universal application and work becomes so properly distributed as causing no extremes of poverty and opulence, employment for a few and unemployment for many, the introduction of machinery and the application of electrical or other mechanical power will be to the great advantage of all workers.

Saving of labour is not always a matter of importance; for, it is often gained by the introduction of absolutely automatic plant driven by mechanical power. But the invention of tools which do not eliminate man-power to the same extent as machines, and which do not reduce the weaver to a mere automaton, is what is desired in countries like India.

Finally, the attempt made in the past in this Presidency having been confined mainly to certain technical aspects of the industry, the economic condition of the weaver did not materially improve; for, the improvement in the technique resulted not in actually increasing the production of the weaver but in cutting short his hours of work owing to the absence of marketing facilities for him. Further, the other aspects, finishing and baling of hand-woven cloths and placing them on a marketable basis as in the case of mill goods so that regular and extensive business may result, were not considered; and they remain still unsolved.

The organisation of the industry in all its economic and commercial aspects requires the co-operation of officials and non-officials. All Government departments must act together. The textile expert, the research engineer, the co-operator and the business organiser must combine their efforts. The development of the hand-loom industry, if undertaken at all, must, be carried on a comprehensive scale by tackling the problem from all sides. There are difficulties; of course the improvement of the status and conditions of a million people who are indifferent to their own improvement is not an easy task. But if we approach the rising generation on a basis of enthusiasm tempered by knowledge, we need not despair of success. What is now wanted is concentration of efforts along definite lines.

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

‘ There can be no true progress in industry unless that progress is reflected in the conditions of the masses and workers who make industry possible, an advance in which they do not share would be a transient advantage. Healthy and permanent progress are bound up with a steady improvement of the human and the economic status of the rank and file of the industrial army. It is the well-being of all the persons engaged in the industry which constitutes the contribution that industry makes to national wealth.’—THE RT. HON’BLE J. H. WHITLEY.

‘ The world’s most pressing problem has come to be not a further increase of power to produce but the devising of means for the full use of the productive resources already at hand.’—G. D. H. COLE.

‘ Whatever be true of “ labour as a whole in the long run ” here is enough, in my judgment, to make it likely that in the next half-century the march of science and the growth of capital will continue to reduce large groups of work people to a state bordering on economic worthlessness for long periods of time; and will thus subject a society based on the correspondence of reward with economic worth to greater strains than it has ever previously known. ‘ D. H. Robertson : ‘ Is Mechanisation a Danger ? ’—*Times of India*, December 1933.

In preceding chapters the case for the resuscitation of the hand-loom industry has been stated. It is to be preferred to the power-loom as it causes less unemployment, as it suits the peculiar economic conditions prevailing in India, as it distributes work and welfare with greater justice and equality. The plea for the revival of hand-loom weaving—all other small industries as well—raises certain important questions of policy and ideology which deserve a fuller treatment in this chapter.

The first question is : in the natural selection in industrial evolution is it not an inexorable law that smaller industries wear out and larger organisations take their place? Is it not inevitable that human power is replaced by mechanical power? Is it not true that small industries lack the basis of permanence and stability and that their protection, is therefore, unwise and unnatural? The answer to the last question has been given. Reference has been made to an exhaustive enquiry into small scale organisations in the countries of the world, a summary of which was published in the *International Labour Review*, June 1928. Even the Council of the People’s Commissaries and the Minister of

National Economy of the Reich have recognised the importance of small scale industries. In a decree of May 1927 the Soviet Council declared: 'For a long time to come large scale industries will not be able to produce sufficient for the needs of the country, *nor will it be able to absorb all the surplus labour*. Small scale handicraft industries will use this surplus labour especially among the poorer strata of the peasantry, and will to a great extent satisfy the needs of the rural and urban markets. This explains the enormous importance of the small industries for the national economy of the Socialist Soviet Republic'. The Reich Minister declared himself in favour of the handicrafts in no less unequivocal terms. 'The handicrafts-man has held his own in production and has even succeeded in gaining some contested ground but he is no longer the handicraftsman of old historic times with methods of working handed down from bygone centuries'.

The answer to the first question is given by Richard Gregg and Theodore Morison. The latter, while recognising the place of machinery in the progress of civilisation, states: 'It is not a law of nature that steam power should supersede hand-power. It has been the consequence of the special conditions of Europe. . . . When the power required is not in excess of that which can be supplied by human body, it is a calculation of the relative cost which decides whether steam power or hand power shall be applied to manufactures'. Hand-power is expensive in the west of Europe; hence the attempt to substitute steam-power but in India at the present day hand-power is cheap and to the employer, generally, more economical than steam power. This consideration of comparative costs will be dominant and cannot be eliminated at least so long as the society is organised on a capitalistic basis and production is for profit and not for consumption; and so long as that consideration prevails the substitution of mechanical power for human power cannot always be effected. It must also be remembered that as the human skill, intelligence and dexterity cannot be replaced by machines completely, however perfect they may be, there is always a place assured for handicrafts employing human power in the industrial scheme. The proposition that in the

industrial evolution small scale industries are mercilessly and invariably wiped out by large scale organisations stand discredited. 'The more one examines', says Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, 'the present state of the small industries in this country, the more one is inclined to think that they have been steadily developing and conquering new fields for the last fifty years. The petty trades are not killed and cannot be killed. Like Proteus they change their aspects. It is a fallacy to suppose that natural selection in industrial evolution is only a process of larger organisations surviving and wearing out the smaller. . . . There is always a place for the smaller industries in the course of industrial development—a place which can never be abolished, but will always grow simply because it cannot be filled by large industries'. Leading industrialists and economists of the world have declared that small industries and handicrafts are not mere relics of the past but form an integral part of the future industrial order.

Another question of practical importance arises out of the advocacy of protection of the hand-loom against the power-loom. One may ask, 'Is it a wise policy to pit the low paid homeworkers against the better paid factory labourers?' 'Will not such a policy lead to the lowering of the standard of living?' 'Is it not a novel method of economic reconstruction which seeks to depress the elevated classes rather than to elevate the depressed classes?' Generally speaking, it is true that it is not wisdom to promote an unhealthy competition between a well paid worker and a low paid one. The State must allow the process of natural selection to have its course. But the special circumstances prevailing in India demand, however, such an action. It is a truism that competition tends to level down wages in different areas and industries.¹ The high wages now obtaining in Indian factories cannot for long remain far above the average level of wages that the actual resources of the country and the stage of economic

¹ 'Modern power-driven machinery and large-scale industries will mean a rapid advance in material prosperity but only upto a point. The existence of backward communities and countries and the possibilities of cheap labour working on modern automatic machinery will worsen the situation by increasing unemployment and imperil the relatively high wages which the workers in those industries and countries at present receive.'—G. D. H. COLE, *The Intelligent Man's Guide through World Chaos*, p. 176.

development of the country can warrant. Also a difference in the nominal wages does not necessarily reflect a difference in the relative efficiency of the workers concerned; nor even a difference in their conditions of living. A high nominal wage is not always indicative of a better living or cultural advancement of the person receiving it. Further the present higher wages in urban areas, in industries, or in even highly advanced industrial countries cannot be maintained by any amount of trade unionism and governmental buttresses if there is a large working population living on lower wages with no legal or political obstacles in their way to compete with better paid workers. When such extremes of poverty exist, it is not just to invoke the argument that the State interference with the natural selection in industrial development of mechanised industries and cottage industries is unwise as it results in the lowering down of the standard of living of workers in the former. One cannot afford to make a cult of the standard of living especially when that standard of living is not shared by all. While it is desirable to increase material comforts and maintain a high standard of comfort, it cannot be arbitrary, much less exclusive. It is conditioned and dependent on a number of factors such as the resources of a country, its population, its productive powers, the degree of its productive efficiency, and others. But the existence of the extremes of poverty and riches, of luxury and want, the presence of a large population remaining unemployed and under-employed are in themselves the manifestation of an unstable economic order and can promote nothing but economic insecurity which slowly increases with the widening of the gulf between the groups of workers in the society. It is folly to maintain—even to tolerate—great disparities in wages, as it is folly to maintain disparities in wealth and income. For, it can lead to only one end which every one fears and none has the strength and vision to avert—*Revolution*. Apart from the fear of anarchy it might create, it is heartlessness to suggest that the State should not interfere in the natural ordering of the economic system—however hideous its manifestations may be—as evolved by the forces of competition and economic freedom while a large section of the people live for

ever on the verge of starvation and a fraction thereof enjoy the extremes of opulence. The State would fail in its duty if it does not eradicate such preventible economic and social diseases as threaten the stability of society and the advance of civilization and if it does not regulate the economic progress in a manner that its blessings are shared equally by all individuals and classes. That the State exists for all and not for the few is not a meaningless truism. It is a hard reality which every civilised Government is seeking to realise. Its function is not merely to maintain political order but to secure economic and social stability; and it is now realised that the State is not an instrument of exploitation, much less a partisan organisation but a creative institution, the highest expression of social justice and harmony.

In these days of rationalisation and mechanisation of industries, one often hears a wholesale denunciation of all industries which cannot pay a decent wage making a decent life possible for workers. 'No civilised society' it is said, 'can tolerate the existence of such industries as cannot permit enough leisure for men employed in them for their cultural development and as cannot afford enough returns to workers for their comfortable standard of life'. Home industries are specially covered by this sweeping condemnation, for it is the home workers that are as a class poorly paid, are weak in bargaining, are not easily reached by trade unionism or state protection, live in squalid surroundings and slave for long hours. As an ideal to be realised in the future economic order, it is excellent that sweated industries are weeded out. But as an immediate practical proposition in India—perhaps, in all countries of the world—the desire to suppress all home industries is nothing but an empty aspiration. Cottage industries and small scale organisations, however uninviting their conditions of work may be, have not been wiped out and they cannot be wiped out by all the wondrous mechanical inventions and scientific progress. There is a permanent utility, an inexhaustible vitality, in them. True, they produce certain monstrosities in the life of the workers and in the conditions of employment under the stress of competitive production for capitalist profit which aims at cheap production. Cheap

production is not an ultimate good. It is good only if it leads to a right distribution and if it is limited by the demand of the workers for tolerable human conditions of labour'.¹ The remedy does not lie in the total suppression of the homecrafts, cottage workshops or rural industries, as it is often contemplated, but in placing human values above economic values and in guaranteeing sufficient returns to workers and tolerable human conditions of labour in all economic activities which are essential to sustain the life of the society.

This plea of the writer for the revival of the hand-loom, his love for homecrafts and small industries, his argument for the cautious introduction of machines and his half-concealed admiration for the socio-economic experiment now carried on in Russia—all this makes a hotch-potch of economic ideals. What is the place he gives to machine in the industrial order? What is the economic creed that he would wish India to possess? An attempt will be made here to answer these questions and avoid possible misunderstanding. While he has no hesitation in equating economics with human welfare, in accepting the liberal and social doctrine of 'maximum of production with minimum of effort' and the socialist theory of just distribution and the province of Government, and while he does not deny the material basis of civilisation and the need for increased production, he has his own difficulties in accepting the methods by which the end is realised; he has his own misgivings in adopting the machine as the medium by which the economic salvation is to be attained. The working out of the economic ideal in practice must vary according to the circumstances in which each country is placed. The blind imitation of the methods and the indiscriminate absorption of the ideas of the West

¹ G. D. H. Cole, observes : 'There are serious obstacles in the way of introducing mechanical power in its most developed forms in countries like China and India. It is hard enough for Soviet Russia, to abstract at the expense of the low standard of life of the great mass of her people, enough capital to finance her ambitious schemes of industrial reorganisation. But Russia as a country is thinly populated in relation to the countries of the Far East and in their case the density of population, the very small size of their crowded peasant holdings, and their extreme poverty, put even greater difficulties in the way of any comprehensive plan of economic development.' *The Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Chaos*, p. 139.

and their haphazard, or even unflinching, application to India will spell disaster. The philosophy of machinery which has transformed Western Europe and increased its material wealth is sound theoretically; and it has also achieved a great measure of success in practice. But it must be recognised that even in those countries it has prospered on the ruins of humanity, on the miseries of millions and it has left its permanent marks of devastation on mankind. It must also be recognised that the philosophy of machinery has its own limitations. It cannot be realised in all countries and at all times in the same manner as it is done in Russia today or as it has been done in any other industrial country of the world. Though India and China may require a thorough-going reconstruction of their entire economic systems on lines of large scale collective organisation based on the use of mechanical power in its most developed forms, and though they may stand in need of a thorough-going communism, these ideas require a great deal of adaptation before they are applied to the different economic circumstances of these countries.¹ There is ample scope for increasing the total production, even of necessities and comforts of life in India; there is a crying need for shortening the hours of work and reducing the physical strain of labour and increasing the wages of workers; all this seems possible only by the mechanisation of industries and large scale organisation on the collectivist principle. But, still, 'the doubt persists if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being'.² 'The direct evidence drawn from the most highly evolved machine industry', writes J. A. Hobson in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 'seems to justify the general opinion expressed by Prof. Nicholson "it is clear the use of machines, though apparently labour saving, often leads to an increase in the quantity of labour, negatively, by not developing the mind, positively by doing harm to the body"'.³ Even granting that mechanisation of industries increases the leisure for the working

¹ G. D. H. Cole, *World Chaos*.

² J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*.

³ Pp. 338-40. Mr. Hobson cites certain instances of machinery increasing the intensity of labour. 'The general opinion seems to be that in spinning mills, roughly speaking, 75 per cent. of the increased output per operative

classes and decreases their physical strain, it often leads to the degradation of human personality and sows the seeds of social disintegration, especially when such production is unaccompanied by a just system of distribution. For there is the danger of ignoring the human problem in the enthusiasm for the development of the technique of industries. 'The technician', as observed by G. D. H. Cole, 'tends to regard industry merely as a technical problem; whereas it is fundamentally a human problem as well, and its object is not merely to create the maximum of goods, but to create them with the minimum of human suffering and inconvenience and in such a way as to promote the best distribution of wealth'. This danger may be avoided in a perfectly controlled economic and social order. The difficulties in transforming the present society to such a highly communistic state as contemplated are many. Perhaps they should not deter us. 'To do great things a man must live as though he had never to die.' But this unshakable faith in the cause and optimism in the rectitude of our own conduct must not at the same time blind us to certain realities, certain difficulties which can be tackled only by patience, knowledge and intelligence. It must be understood that even in a communistic society it is hard to realise the principle of justice in distribution. That principle to be a fact and not a dream must base distribution not merely, subjectively, on individual needs but also, objectively, on his capacity and opportunity for work; and there can be no divorce of work from remuneration, of responsibility from privilege; and such a close relation which is absolutely essential for the permanence and stability of the social order, would be very difficult to realise, and even if realised, difficult to maintain, in such a vast country, with such a vast population living in abysmal ignorance and stark poverty as India when it is rapidly industrialised and transformed with the help of machines. For, apart from the danger arising from the

may be imputed to improved machinery and 25 per cent. to increased intensity of labour in regard to quantity of spindles or speeding up.' 'The driving system in looms by which the overworkers are paid a bonus on the product of the looms under their charge has admittedly induced, as it was obviously intended to do, an increased intensity of labour'.

limitations of the human vision, rectitude and intelligence, it undermines the basis of distribution. It is possible, though it seems extremely unlikely, there may not be enough work for all. If, as it were by the wave of a magic wand the whole world in all its economic activities is transformed with automatic machines which can be manipulated by a couple of millions of men and if they can produce by working for a couple of hours all that the community needs, distribution of work and wealth will become extremely difficult. This is not an impossibility, a mere figment of the imagination; for, as we see it today, the recent phase in the development of mechanical invention and scientific progress has been in the direction of transferring human intelligence to machines.¹ If this is carried far enough and proves a success the place of man in industry will be lost and the cupidity of the few who have the control over the economic machinery will result not merely in shattering to pieces the fabrics of a socialised State but it will cause all evils of unemployment, poverty and miseries. The theme of this book is not to dwell upon these political and economic scares, nor to deal with these highly improbable nightmares which might frighten us to inaction, but to stress on the limitations of the capacity of the machine in realising human happiness; to emphasise the importance of work to human development as also to the realisation of distributive justice; to emphasise the necessity of advancing cautiously the progress of economic development with the sole assistance of mechanical power so that human sufferings may be reduced to the minimum; to compel recognition of the rightful place of small industries and handicrafts in the industrial scheme; and at the same time to urge the need for appreciating human values likely to be lost in the craze for industrial progress which seeks unfortunately to substitute the cult of the machine for the love of humanity.

¹ Cf. G. D. H. Cole, *The Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Chaos*, Chapter on 'Machinery and Men', pp. 139-149.

THE HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY IN SOUTH INDIA

BY
K. S. VENKATARAMAN, B.A. (HONS.), B.L.
(SIR PARASURAMBHAO COLLEGE, POONA)

*“ There is only one way of seeing things
rightly and that is seeing the whole of them.”*

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॥ अब्रह्मजिज्ञासा ॥

BY

*Mahāmahōpādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.
(Retired)*

“अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा” इति भगवद्वादरायणप्रणीतानां ब्रह्मसूत्राणामादिमं सूत्रं नानाविधानां गम्भीराणामाशयविशेषाणां सूचकं पूर्वाचार्यैर्बहुधा व्याख्यातं बहुमुखं प्रथते । तत्र परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यवर्यैः भगवत्पादैः श्रीशंकराचार्यैः प्रणीते प्रसन्नगम्भीरे सर्वलोकप्रसिद्धे सर्वसहृदयचमत्कारिणि अलौकिकसारस्वत-गीतिरोत्यास्वादनीये भाष्ये, अध्यासं सपरिकरं निरूप्य, शास्त्रारम्भसमर्थनप्रस्तावे, सूत्राक्षराण्येवं व्याख्यातानि दृश्यन्ते—“तत्राथशब्द आनन्तर्यार्थः परिगृह्यते.... सति चानन्तर्यार्थत्वे यथा धर्मजिज्ञासा पूर्ववृत्तं वेदाध्ययनं नियमेनापेक्षते एवं ब्रह्मजिज्ञासापि यत्पूर्ववृत्तं नियमेनापेक्षते तद्वक्तव्यम् । उच्यते—नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः, इहामुत्रार्थभोगविरागः, शमदमादिसाधनसंपत्, मुमुक्षुत्वं च । तेषुहि सत्सु प्रागपि धर्मजिज्ञासाया ऊर्ध्वं च शक्यते ब्रह्म जिज्ञासितुं ज्ञातुं च, न विपर्यये ।अतःशब्दो हेत्वर्थः । यस्माद्वेदएवाग्निहोत्रादीनां श्रेयः-साधनानामनित्यफलतां दर्शयति—‘तद्यथेहकर्मजितो लोकः क्षीयत एवमेवामुत्र पुण्यजितो लोकः क्षीयते’ इत्यादिः; तथा ब्रह्मविज्ञानादपि परं पुरुषार्थं दर्शयति—‘ब्रह्मविदामोतिपरम्’ इत्यादिः; तस्माद्यथोक्तसाधनसंपत्त्यनन्तरं ब्रह्म-जिज्ञासा (ब्रह्मविचारः) कर्तव्या” इति ।

एवमधिकारिप्रयोजनाद्यनुबन्धसूचकतया प्रवृत्ते श्रीमति शंकरे भाष्ये केचि-देवमाक्षिपेयुः—यस्य साकल्येन साधनचतुष्टयसंपत्तिः स एवाधिक्रियेत ब्रह्म-जिज्ञासायाम् । तादृशोऽधिकारी पुरुषधौरेयः श्रीशंकरभगवत्पादसदृशः अति-दुर्लभोऽस्मिन् लोक इति किञ्चिदिव लोकस्थितिपर्यालोचने सुविशदं भासते । कियन्तोऽद्यत्वे सन्ति, ये शुद्धान्तःकरणाः नित्यानित्ये सत्यासत्ये सुखदुःखे सम्यग्विविच्य निश्चिन्वन्ति, ये फलेभ्यः सर्वेभ्य ऐहिकेभ्य आमुष्मिकेभ्यश्च विरज्यन्ति, येषां च मनः प्रसंख्यानाभ्यासलब्धवैराग्यपरिपाकभग्नरागादिकषाय

मदिरामदं वशीकृतं तत्त्वविषयविनियोगयोग्यतां च नीतम्, येषां च विषयतितिक्षा-
तदुपरमतत्त्वश्रद्धा अविकलः? सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया गवेषणेऽपि पञ्चषा अपि दुर्लभास्ता-
दृशाः । सयेवं वस्तुवृत्ते, “सर्वे ब्रह्म वदिष्यन्ति संप्राप्ते तु कलौ युगे” इत्युक्तिरोल्या
बहूनामस्मादृशानामितम्पचमतोनामिन्द्रियग्रामारामाणां व्युत्पन्नानां व्युत्पित्सूनां
च वेदान्तशास्त्राध्यापनाध्ययनादिरूपेण तत्र तत्र समुज्जृम्भमाणे ब्रह्मविचारे प्रवृत्ति-
रुचिता सफला वा कथं भवेत्?

अत्रैवं व्यञ्जनापथमनुसृत्य रमणीयया रीत्या भगवत्पादैरेव प्रतिविहितम्—
योऽयं ब्रह्मविचारः साक्षाद्ब्रह्मभवने पर्यवस्यति, तत्राधिकारिणः संपन्नसाधनचतु-
ष्टयाः; अस्य ब्रह्मविचारस्य द्वारभूतः अब्रह्मविचारः, येन क्रमशः साधन-
चतुष्टयमविकलं संपादयितुं शक्यते; तत्रोच्चावचमूर्तामूर्तात्मकप्रपञ्चरूपस्याब्रह्मणः
विचारे, ये सुकृतपरिपाकवशात् साधनचतुष्टयमविकलं संपादयितुमभिलषन्ति,
ते सर्वेऽप्यधिकारिण एव—इति । अयं च समीचीनः समाधिः श्रीशंकराचार्यै-
रथातःशब्दार्थविचारात्पूर्वमेव अध्यासभाष्ये अब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणमुखेन वेदान्त-
शास्त्रमुपक्रममाणैः युष्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरं वस्तुतो जघन्यमपि मुख्यमिव सादरमादिवाक्ये
परामृशद्विरभिव्यञ्जितः शास्त्ररसिकैरास्वादयितुं युज्यते । इयमेवरीतिरनुसृता दृश्यते,
महता परिकरबन्धेन मूर्तामूर्तात्मकं प्रपञ्चं निरूप्य तन्निषेधमुखेन ब्रह्मनिरूपणे
प्रवृत्तेन बृहदाराण्यकेन । “अध्यासोपापवादाभ्यां निष्प्रपञ्चं प्रपञ्चयते” इति
संप्रदायविदां वचनस्याप्ययमेव सारः । अद्वैतसिद्धिर्द्वैतमिथ्यात्वसिद्धिपूर्विका—
इति शास्त्रदृष्ट्या वदन्तोऽपि वेदान्तकेसरिणः मधुसूदनसरस्वतीप्रभृतय एवमेवाशेरते ।
अत एव बादरायणसूत्रेषु माकिं शते नवतिः सूत्राण्यब्रह्मविवेचनपराणि दृश्यन्ते ।
तथा च, यथा पूर्वमोमांसाप्रथमसूत्रे अधर्मजिज्ञासापि प्रस्तुतेति प्रमाणिका अङ्गी-
कुर्वन्ति, तथैवोत्तरमोमांसासूत्रेष्वपि प्रथमसूत्रे अब्रह्मजिज्ञासापि प्रस्तुतेति वदन्तो
वर्यं प्रमाणपथान्नमनागप्यपेता भवामः । एवं सति—आद्यस्य ब्रह्मसूतस्य एवमप्यर्थो
वर्गनीयः—‘अथ साधनचतुष्टयलिप्सानन्तरम्, अतः ब्रह्मविचारार्थं साधनचतुष्ट-
यस्यावश्यकत्वाद्धेतोः, अब्रह्मजिज्ञासा (अब्रह्मविचारः) कर्तव्या’ इति । एवं च
शांकरमध्यासभाष्यमुत्सूत्रमिति केषांचिदाक्षेपोऽपि प्रतिक्षिप्येत; सर्वेऽप्यस्मादृशाः
असिद्धसाधनचतुष्टयाः अद्वैताध्ययने तदध्यापनेच प्रवृत्ता अनुगृह्येरन् ।

பிற்காலச் சோழர் காலத்துத்
தமிழ் இலக்கியம்

BY

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பொருளடக்கம்

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பிற்காலச் சோழர் காலத்துத் தமிழ் இலக்கியம்

(Srimati T. N. THANU AMMAL)
University Research Student, 1934

I. முன்னுரை

தமிழிலேயுள்ள இலக்கியங்கள் மிகவும் பரந்துபட்ட இயல்பையுடையன வாகும். இப்போது அகப்பெயைகளாகிய இலக்கியங்களை மாத்திரம் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுவோமானால், அவற்றில் மிகப் பழமையானவை கி. பி. முதல் நூற்றாண்டி வியற்றப்பட்டனவென்பதற்குத் தக்க ஆதாரங்கள் உள்ளன. ஆகவே கி. பி. முதல் நூற்றாண்டு தொடங்கி, இதுவரை தமிழ் இலக்கியம் வளர்ந்து கொண்டே வந்திருக்கிறதென்பது நிச்சயம்.

ஒவ்வொரு காலத்தின் தன்மைக்கேற்ப இலக்கியங்களும் பலதிறத்தனவாய்மைந்தன. உதாரணமாக, தமிழ் நாட்டிலே சைவ சமயாசாரியர்கள் தோன்றிச் சமயவுணர்ச்சியைப் பரவச் செய்தபோது சைவ தோத்திரங்களும் நாயன்மார் அருளிச்செயல்களும், தமிழ் நாட்டிலே மிகுதியாகத் தோன்றலாயின. இங்ஙனமே ஜைன சமய இலக்கியமும் பௌத்த சமய நூல்களும் தோன்றிப் பெருகியதும் வெளிப்படை.

அன்றி இடத்தின் வேறுபாட்டாலும் தமிழ்நூல்கள் பலவகையாயின. உதாரணமாகப் பாண்டிநாட்டிலே இயற்றப்பெற்ற தமிழ் நூல்கள் பெரும்பாலும் பாண்டிய அரசனைக் குறித்தும் பிற சிற்றரசர்களைக் குறித்தும் வெளிவரலாயின. சோழநாட்டில் எழுந்தவை அத்தேய அரசர்களது பெருமையைக் குறித்து இயற்றப்பட்டன. அவ்வாறே சேர அரசர்களைக் குறித்துப் புகழ்ந்தன சேரநாட்டில் இயற்றப்பெற்ற நூல்கள்.

காலத்தாலும் இடத்தாலும் மட்டுமன்றித் தன்மையினாலேயும் அந்நூல்கள் பலதிறத்தனவாயிருப்பதையுங் காணலாம். முற்காலத்தில் தமிழை இயல், இசை, நாடகம் என மூப்பகுதியாகப் பிரித்தனர்.

இயல்.—இது தமிழ்மக்கள்பால் பொதுவாக உலகவழக்கினும் செய்யுள் வழக்கினும் கலந்து நிற்கும் வசனமுஞ் செய்யுளுமாகும். இவற்றைச் செந் தமிழ் நூல்களெனவும் கொடுத்தமிழ் நூல்களெனவும் பகுக்கலாம். இயற்றமிழ் தான் மற்றைய இரண்டிற்கும் காரணமாகையால் யாவரும் இதனை முதற்கண் வைத்துக் கூறுவாராயினர்.

இசை.—இத தமிழ் இயற்றமிழுடன் பண்ணொடு கலந்து தாளத்தோடுகூடி இயங்குவது. இதனுள், கீர்த்தனங்களும், வரிப்பாட்டுகளும், சிந்து, ஆனந்தக் களிப்பு, கும்மி இவைகளும் அடங்கும். இயற்றமிழின் இசைத்தமிழ் தனித்து இயங்காது. ஆனால் இயற்றமிழ்ச் செய்யுட்கள் இசையடுத்து, தாள மறுத்துப் பாடப்படின, அவை இசைத்தமிழின் பாற்படும். முற்காலத்துத் தோன்றிய 'பெருநாரை', 'பெருங்குருகு' முதலியனவும், இடைக்காலத்துத் தோன்றிய

தேவாரங்களும், இக்காலத்துத் தோன்றிய பெரியபுராணக் கீர்த்தனை முதலிய வைகளும் இசைத்தமிழேயாம்.

நாடகம்.—இது கல்வியறிவில்லாதவர்களுக்கு நல்லறிவு புகட்ட எழுந்த தோர் கலையாகும். இது கேட்போருக்கும் காண்போருக்கும் இன்பம் பயக்கும். உலகின் இயல்பை உள்ளதை உள்ளவாறு புனைந்து காட்டுவது நாடகமே. இயல் இசைகள் கேள்வியின்பம் மாத்திரம் பயக்கும். நாடகம் இயல் இசையின்றி இயங்காதெனினும் கேள்வியின்பத்தோடு காட்சியின்பத்தையுங் கொடுக்கும் இச் சிறப்புப்பற்றியே மற்ற இடங்களிலும் பாஷைகளிலும் நாடகத்தை மேன்மையாக மதிக்கின்றனர். நாடகம் முதலில் சமயம் பற்றிய கதைகளை நடத்திக் காட்டவே தோன்றிற்று. பின்னர் பிற கதைகளும் தழுவி நாடக நூல்களியற்றப் பட்டன. மூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டில் நாடகம் வேத்தியல், பொதுவியல் என இரண்டு வகைப்பட்டு வழங்கியிருந்தது. அதன் பின்னர் நாடகத் தமிழைக் குறைகூறுவார் தலைப்பட்டனர். அது காரணமாகச் சங்ககாலத் திருந்த நாடகத் தமிழ் நூல்கள் ஒழிய நேரிட்டது. அவற்றில் 'சிலப்பதிகாரம்' என்னும் நூல் மட்டுந்தான் இப்போது நிலவிவருகிறது. இந் நூல் இயல், இசை, நாடகம் என்னும் மூன்று பகுதிகளையும் உடையதென்று உரைகாரராகிய அடியார்க்குநல்லார் கூறுகிறார்.

ஆனால், இயல், இசை, நாடகம் என்னும் இப் பகுப்பு தமிழ்நூல்கள் அனைத்தின் இயல்பினையும் முற்ற உணர்த்தும் திருப்திகரமான பாகுபாடு என்று கூற இயலாது. தமிழிலே சித்தாந்த சாஸ்திரங்கள் முதலியன உள்ளன. இவற்றை இம் மூவகைத் தமிழில் எதன்பாற் படுத்துவது? இசைத் தமிழ் நாடகத்தமிழ் என்ற இரண்டின்கண்ணும் இவை அடங்காவென்பது தெள்ளிது. இயற்றமிழெனக் கூறின் அதற்குப் பொருண்மை சிறிதும் இல்லாததாய் முடியும். ஆகவே இப் பாகுபாடு நாம் மேற்கொண்டுள்ள நோக்கத்துக்குப் பெரிதும் பயன்படுவதாகாது. தமிழ் நூல்களைத் தன்மையினால் பாகுபாடு செய்தல் என்பதின் பொருள், நூற்குரிய பொருளின் தன்மையினால் பாகுபாடு செய்தல் என்பதாகும். அவ்வகையால் நோக்குமிடத்துத் தமிழ் நூல்களைக் காலியம், புராணம், இதிகாசம், சாஸ்திரம், கணிதம், சோதிடம், நீதிநூல்கள், உரை நூல்கள், நிகண்டு முதலிய பல வகையாகப் பிரித்தல் கூடும். இங்ஙனம் பல திறப்பட்டுப் பார்த்து கிடக்கின்ற தமிழ் நூல்களை முறையாக ஆராய்ச்சிசெய்து தமிழிலுக்கிய வளர்ச்சியை முற்ற வுணர்த்தும் நூல்கள் தமிழில் இல்லை யெனவே கூறலாம். எனினும் இவ்வகை இலக்கிய சரித்திர நூல்கள் ஒரு சில வெளிவந்துள்ளன. அவை பின் வருமாறு:—

1. தமிழ்நாவலர் சரிதை.
2. தமிழ் புளுடார்க் (Tamil Plutarch).
3. புலவர் புராணம்.
4. பாவலர் சரித்திர தீபகம்.
5. தமிழிலுக்கியச் சரிதம் (History of Tamil Literature)
புராணலிங்கம் பிள்ளை எழுதியது.
6. அ. குமாரசுவாமிப்பிள்ளை எழுதிய தமிழ்ப்புலவர் வரலாறு.

7. செல்வக்கேசவராய முதலியார் எழுதிய தமிழ் என்னும் வியாசம்.
8. சூரியநாராயண சாஸ்திரியார் எழுதிய தமிழ்மொழியின் வரலாறு, தமிழ்ப்புலவர் சரித்திரம்.
9. ஸ்ரீநிவாச ஐயங்கார் எழுதிய தமிழ்ஆராய்ச்சி உரைகள் (Tamil Studies).
10. K. S. ஸ்ரீநிவாச பிள்ளை எழுதிய தமிழ் வரலாறு.
11. G. S. துரைசாமிப்பிள்ளை எழுதிய சங்க கால இலக்கியங்கள்.
12. V. ராமச்சந்திர தீக்ஷிதர் எழுதிய Studies in Tamil Literature and History.
13. திராவிடப் பிரகாசிகை (சபாபதி நாவலர்).
14. தமிழ்இலக்கிய வரலாறு (K. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை).

மேற்குறித்தவையெயன்றி வேறு சில நூல்களும் வெளிவந்துள்ளன. ஆனால் இவற்றில் ஸ்ரீநிவாச பிள்ளை எழுதிய தமிழ் வரலாறும் ஸ்ரீநிவாச ஐயங்கார் எழுதிய தமிழ்ஆராய்ச்சி உரைநூலும் ஒரு வகையாகத் தமிழ்இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியை உணர்த்துகின்றன எனக் கூறலாம். பிறநூல்களெல்லாம் அந்நோக்கத்தை மேற்கொண்டனவென்று கூறமுடியவில்லை. தமிழ்இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சி முழுவதும் நோக்கி அதற்குத் தகுதியான இலக்கிய சரித்திரம் எழுதுதல் அத்தனை எளிதான செயலன்று. பல நூல்கள் இன்னும் எட்டுச் சுவடி அளவிலே இருக்கின்றனவன்றி அச்சவாயிலாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. தமிழ் நாட்டில் வெளிவந்துள்ள நூல்களைப்பற்றியும் அவற்றின் காலம் முதலியனபற்றியும் இன்னும் ஆராய்ச்சிகள் நிகழ்த்த வேண்டுவதுண்டு. தமிழ்நாட்டுச் சரித்திரமும் இன்னும் முற்றும் தெளிவடைந்தபாடில்லை. ஒவ்வொரு காலத்தும் எழுந்துள்ள நூல்கள் அவ்வக்காலத்துச் சரித்திர நிகழ்ச்சிகளோடு பெரிதும் தொடர்புடையனவென்பது அறிஞர்கள் கொள்கை. இது பெரியதோருண்மையாகும். தமிழ்நாட்டுச் சரித்திரங்களை நாம் நன்றாக உணர்ந்தாலன்றித் தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களையும் நாம் நன்றாக உணர்தல் கூடாதாம். அன்றியும் வெகு காலமாக வளர்ந்து பெருகியிருக்கும் தமிழ்இலக்கியத் தொகுதியைப் பல பகுதிகளாகப் பிரித்துக்கொண்டு அவற்றை ஆராய்ந்து வளர்ச்சியின் இயல்பை அறிந்த பின்னரே தமிழ்இலக்கிய சரிதம் ஒன்று எழுதுதல் இயலுவதாகும். இத் தகைய முயற்சி இதுவரை தோன்றியதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இங்ஙனமாகத் தமிழ்இலக்கிய சரிதம் எழுதுதலில் பல இடையூறுகளும் உள்ளன.

II. சங்க காலத்து இலக்கியங்கள்

சங்கநூல்களென்று பொதுவாகக் கூறப்படுவன எட்டுத்தொகையாகிய நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறுநூறு, பதிற்றுப்பத்து, பரிபாடல், கலித் தொகை, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு என்ற நூல்களும், பத்துப்பாட்டாகிய திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை முதல் மலைபடுகடாம் இறுதியாகவுள்ள நூல்களும், சங்க மருவிய பதினெண்கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூலாகிய திருக்குறள் முதலாகிய பதினெட்டு நூல்களும், ஐம்பெருங்காப்பியங்களில் மணிமேகலை, சிலப்பதிகாரம் என்ற

நூல்களும் ஆகிய இவைகளே. இவைகள் தவிரத் தொல்காப்பியம் முதலிய இலக்கண நூல்களும் உள்ளன. இந் நூல்களிற் பல பழைய காலத்தில் அரசர் களால் பெரும்புலவர்களைக் கொண்டு ஒருங்கே சேர்த்துத் தொகுக்கப்பட்டவை யாகும். கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்களெல்லாம் வெண்பாவினா வியற்றப்பட்டன. அவற் றுள் ஒன்றாகிய முதுமொழிக்காஞ்சி வெண்பாவின் இனத்துள் அடங்கும் ஒரு பாவால் இயற்றப்பட்டது. வெகு காலமாகக் கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்கள் இன்ன வென்பதுபற்றிக் கருத்து வேறுபாடிருந்தது. இப்பொழுது ஒரு முடிவு ஏற்பட்டு விட்டதெனக் கூறலாம். 'இன்னிலை' இவற்றுள் ஒன்றெனச் சிலர் கூறின ரெனினும் இதற்கு மாறாகக் 'கைநிலை' என்ற நூலினையே கொள்ளுதல் வேண்டும். இனி இவை ஒவ்வொன்றையும்பற்றிச் சிறிது ஆராய்வோம்.

எட்டேதொகை

நற்றிணை.—இது 175 சங்கப்புலவர்களால் பாடப்பட்ட 400 செய்யுட் களையுடையது. இந் நூலைப் பன்னாடு தந்த பாண்டியன் மாறன்வழுதி தொகுப் பித்தான். இதில் காணும் அகவற்பாக்கள் ஒன்பதடிச் சிறுமையும் பன்னிரண் டடிப் பெருமையு முள்ளன. இது ஒரு சிறந்த அகத்திணை இலக்கியம்.

குறுந்தொகை.—205 புலவர்களியற்றிய 401 பாடல்களைக் கொண்டது. இதற்குப் பேராசிரியர் உரை எழுதியுள்ளாரெனவும் அதில் விடுபட்ட 20 பாடல்களுக்கு நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரை எழுதினாரெனவும் சீவகசிந்தாமணிச் சிறப்புப்பாயிரத்தால் அறியலாம். குறுந்தொகையிலுள்ள பாடல்கள் நாலடிச் சிறுமையும் எட்டடிப் பெருமையு முள்ளன. இந் நூலும் நற்றிணைபோல் அகத் திணை யிலக்கியமேயாகும்.

ஐங்குறுநூறு.—இந்நூல் ஐந்து புலவர்களியற்றிய ஐந்தாறு அகவற்பாக்களையுடைய அகத்திணை யிலக்கியம். ஒவ்வொரு திணைக்கும் நூறு பாக்கள் உள்ளன. இதைத் தொகுத்தார் புலத்துறை முற்றிய கூடலூர்கிழார். தொகுப்பித்தார் யானைக்கட்டேய் மாந்தராஞ்சேரலிரும்பொறை.

பதிற்றுப்பத்து.—இந்நூலில் முதல் பத்தாம், பத்தாம் பத்தாம் கிடைத் தில. 'இரண்டு முதல் ஒன்பதாம் பத்து வரையிலுந்தான் உள்ளன. இதனைப் பாடியோர் குமட்டேர்க் கண்ணனார், பாலக்கௌதமனார், காப்பியாற்றுக் காப்பி யனார், பரணர், காக்கைபாடியனியார், கபிலர், அரிசில்கிழார், பெருங்குன்றூர் கிழார் என எண்மர். பாடப்பட்டோர் சேரர் குலத்தவர். இது புறத்திணை யிலக்கியம்.

பரிபாடல்.—இஃது ஒரு பாவின் பெயர். அப் பாவால் அந் நூலுக்குப் பெயராயிற்று. நச்சினார்க்கினியர் 'பரிபாடலென்பது பரிந்து வருவது; அது கலியுறுப்புப்போலாது நான்கு பாவாலும் வந்து பலவடியும் வருமாறு நிற்கும்' என்றெழுதியிருக்கிறார். இது பல புலவர் பாடிய 70 பாடல்களையுடைய இலக்கியம்.

கலித்தொகை.—இது 150 கலிப்பாக்களையுடையதோர் அகப்பொருள் நூல். இந்நூலை நல்லந்துவனார் இயற்றியதெனக் கூறுவர். இதற்கு நச்சினார்க் கினியர் உரை எழுதியுள்ளார்.

அகநானூறு.—இதற்கு நெடுந்தொகை என்றும் பெயருண்டு. இதனைத் தொகுத்தான் மதுரை உப்புரிசுடிகிழான் மகனாவான் உருத்திரசன்மனென் பான். தொகுப்பித்தான் பாண்டியன் உக்கிரப்பெருவழுதி. இது களிற்றி யானைநிரை, மணிமிடைபவளம், நித்திலக்கோவை யென மூன்று பகுதிகளை யுடையது.

புறநானூறு.—150 புலவர்களால் பாடிய 400 பாடல்களையுடைய புறப் பொருள் தூல். இந் தூல் மூவேந்தர்களையும் பற்றிய சரிதங்களை ஆங்காங்கே கூறும்.

பத்துப்பாட்டு

திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை.—இது நக்கீரரால் இயற்றப்பட்டது. இதனைப் புலவராற்றுப்படை என்றும் கூறுவர். இந் தூலில் முருகனது ஆறு படைவீடு களைக் குறித்துப் பாடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

பொருநராற்றுப்படை.—இது சோழன் கரிகாற்பெருவளத்தானை முடத் தாமக்கண்ணியார் பாடியது. பொருநர் பலராவர். அவர் ஏர்க்களம் பாடுவோர், போர்க்களம் பாடுவோர், பரணிபாடுவோர் முதலானவர்கள். அதில் இந் தூல் போர்க்களம் பாடுவதைக் குறிக்கிறது.

சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை. — ஒய்மானாட்டு நல்லியக்கோடனை இடைகழி நாட்டு நல்லூர் நத்தத்தனார் பாடியது. இனிய ஓசையையுடைய சிறிய யாழை வாசிப்போனை ஆற்றுப்படுத்தவென்பதை விளக்குகிறது. கொடைவள்ளல் எழுவரது கொடைத் திறத்தையும்பற்றிப் பாடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை.—தொண்டைமான் இளந்திரையனைக் கடிய லார் உருத்திரங்கண்ணனார் பாடியது.

முல்லைப்பாட்டு.—காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினத்து நப்பூதனார் பாடியது.

மதுரைக்காஞ்சி.—தலையாலங்கானத்துச் செருவென்ற பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனை மாங்குடி மருதனார் பாடியது. காஞ்சி என்பதற்குப் பன்னிரு படலத்திலும் தொல்காப்பியத்திலும் வேறு வேறு பொருள் கூறியிருக்கிறது. மதுரைக்காஞ்சி யென்பதற்கு மதுரையிடத்து அரசிற்குக் கூறிய காஞ்சி என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் பொருள் கூறுவர்.

நெடுநல்வாடை.—பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனை நக்கீரனார் பாடியது. நெடிதாகிய நல்ல வாடையென்று விரியும். தலைவிக்குப் பாலுத்திணையும் தலைவ னுக்கு வாகைத்திணையும் உணர்த்துவது. நச்சினார்க்கினியர் 'தலைவனைப் பிரிந் திருந்து வருந்தும் தலைவிக்கு ஒரு பொழுது ஒருழிபோல நெடிதாகிய வாடை யாய்ப் பாலையாகிய உரிப்பொருள் உணர்த்திற்று.' அகத்தொடுங்கிப் போகம் நுகர் வார்க்குச் சிறந்த காலமாயினும் அரசன் போகம் வேண்டிப் பொதுச்சொற் பொருளாய் அப்போகத்தின் மனமற்று வேற்றுப் புலத்துப் போந்திருக்கின்ற இருப்பாகலின் அவர்க்கு நல்லதாகிய வாடையாயிற்று. எனவே காமத்திடத்து வெற்றியெய்தலின் வாகைத்திணையாயிற்று.

குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு.—ஆரியவரசன் பிரகத்தனைத் தமிழறிவித்தற்குக் கபிலர் பாடியது. 'இயற்கைப்புணர்ச்சியும் பின்னர் நிகழும் புணர்ச்சிகளுக்கு நிமித்

தங்களுங் கூறுதலின் இதற்குக் குறிஞ்சியென்று பெயர் கூறினார்' என நச்சி னார்க்கினியர் எழுதியிருக்கிறார். பெருங்குறிஞ்சி என்றும் இச்செய்யுளுக்கோர் பெயருண்டு.

பட்டினப்பாலை.—சோழன் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தானைக் கடியலூர் உருத் திரங்கண்ணனார் பாடியது. இஃது ஆசிரியஅடி விரவி வந்த ஏந்திசைத் தூங் கல் விரவியற்குறளடி வஞ்சிப்பாவாகலின் வஞ்சி நெடும்பாட்டு என்றும் பெயர் பெறும். இப் பாட்டு வேற்று நாட்டகல்வயின் விழுமத்துத் தலைவன் செல வழங்கிக் கூறியது. பட்டினத்தைச் சிறப்பித்துக் கூறிய பாலைத்திணையாகலின் இதற்குப் பட்டினப்பாலை என்னும் பெயர் வந்தது. கடியலூர் உருத்திரங் கண்ணனார்க்குப் பதினாறு நூறாயிரம்பொன் பரிசளித்து இப் பாட்டைக் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தான் கொண்டானென்பது “தழுவு செந்தமிழ்ப் பரிசில் வாணர் பொன் பத்தொ டாறுநூ ருயி ரம்பெறப் பண்டு பட்டினப் பாலை கொண்டதும்” என்னுங் கவிங்கத்துப் பாணி வரிகளால் அறியக்கிடக்கிறது.

மலைபடுகடாம்.—பல்குன்றக் கோட்டத்து நன்னனை இரணிய முட்டத் துப் பெருங்குன்றூர்ப் பெருங்கெளசிகனார் பாடியது. இதற்குக் கூத்தராற் றுப் படையென்றும் பெயருண்டு. இந் நூலில் மலைக்கு யானையை யுவமித்து அதன்கட் பிறந்த ஒசையைக் கடாமெனச் சிறப்பித்திருப்பதால் மலைபடுகடாம் எனப் பெயர் வாய்ந்தது.

பதினெண்கீழ்க்கணக்கு

நாலடியார்.—இந் நூலில் ஒவ்வொரு வெண்பாவும் ஒவ்வொரு ஐனை முனிவரால் பாடப்பட்டது. அறத்துப்பால் 13 அதிகாரம் 130 வெண்பாக் களும், பொருட்பால் 26 அதிகாரம் 260 வெண்பாக்களும் ஆக 400 வெண் பாக்க ளடங்கியது. பதினெண்கீழ்க்கணக்கில் முதன்மையாகக் கொண்டாடப் படுவன திருக்குறளும் நாலடியாரும். நாலடியார் ஐனை முனிவரால் பாடப் பட்டதேனும், அது எம்மத்தாரானுங் கொண்டாடப்படுகிறது. இதிலடங்கிய நீதிகளும் விதிகளும் மிகமிகச் சிறந்தன. சிறுவர்களும் பெரியோர்களும் இந் நூலைப் பாடும் பண்ணுவது இன்னும் தமிழ்நாட்டில் நடந்துவருகிறது.

நான்மணிக்கடிகை.—விளம்பி நாகனாரா வியற்றப்பட்டது. கடவுள் வாழ்த்துள்பட 101 வெண்பாக்களையுடையது. சிறந்த நீதி நூல். செய்யுள் தோறும் நான்கு நீதிக ளடங்கியுள்ளன.

கார் நாற்பது.—மதுரைக் கண்ணங்குத்தனா ரியற்றியது. கார்காலத்தைச் சொல்லும் 40 செய்யுட்களை யுடையது.

களவழி நாற்பது.—41 வெண்பாக்களை யுடையது. பொய்கையார் இயற் றியது.

இன்ன நாற்பது.—கபிலரியற்றியது. இன்னாதன விளைவிப்பன இவை யென்று செய்யுள்தோறும் கூறுவது.

இனியவை நாற்பது.—மதுரைத் தமிழாசிரியர் மகனார் பூதஞ்சேந்தனா ரியற்றியது. 40 செய்யு ளுடையது. இனிமை பயக்கத்தக்கன இவை எனக் கூறுகின்றது.

ஐந்திணை ஐம்பது.—மாறன்பொறையனா ரியற்றிய 50 செய்யுட்களை யுடையது. உரிப்பொருளாகிய இருத்தல், புணர்தல், பிரிதல், ஊடல், இரங்கல் என்னும் ஐவகை ஒழுக்கங்களையும் முறையே முல்லை, குறிஞ்சி, பாலை, மருதம், நெய்தல் என ஐந்திணையாக வைத்து ஒவ்வொரு திணைக்கும் பத்துப் பத்துப் பாட்டாகப் பாடப்பட்டதால் ஐந்திணை ஐம்பது எனப் பெயர் பெற்றது.

திணைமலை நூற்றைம்பது.—மதுரைத் தமிழாசிரியர் மாக்காயனார் மாணாக்கர் கணிமேதாவியார் இயற்றியது. அகணைந்திணைக்கும் திணைக்கு முப்பது முப்பது வெண்பாக்களாக நூற்றைம்பது வெண்பாக்களை யுடையது.

திணைமொழி ஐம்பது.—சாத்தந்தையார் மகனார் கண்ணன்சேந்தனா ரியற்றியது.

ஐந்திணை எழுபது.—மூவாதியார் இயற்றியது.

திரிக்குறள்.—இந் நூல் வள்ளுவரா வியற்றப்பட்டது. இதனை முப்பா லென்றுங் கூறுவர், தமிழ் வேதமென்றுங் கூறுவர். இந் நூலில் அரிய பெரிய விஷயங்கள் அடங்கிக்கிடக்கின்றன. எல்லா மதத்தரும் தேசத்தவரும் கொண்டாடி வருகின்றனர். பல பாலைகளிலும் மொழி பெயர்த்துள்ளார் கள். இது முப்பாலென்று பெயர்பெறினும் நார்பாலையும் இதில் நன்கு காண லாம். 1330 குறள் வெண்பாக்கள் அடங்கியது. அறத்துப்பாலில் 38 அதி காரத்திலும் 380 பாக்களும், பொருட்பாலில் 70 அதிகாரத்திலும் 700 பாக் களும், காமத்துப்பாலில் 25 அதிகாரத்தும் 250 பாக்களும் ஆக மொத்தம் 1330 பாக்க ளுள்ளன.

திரிகடுகம்.—நல்லாதனா ரியற்றியது. கடவுள் வாழ்த்துள்பட 101 வெண் பாக்களை யுடையது. திரிகடுகம் என்பன சுக்கு, திப்பிலி, மிளகு ஆம். இவை மக்களுக்கு வியாதியைப் போக்கி நன்மை பயப்பதுபோல் நன்மை பயக்கும் மூன்று உபாயங்கள் ஒவ்வொரு வெண்பாவிலும் சொல்லப்பட்டுள்ளன.

ஆசாங்க்கோவை.—பெருவாயின் முள்ளியா ரியற்றியது. தற்சிறப்புப்பா யிர முள்பட 101 பாடல்களை யுடையது. ஒழுக்கத்தின் விதியைச் சொல்லுவது.

பழமொழி.—மூன்றுறை யரையனா ரியற்றியது. அவர் ஐனைர். 400 வெண்பாக்களை யுடையது.

சிறுபஞ்சமூலம்.—காரியாசான் இயற்றியது. சிறு பஞ்சமூலமாவன கண்டங்கத்தரிவேர், சிறுவழுதுணைவேர், சிறுமல்லிவேர், நெருஞ்சில்வேர், பெருமல்லிவேர் என்பன. ஒவ்வொரு வெண்பாவிலும் நன்மை பயக்கத்தக் கனவாய் ஐந்து நீதிக ளுள்ளன.

முதுமொழிக்காஞ்சி.—கூடலூர்கிழா ரியற்றியது. ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் பத்து நீதிவாக்கியங்க ளடங்கிய பத்துப் பகுதிகளை யுடையது. காஞ்சித்திணைப் பொருளைச் சொல்வதனால் காஞ்சி எனப் பெயர் வாய்ந்தது.

ஏலாதி.—கணிமேதாவியா ரியற்றியது. கடவுள் வாழ்த்துள்பட 81 செய்யுட்களை யுடையது. இயற்றியவர் ஐனைர். ஏலம், இலவங்கம், சிறு நாவற்பூ, மிளகு, திப்பிலி, சுக்கு இவ்வாறும் ஒன்றுமுதல் ஆறு வராகனடை களாகச் சேர்த்த சூர்ணம் தேகத்துக்கு நன்மை பயப்பதுபோல் ஆறு நீதிகளைப் புகட்டி நன்மை பயப்பது. பெயர்க் காரணமும் இதனால் விளங்கும்.

கைந்நிலை.—இதனை மாறேகத்து முள்ளிநாட்டு நல்லூர்க் காவிதியார் மகனார் புல்லங்காடனார் இயற்றினார். இஃது அகத்திணைபற்றிய ஒரு சிறு நூல். ஒவ்வொரு திணைக்கும் 12 வெண்பாவாக, 60 வெண்பாக்களான் இயன்றது. இந்நூல் இளம்பூரணராதிய பழையவுரைகாரர்களால் எடுத்தாளப்பட்டது.

தொல்காப்பியம்.—அகத்தியமா முனிவருடைய மாணுக்கர் பன்னிரு வருள் தலைமை பூண்டவரான தொல்காப்பியராவியற்றப்பட்டது. இது எழுத்து, சொல், பொருள் என மூன்று பகுதிகளை இலக்கண நூல் யுடையது. பண்டைத்தமிழ் மக்களது ஒழுகலாற்றினை உணர்த்துவதற்கு இது ஓர் அரிய பெரிய கருவியாகும். தமிழ் இலக்கண நூல்களுள் இத்துணைச் சிறப்புடைய வேறு நூல் இல்லை யென்றே சொல்லலாம்.

மேலே சங்கநூல்களைப்பற்றிப் பார்த்தோம். இனி அவைகளின் சிறப்பி யல்புகளைப்பற்றிய சில விஷயங்களை ஆராய்வோம்.

(1) மொழியின் சிறப்பியல்பு

தமிழ்ப் பாஷையானது மிக மிக விரிந்த பரப்பினையுடையதும் வட மொழிக்கு முற்றும் புறம்பான இலக்கிய இலக்கண வமைதியுடையதுமான ஒரு தனிமொழியே. என்றாலும் ஆதிகாலந்தொட்டே திசைமொழிகளும் வடமொழிகளும் கலப்புள்ளனவாகச் சிலநூல்கள் தோன்றியுள்ளன.

வடமொழிக்
கலப்பு

1. “இயற்சொல் திரிசொல் திசைச்சொல் வடசொலென் றனைத்தே செய்யு ளீட்டச் சொல்லே”
2. “செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தும் தங்குறிப்பினவே திசைச்சொற் கிளவி”
3. “வடசொற் கிளவி வடஎழுத் தொரீஇ எழுத்தொடு புணர்ந்த சொல்லா கும்மே”

என்றார் தொல்காப்பியர்.

திசைமொழி என்பன தமிழ்நாடு நீங்கலான வேறு நாட்டுப் பாஷைகளி னின்றும் தமிழில் வந்தடைந்து அருகி வருவன. இவை வியாபார நிமித்த மாகவும் பிறகாரணங்களின் நிமித்தமாகவுந் தமிழரும் மற்றோரும் பழகும்படித் துத் தமிழிற் புகுந்தன. பின்னர் அரசாட்சி சம்பந்தமாகவும் பல சொற்கள் கலக்க லாயின.

வடமொழியாவது ஸம்ஸ்கிருத பாஷையிலிருந்து தற்சமமாகவும் தற்பவ மாகவும் தமிழ்மொழிக்கண் வழங்கிவருவன. இந்தியாவில் குடியேறிய ஆரியர் கள் தென்னிந்தியாவிலுள்ள தமிழர்களிடையே குடியேறினர். அவர்கள் வழியாய் நூல்வழக்கிலும் உலகவழக்கிலும் வடமொழிச் சொற்கள் பெரும் பான்மையாய்ச் சமயங்களையும் சமயாசாரங்களையும் சில தொழிற்றுறைகளையும் சாஸ்திரங்களையும் தத்துவ ஆராய்ச்சிகளையும் ஒட்டிச் சேரலாயின.

சங்க காலத்துத் தமிழ்நூல்களைப் பார்ப்போமாயின் அவை சமணர்களும் சைவர்களும் வைணவர்களுமான பல மதத்தைச் சேர்ந்த புலவர்களா லியற்றப் பெற்றனவென்பது நன்கு தெரிகிறது. அப்போதும் சில வடசொற்கள் தமிழோடு சேரலாயின. தமிழ்ப் புலவர்கள் தமக்கு வேண்டிய சொற்களை தங்கள் எழுத்திலக்கண விதிகளுக்குத் தக்கவாறு திரித்து மேற்கொள்வாராயினர். ஆரியச் சொற்கள் தமிழில் வருவதற்கேற்ற விதிகளும் வகுத்தனர். அஃதன்றியும் சைனர் முதலியோர் ஆரியரது ஆசாரங்களுட் பலவற்றை மேற்கொண்டனர்; அப்போது வடமொழியில் விசேஷ கௌரவமுடையவராய் அதனைப் பெரிதும் பயில்வாராயினர். ஆகவே வடமொழியை நன்குணர்ந்தனர். இவர்கள் தமிழ்மொழியையும் அப்பியசிக்கப் புகுந்து, நூல்களியற்றவுஞ் செய்தனர். அத்தருணத்தில் தமிழின் கண்ணே அளவிற்றந்த வடசொற்களை ஏற்றினர்.

இங்ஙனம் வந்த சொற்களின் தொகுதியைத் தமிழிற்கே யுரிய சொற்களின் தொகுதிகளோடு ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்க்குமிடத்து சங்ககால இலக்கியங்களில் நூற்றுக்கு இரண்டொரு சொற்களே காணப்படுகின்றன. உதாரணமாக நான் மணிக்கடிகையில் 20 வடசொற்களே யுள்ளன. திருக்குறளில் ஒரு அதிகாரத்திற்கு ஒரு சொல்தானுங் காண்பதரிதே. இவ்வாறே பல நூல்களிலுஞ் சில காணப்படுகின்றன. அக்காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் வடசொற்களை அகற்றும் ஆற்றலுடையவர்கள்தாம்; தமிழ் மொழியுந் தனித்தியங்குந் தன்மையுடையதென்பதையும் அறிந்தவர்தாம். என்றாலும் வடமொழி கலப்பதால் பாஷை விருத்தியாகுமென்ற நோக்கத்தோடே எடுத்தாண்டிளரென்பது விளங்குகிறது. அவ்வாறு அவர்கள் கையாண்டு வந்ததாற்றான் அக்காலத்து நூல்கள் செம்மையாக அமைந்துள்ளன. ஆனால் அக்காலத்து இலக்கியங்களைப் புலவரியற்றும்போது சித்திரமெழுதுபவன் தான் எழுதும் வடிவின்மீது பல வன்னங்களையும் வாரி இறைக்காமல் அவ்வவ்வுறுப்பின் நலனும் ஒளியும் ஆராய்ந்தறிந்து அதற்கிசைய வன்னந் தீட்டுவதுபோலத் தமது யாப்பில் இடனறிந்து வடதிசைச் சொற்களைச் சுருக்கியும் பெருக்கியும் வழங்கியுள்ளார்கள். ஆகவே சங்ககாலத்து இலக்கியங்களில் மொழிக்கலப்புக் காணப்படினும் அவ்விலக்கியங்களின் தன்மையை நோக்குவோமாயின் அவை தமிழ்நாட்டின் ஐந்திணை வளங்களையுங்குடிகளின் நிலைமைகளையும் அற்றைநா ள்ரசர் பெருமைகளையும் அன்றாது சிறப்பினையுங் கூறுபவைகளே. மேலும் தமிழுக்கேயுரிய அகப்பொருள் புறப் பொருட்களைப் பலவகையாக விரித்து இயம்புகின்றன. ஆசாரக்கோவை யொழிந்த மற்றைய கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்களெல்லாம் அகப்புறப்பொருளான உலகியனெறியும் வீட்டுநெறியுங் கூறும் இலக்கியங்களாம்.

எனவே சங்ககாலத்து இலக்கியங்களில் வடமொழிக்கலப்பு இருந்ததென்பது உண்மை. ஆனால் அவற்றின் ஆசிரியர்கள் வடமொழியிற் காணப்படும் விஷயங்களைக் கையாண்டிருப்பதாகக் கூறமுடியாது.

சங்ககாலத்து நூல்களிலுள்ள சொற்களை ஆராய்ந்து வகைப்படுத்தி அறிதல் தமிழறிஞர் செய்யவேண்டும் ஒரு முக்கியமான காரியமாகும். அதனை முறையாக இதுவரை யாவருஞ் செய்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. சொல்லின் வடிவு அதற்கு நிகண்டு முதலியன பெரிதும் பயன்படுமென்று

எண்ணுதற்கு மிடமில்லை. ஒருகால் 'திவாகரம்' என்ற நூல் மீட்டும் (நிகண்டு நூல்) பயன்படலாம். நாம் செய்ய வேண்டுவது சங்க கால இலக்கியங்களிலுள்ள சொற்களை முறையே தொகுத்து அகராதிச் கிரமப்படுத்தி அவற்றிற்கு உரை காரர்கள் கொடுத்துள்ள பொருள்களையும் நன்குணர்ந்து தனிப்பட ஆராய் வதுவேயாகும். இவ்வாறு நாம் ஆராய்ச்சி செய்தால் சில முக்கியமான முடிபுகள் பெறப்படும். அவற்றைத் தொகுத்துக் கீழே தருகிறேன்.

முதலாவது பாகதச் சிதைவு. முற்காலத்திலே வடமொழிச் சொற்களை அவ்வாறே எடுத்து அவ்வாறே ஆளுதல் தமிழ்நூல்வழக்கிலில்லை. அவற்றைப் பாகதச் சிதைவிலிருக்கின்ற வடிவிலேயே தமிழில் பாகதச் சிதைவு வழங்குதல் பெரும்பான்மை. உதாரணமாக, பாசி, ஊசி என்ற சொற்களை எடுத்துக்கொள்க. இச் சொற்கள் புறநானூற்றின்கண்ணே பயின்று வருகின்றன. பாசி என்பது 'ப்ராசி' என்ற வடமொழியின் பாகதச் சிதைவாகும்; இதன் பொருள் கிழக்கு என்பதாகும். ஊசி என்பது 'உஜீசி' என்ற வடமொழியின் பாகதச் சிதைவாம்; இதன் பொருள் வடக்கு என்பது. இங்ஙனமாகப் பாகதச் சிதைவுச் சொற்களே சங்ககாலத்து நூல்களில் கலந்து காணப்படுகின்றன. இவற்றையுந் தனித் தமிழ்ச்சொற்களையும் வேறு பிரித்து அறிதல்கூடச் சிற்சில இடங்களில் கூடா தாகின்றது. இது தமிழ் ஒலிக்கும் பாகத ஒலிக்குமுள்ள நெருங்கிய தொடர்பினை ஒருவாறு குறிக்கின்றதெனக் கொள்ளுதலுமாம்.

இவ்விதப் பாகதச் சிதைவுச் சொற்களையன்றி இலக்கண முடிபுச் சொற்களும் பல அக்காலத்து நூல்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. இனி இலக்கண முடிபுச் சொற்களை ஒரு சிறிது விளக்குதல் நலம். உலக இலக்கண முடிபுச் சொற்களை ஒரு சிறிதும் பயின்றுவாராது சில இலக்கண விதி சொற்கள் களைத் தழுவி வடிவு வேறுபட்டுப் பொருளுணர்ந்துஞ் சொற்களையே நாம் ஈண்டுக் கருதுவது. உதாரணமாக 'விரைஇக்கொண்மென' என்ற தொடரினைக் காண்க (புறம் 152). இங்கே 'விரைஇ' என்பது விரவி என்ற சொல்லின் பிறிதொரு வடிவாம். இதுவே போன்று 'தழீஇ', 'நிலைஇ' முதலிய சொற்களும் வழங்கப்படுகின்றன. இவை யெல்லாம் உலக வழக்கின்கண் எக்காலத்தேனும் பயின்றுவந்தனவெனக் கூற யாருந் துணியமாட்டார்கள். எக்காலத்தும் உலக வழக்கிற்குஞ் செய்யுள் வழக்கிற்குஞ் சிறிது பேதமுண்டு. இப் பேதத்தினை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட இவ்வகை இலக்கண வடிவுச் சொற்கள் தமிழில் வழங்கலாயின. 'கொண்மென' என்பது பிறிதொரு இலக்கண முடிபுத்தொடராம். 'கொள்ளும் என' என்பது கொண்மென என நின்றது. இவ்வகையான இலக்கண முடிபுச்சொற்களையுந் தொடர்களையும் சங்ககாலத்து நூல்களில் நாம் மிகவும் அதிகமாகப் பார்க்கின்றோம். இலக்கண முடிபுச் சொற்களே யன்றி வழக் கொழிந்த சொற்களுஞ் சங்ககாலத்து நூல்களில் பயின்றுவரக் காண்கின்றோம்.

வழக்கொழிந்த சொற்களை இக்காலத்துள்ள ஒருசார் நூலாசிரியர்கள் மீண்டும் உழிர் கொடுத்து அவற்றைத் தம் நூல்களில் புகுத்தி எழுதி வரு

கின்றார்கள். ஆனால் இவர்கள் இச் சொற்களை வழங்குவது மிகவும் பரிசுடிக் கத்தக்க தொன்றும். இளம்பிராயத்தில் ஒரு குழந்தைக்கு நாம் ஆடை ஆப ரணங்கள் அணிகின்றோம். அந்த ஆடை ஆபரணங் களை வயது முதிர்ந்தகாலத்து அணிந்தால் அப்பொழுது அது மிகவும் விகாரமாய்த் தோன்றுவது நிச்சயம்.

வழக்கொழிந்த சொற்கள்
இதற்கொப்பிடலாம் வழக்கொழிந்த சொற்களை இக் காலத்தார் புகுத்தி எழுதுதல். ஆனால் சங்ககாலத்திலோ அவைகள் தக்க காம் பீரியத்தோடு விளங்குகின்றன. அவற்றோடு இயைந்துவரும் பிற சொற்களும் வாக்கிய நடையும் செய்யுளமைதியும் அத்துனை ஒன்றோடொன்று பொருத்த மாக உள்ளன. நம்மூதாதையர்க ளியற்றிய அரிய செய்யுட்செல்வமெனப் போற்றுதற்கு நமது மனம் உவப்புக்கொள்ளுகின்றது. உதாரணமாக, இரண் டாயிரம் வருடங்களுக்கு முன்பு ‘அதோளி’, ‘இதோளி’ என்ற சொற்கள். செய்யுட்களில் ஒரு காலத்தில் வழங்கிவந்தன. இம்மாதிரியான சொற்களைப் பெரிதும் பாராட்டியும் வந்தனர். இப்போது இவைகள் வழக்கொழிந்த சொற் களாக மாறின. அச் சொற்களை உபயோகிப்போர் மதிப்பாரின்றி இகழப்படுவர். இங்ஙனமெழுதுவார் சுவையும் போலிச்சுவை யெனப் பலரும் ஓர் பக்கம் ஒதுக்குவர்.

பரிபாஷைச் சொற்கள்
அக்காலத்தில் பரிபாஷைச் சொற்களும் அருகி வழங்கி வந்ததாக அவ் விலக்கியங்களா லறிகிறோம். பரிபாஷை ஒரு கூட்டத்தார் அல்லது ஒரு வர்க் கத்தார் அல்லது ஒரு தொழிலாளர் அல்லது ஒரு மதத் தார் அல்லது ஒரு கலைவல்லார், இவர்களாற் சங்கேத பதங்களாக வழங்குவன. உதாரணமாக, சைவ அடியார் கள் மற்றைச் சைவ அடியார்களுக்கு அன்னதானஞ் செய் வர். இவ்வாறு செய்யுந் தருமத்திற்கு ‘மகேச்சுவர பூசை’ எனப் பெயரிட்டு வழங்குவர். இதேவிதமாக வைணவர்கள் ஓரிடத்திலிருந்து மற்றோர் இடத் திற்கு வந்து சேரும்போது ‘விடைகொள்ளுதல்’ என்ற சொல்லை வழங்குவர். அப்பதத்துக்கு வந்துசேர்தல் என்பது பொருளாகும். வைத்தியநூலில் மலையி லிருக்கிற கல்லை யெடுத்துவந்து தலையிற்போட்டால் தலைவலி போமென்று ஒரு பாடலில் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இஃது அசந்தர்ப்பமாகத் தோன்றும். ஆனால் தலைவலியை நிவர்த்திக்கக்கூடிய ஒரு செடிக்குக் ‘கல்லை’ என்பது பெய ரென்று அறியவேண்டும். இவைகளில் ‘மகேச்சுவர பூசை’, ‘விடை கொள் ளுதல்’, ‘மலையிலிருக்கிற கல்லை’ என்பன பரிபாஷைகளாம். இங்ஙனமாயுள்ள பரிபாஷைச் சொற்கள் பண்டைநூல்களில் மிகுதியாகக் காணப்படவில்லை.

இனி, செய்யுளைப்பற்றிய விஷயங்களைப்பற்றி ஒரு சிறிது ஆராய்ந்து பார்ப்போம்.

(2) செய்யுளின் அமைப்பு

சங்க இலக்கியங்களை ஆராய்ந்து பார்ப்போமாயின் எல்லா நூல்களுக்கு செய்யுட்களாகவே தோன்றியுள்ளன. நகை, அழகை, இளிவரல், மருட்கை, அச்சம், பெருமிதம், வெகுளி, உவகை என்ற எட்டுவகை யுணர்ச்சியும்

உயிரினங்களுக்கு, அவற்றுள்ளும் மேம்பாடுடைய மானிடருக்கு, உண்டாகிறது. இவை நேரிடும் ஒவ்வொரு சமயத்தும் மக்கள் இயல்பாகக் கூறியதெனக் கருத்தத்தும் ஒசை வேறுபாடுதோன்ற அக்காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் தங்கள் கருத்தை வெளியிட்டார்கள். ஒசை வேறுபாடுகள் சாதாரண சமயத்தில் மக்கள் பேசும்போது எத்துணை இயல்பாக உண்டாகுமோ அத்துணை இயல்பாகவே மக்கள் இதயத்தில் உணர்ச்சி ததும்பும்போதும் உண்டாவது. ஒவ்வொரு பாவையையும் பேசும் மக்களிடையிலும் அவரவர்களுடைய சுற்றுப்புறங்களுக்கும் இயற்கைகளுக்குந் தக்கபடியே இந்த ஒசை வேறுபாடு நிகழும். தமிழ் மக்களுந் தங்கள் இயற்கைக்குந் சுற்றுப்புறங்களுக்கும் பிற காரணங்களுக்குந் தக்கபடி ஒசை வேறுபாடுகளைக் காட்டித் தங்கள் உள்ளத்துணர்ச்சிகளைப் புலப்படுத்தினர். இவ்வாறு புலப்படுத்திய ஒசைகளின் பரிணாமமே பின்னால் செய்யுளாக விளைந்தது.

அச் செய்யுளை வெண்பா, ஆசிரியப்பா, கலிப்பா, வஞ்சிப்பா என நான்கு வகையாகப் பிரித்துச் செய்யுளிலக்கணமும் வகுத்தனர்.

இவ்வகைச் செய்யுளுக்குரிய உறுப்புக்கள் எழுத்து, அசை, சீர், தளை, அடி, தொடை என்பனவாம்.

எழுத்து.—உயிர், மெய், ஆய்தம் என்பன.

அசை.—நேரசை, நிரையசையென இரண்டு வகைப்படும். அவைகளில் நேரசை நெடிலானாய் நேரசை, குறிலானாய் நேரசை, குறிலொற்றடித்த நேரசை, நெடிலொற்றடித்த நேரசையெனப் பலதிறப்படும். இம்மாதிரியே நிரையசைக்கும் வகுத்தனர்.

சீர்.—மேலே கூறிய அசைகள் தனித்தாவது இரண்டு முதலியன இணைந்தாவது நிற்பது. இது நான்கு வகைப்படும். என்றாலும் செய்யுட்குரிமைபூண்டு நிற்குந் திறமும் பிறவும் நோக்கி அகவற்சீர், வெண்சீர், வஞ்சிச்சீர், பொதுச்சீர், அசைச்சீர் என ஐந்துவகையாகவுங் கூறுவர்.

தளை.—சீரொடு சீர் புணர இடைநின்று இசைத்தொடர்ச்சியுற அவைகளைப் பிணிப்பது. இவை ஏழுவகைப்படும்: நேரொன்றாசிரியத்தளை, நிரையொன்றாசிரியத்தளை, வெண்சீர்வெண்டளை, இயற்சீர்வெண்டளை, ஒன்றிய வஞ்சித்தளை, ஒன்றாத வஞ்சித்தளை, கலித்தளை யென.

அடி.—இரண்டு முதலிய சீர்களைக்கொண்டு முடிவது. இது குறளடி, சிந்தடி, அளவடி, கழிநெடிலடி என்பன.

தொடை.—அடிகளிலும் சீர்களிலும் அமையுமாறு எழுத்து முதலியவற்றால் தொடுக்கப்பட்டிப் பூந்தொடைபோன்று செய்யுட்கு அழகுபெற நிற்பது. இவை மோனை, எதுகை, முரண், இயைபு, அளபெடை என்பன. இவை ஒவ்வொன்றும் தனித்தனி அடி, இணை, பொழிப்பு, ஒருஉ, கூழை, மேற்கதுவாய், கீழ்க்கதுவாய், முற்று என எட்டோடு பொருந்திவரும்.

மேலே கூறப்பட்ட உறுப்புக்களெல்லாம் அமைந்து நிற்க, சொற்களாலே பொருட்கிடனாகச் செய்யப்படுவது செய்யுள். செய்யுளென்பதற்குத் தூக்கு, கவி, பாட்டு, யாப்பு, தொடர்பு எனப் பல பெயர்களுண்டு. இது மேலே கூறியவாறு நான்கு வகைப்படும். அவற்றின் லக்ஷணங்களைப் பார்ப்போம்.

வேண்பா.—வெண்டளையும் அளவடியும் பெற்றுச் செப்பலோசையுடையதாய் வரும். இது ஐந்து வகைப்படும். குறள்வெண்பா, நேரிசைவெண்பா, இன்னிசைவெண்பா, பஃரெடைவெண்பா, சிந்தியல்வெண்பா என. குறள்வெண்பா இரண்டடியாய் வரும். அதிலும் சிறிது நெடிதாய் (அதாவது மூன்றடியாய்) சிந்தியல்வெண்பா வரும். நேரிசைவெண்பாவும் இன்னிசைவெண்பாவும் நாலடியாய் வரும். பஃரெடைவெண்பா ஐந்து முதலிய பலவடியாகி நீண்டவரும். இவை ஒருவிகற்பமாகவும் இருவிகற்பமாகவும் வரும்.

ஆசிரியப்பா.—அகவலிசையும் இயற்சீரும் அளவடியும் பெற்று ஏ, ஒ, ஈ, என், ஆ, ஐ என்றவற்றுள்ளே ஒன்றினை இறுதியிற் கொண்டு முடியுஞ் செய்யுள். இது நான்கு வகைப்படும். நேரிசை யாசிரியப்பா, இணைக்குறளாசிரியப்பா, நிலைமண்டிலவாசிரியப்பா, அடிமறிமண்டிலவாசிரியப்பா என.

கலிப்பா.—துள்ளலிசையுடையதாய்த் தாவு, தாழிசை முதலிய உறுப்புக்களைப் பெற்று நடப்பது கலிப்பா எனப்படும். இது மூன்று வகைப்படும் ஒத்தாழிசைக்கலி, வெண்கலி, கொச்சகக்கலி என.

வஞ்சிப்பா.—தனக்குரிய சீர் தளை அடிகளால் நடந்து தனிச்சொல் வரப் பெற்று அகவற் சுரிதகத்தான் முடிவுபெறும்.

மேலே கூறிய செய்யுட்களுக் குதாரணம் சங்கநூல்களிற் காணலாம். இனி, செய்யுட்குரிய விஷயங்களைக் கவனிப்போம்.

(3) செய்யுட்குரிய விஷயங்கள்

பண்டைக்காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் பல வர்ணத்தாரும், பல குலத்தாரும், பல சமயத்தாரும், பல தொழிலாளரும் ஆவர். வைத்தியம், கணிதம், சிற்பம், இசை முதலிய பல கலைகளிலும் நன்றாகத் தேர்ச்சியுள்ளவர்களு மாவர். பொருளை நினைந்து மனோபாவத்தைச் செலுத்தி ஒன்பது சுவையும் ஒருங்கே அமைத்துப் பாடல்களாகப் பாடியிருக்கிறார்கள். மேலும் யாப்பிலக்கணம் படித்து அதிலிருந்து வெறுஞ்சொற்களை மாத்திரம் அமைத்துப் பொருளில் லாது இடர்ப்பட்டவர்க ளல்லர். ஒசை, தாளம், அடி இவைகள் ஒழுங்குபட இயற்கையிலே அமைந்தவைகளாகப் பாடியிருக்கின்றனர். உண்மையை உள்ள வாறு செய்யுளில் காட்டியிருக்கின்றனர். பொருளாலும், இடத்தாலும், காலத்தாலும், தொழிலாலும், அளவாலும் நூல்களை வகுத்து, நதியை வர்ணிக்கும்போது உண்மையான நதியும், நாட்டையும் மலையையும் வர்ணிக்கும் போது உண்மையான நாடும் மலையும் படிப்போனுக்கும் கேட்போனுக்கும் முன்னேவந்து நிற்பனபோல உள்ளத்தைக் கவர்ந்துவிடும்படியாகப் பாடல்களை அமைத்துள்ளார். இதுதான் செய்யுட்குச் சிறப்புச் செய்வது. உதாரணமாக,

பயங்கெழு மாமழை பெய்யாது மாறிக்
கயங்களி முளியுங் கோடை யாயினும்
புழற்கா லாம்ப லகலடை நீழற்
கதிர்க்கோடு நந்தின் சுரிமுக வேற்றை
5 நாகிள வளையொடு பகன்மணம் புகுஉ

நீர்திகழ் கழனி நாடுகெழு பெருவிறல்
வான்றோய் நீள்குடை வயமான் சென்னி
சான்றோ ரிருந்த வவையத் துற்றோ
ஞசா கென்னும் பூசல் போல

- 10 வல்லே களைமதி யத்தை யுள்ளிய
விருந்துகண் டொளிக்குந் திருந்தா வாழ்க்கைப்
பொறிப்புண ருடம்பிற் றோன்றியென்
னறிவுகெட நின்ற நல்கூர் மையே.

(புறம் 266)

இம்மாதிரியே வீரத்தைப்பற்றிக் கூறும்போதும் மகிழ்ச்சியைப்பற்றிக் கூறும் போதும் வேறு எவ்விஷயங்களைப்பற்றிக் கூறினாலும் உண்மை தோன்றும்படியாகவே இருக்கும். கண்ணாற் கண்ட உண்மைகளை அவ்வாறு கூறி இருப்பதாற்றான் அக்காலத்துக் கவிகளுக்கு நடையழகு நன்றாக அமைந்திருக்கிறது.

வீரத்தைப்பற்றிய செய்யுள் வருமாறு:

‘நரம்பெழுந் துலறிய நிரம்பா மென்றோள்
முளரி மருங்கின் முதியோள் சிறுவன்
படையழிந்து மாறின னென்றுபலர் கூற
மண்டமர்க் குடைந்தன னாயி னுண்டவென்
முலையறுத் திடுவென் யானெனச் சினைஇக்
கொண்ட வாளொடு படுபினம் பெயராச்
செங்களந் துழவுவோள் சிதைந்துவே ருகிய
படுமகன் கிடக்கை காணூஉ
சுன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிதுவந் தனளே.’

(புறம் 278)

குறைபாடின்றி நிரம்பிய நல்வாழ்க்கையின் பெருமையை அடியில் வருஞ் செய்யுளால் உணரலாம்:

யாண்டுபல வாக நரையில் வாசுதல்
யாங்கா கியரென வினவுதி ராயின்
மாண்டவென் மனைவியொடு மக்களு நிரம்பினர்
யான்கண் டனையரென் னிளையரும் வேந்தனு
மல்லவை செய்யான் காக்கு மதன்தலை
யான்றவிந் தடங்கிய கொள்கைச்
சான்றோர் பலர்யான் வாழு மூரே.

(புறம் 191)

இவைபோன்ற செய்யுள் யாவும் ஆற்றொழுக்காகச் சென்று நேரே அமைந்து பொருள் செவ்விதின் விளங்கும்படியாக இருக்கின்றன. அவைகள் பல அரிய பெரிய விஷயங்களை நாம் அறிய வழிகாட்டிகளா யிருக்கின்றன. சொற்சுவை பொருட்சுவை மலிந்து காணப்படுகின்றன. பொருளின் இயற்கை

யழகும், தமிழ்ப்பாஷையின் இனிமையும், தெய்வங்களின் பெருமையும், நீதி களும், முடியுடை மூவேந்தர் மகிமையும், அவர்கள் கொடை, வீரம், நாகரிகம் முதலியனவும், வைதிக ஒழுக்கமும், மற்றும் சிற்றரசர் சேனைத்தலைவர் பலரு டைய சரித்திரங்களும், சங்கப்புலவர்கள் வரலாறும் ஆங்காங்கே செய்யுட்களிற் காட்டிப் பாடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. போர்முறைகளும் அதற்குரிய லக்ஷணங் களும், உவமை, கற்பனை சக்தி முதலியனவும் பார்த்து காண்கின்றன.

ஆகவே மேலே கூறிய விஷயங்களெல்லாம் செய்யுளில் அமைந்திருப்பது நன்கு புலனாகின்றது. இதோடு வரிப்பாட்டு, அம்மானை, தாலாட்டு, ஆற்றுவரி, ஊசல், கிளிக்கண்ணி, எம்பாவை, குரவைப்பாட்டு, வள்ளைப்பாட்டு, குதம்பைப் பாட்டு முதலியன வகுத்துப்பாடி அனுபவித்திருக்கிறார்கள். பின்னர் இச் செய்யுளுக்கு ஒரு விதி ஏற்படுத்தி அவைகளை முறைப்படுத்தினர். அதிலிருந்து பிற்காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் பலவிதமாகத் தொகுத்தும் விரித்தும் செய்யுளியற்ற லாயினர்.

ஒருவாறு சங்ககாலத்து இலக்கியத்தின் சிறப்பைப்பற்றிப் பார்த்தோம். இதற்கும் இடைக்கால இலக்கியத்திற்குமுள்ள வளர்ச்சியைப்பற்றிக் கவனிப் போம்.

III. இடைக்காலத்து இலக்கியங்கள்

கி. பி. மூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டு முதல் ஏழாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரையிலுமுள்ள கால அளவு இடைக்காலமாகும். இக்காலத்திற் ரோன்றிய நூல்கள் ஐம்பெருங் காப்பியத்தில் மேலே கூறியபடி மணிமேகலை சிலப்பதிகாரமும், இலக்கணநூல் களிற் களவியலும், பன்னிரு திருமுறைகளிற் சம்பந்தரும் திருநாவுக்கரசரும் செய்த 1 முதல் 6 திருமுறைகளும், நாலாயிரப் பிரபந்தங்களில் திருமழிசைப் பிரான் நம்மாழ்வார் முதலியோரது அருளிச்செயல்களும் பிறவுமாம்.

மணிமேகலை.—இது சீத்தலைச் சாத்தனார வியற்றப்பெற்றது. இந் நூல் கோவலன் மகள் (அதாவது மாதவி வயிற்றுப்பெண்) மணிமேகலை சிறு வயதில் றுறவுபூண்டு புத்தமத சந்நியாசினியாகி முக்திபெற்றதைக் கூறு கிறது. இதில் காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம் வஞ்சிமாநகர் கச்சியம்பதியென்னும் பெரிய நகரங்களைப்பற்றி விரித்துக் கூறியுள்ள பகுதிகள் அக்காலத்து நாகரிகச் சிறப்பையுங் கைத்தொழில் மேம்பாட்டையும் நகர வளத்தையும் விளக்கி அந் நகரங்களிலெல்லாம் சாத்தனார் நன்கு பழகிக் கண்டவற்றைக் கண்டவாறே அறி வித்திருக்கிற ரென்பதையும் காட்டுகிறது. சிறுபொழுது பெரும்பொழுது களின் வருணனைகள் இடையிடையே சுவையயக்கும் வண்ணம் இவரார் கூறப்பெற்றிருக்கின்றன. பௌத்த மதத்தின் பெருமைகளைப் பாராட்டிக்கூறு வது இந் நூல். ஆங்காங்கே பல இதிகாசக் கதைகளும் புராணக் கதைகளும் எடுத்த தாண்டிருக்கிறார். சோழ அரசர்களின் சரித்திரமும் இடையிடையே வந் துள்ளன.

சீலப்பதிகாரம்.—கோவலன் கண்ணகி சரிதத்தைவிரித்துக்கூறும் நூல். சொற்சுவை பொருட்சுவைகளிற் சிறந்துள்ளது. எவ்விஷயத்தைப்பற்றிச் சொன் னாலும் அவ் விஷயத்தை நேரிற் கண்டாற்போல மனத்திற்குத் தோன்றும்படி

நன்குபுலப்படுத்துகின்ற தெள்ளிய இனிய நல்ல நடையுள்ளது. தமிழ்நாட்டரசர் மூவருடைய இராஜதானிகளாகிய புகார் (காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம்), மதுரை, வஞ்சி என்னும் மூன்றன் பெருமைகளையும் விளங்கக் கூறுவது. முற்காலத்திருந்த பலவகைச் சாதியாருடைய ஒழுக்கம் முதலியவற்றை இக்காலத்தவர் எளிதிலறிய ஒரு கருவியாக வுள்ளது. தனது செல்வ முழுவதையும் மாதவியென்னும் விலைமகட்டுக் கொடுத்து வறுமையுற்ற கோவலன் வாணிகஞ் செய்து பொருள்தேடும் பொருட்டு மதுரைக்குச் சென்று தன் மனைவியான கண்ணகியின் சிலம்பென்னுங் காலணியை விற்கத்தொடங்குகையில் அயோக்கியனான பொற்கொல்லனது பேச்சை நம்பிப் பாண்டிய ராஜனால் அக்கிரமமாகக் கொல்விக்கப்பட்ட சரித்திரத்தை விரித்துக்கூறி அதன்மூலமாய்ச் சிறந்த நீதிகளைக் கற்பிப்பதால் இந் நூலுக்குச் சிலப்பதிகாரமென்னும் பெயர் உண்டாயிற்று. அன்றியும், இது நாடகவறுப்புக்களை அதிகமுடைமையால் நாடகக் காப்பியமென்றும் பெயர்பெறும். இந்நூல் முத்தமிழும் விரவப்பெற்றது. இதனை இயற்றினார் இளங்கோவடிகள். கண்ணகியின் செயலைக் கண்ணூரக் கண்ட குறவர்கள் செங்குட்டுவனோடு அவர் தம்பியான இளங்கோவடிகள் வீற்றிருக்கையில் அச் செய்தியை உரைத்துப்போக, அப்போது குட்டுவன் அச் செய்தியை வினவியதால் அவ் வரலாறு நடந்தவகையெல்லாம் மதுரைக் கூலவாணிகன் சாத்தனார் சொல்ல, அப்போது இது சிலம்பு காரணமாக ஏற்பட்டதால் சிலப்பதிகாரமென ஒரு நூல் செய்வோமென்று இளங்கோவடிகள் சொல்ல, அவ்வாறே சாத்தனார் அடிகளையே இயற்றும்படியாகக் கேட்டனர். அதன்படியே இந் நூல் செய்யப்பட்டது.

களவியல்.—களவின் சிறப்பு நோக்கிக் களவியல் எனப் பெயர்பெற்றது. இது களவியல் கற்பியலென்னும் இரண்டு இயல்களையுடையது. சங்கப்புலவருள் சிவபெருமான் ஒருவராக இருந்து இந்நூலை இயற்றியுள்ளார் என்பது ஒரு கதை. இதனை இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் என்பர். இந்நூலுக்கு நக்கீரர் உரை எழுதியுள்ளார்.

முதல் மூன்று தீருமுறைகள்.—திருஞானசம்பந்தரா லியற்றப்பட்ட தேவாரப்பதிகங்களாகும். சம்பந்தர் சீர்காழியில் கௌணிய கோத்திரத்தினராய்ச் சிவபாதவிருதயர் என்பார்க்குத் தவப் பயனாய் அவர் மனைவி பகவதியார் வயிற்றில் அவதரித்தார். இவருக்கு மூன்றாம் ஆண்டில் பொன் வள்ளத்துப் பாலூட்டிச் சிவபெருமான் ஆட்கொண்டார். இவர் புகலிவேந்தரென்றும் அழைக்கப்படுவர். இவர் காலத்தில் நெடுமாறன் என்னும் பாண்டிய அரசன் சைவசமயத்தை மறந்து சமணசமயம் புகுந்தான். அரசன் வழியே குடிகளுமிருந்தனர். ஆகவே சைவம் ஒளிமங்கி நின்றது. அப்போது அரசன் மனைவியால் இவர் பாண்டியநாட்டுக் கழைக்கப்பட்டார். அங்கே சமணரை வாதில் வென்று சைவசமயத்தை நிலைநிறுத்தினார். பின்னர்ப் பல புண்ணியஸ்தலங்களுக்குச் சென்று சிவபிரானைக் குறித்து நூற்றுக்கணக்காகப் பதிகங்கள் பாடினார். அவைகள் 1, 2, 3-ம் திருமுறைகள். பதிகங்கள் பண்ணொடு பக்திரசம் ததும்பி யாவரும் எளிதிற் கற்று ஆண்டவனருளைப் பெறுமாறு அமைந்துள்ளன. உதாரணம்:

மந்திர மாவது நீறு வானவர் மேலது நீறு
சுந்தர மாவது நீறு துதிக்கப் படுவது நீறு
தந்திர மாவது நீறு சமயத்தி லுள்ளது நீறு
செந்துவர் வாயுமை பங்கன் திருவால வாயான் திருநீறே.

4, 5, 6-ம் திருமுறைகள்.—இது திருநாவுக்கரசராவியற்றப்பட்டது. இவர் புகழ்நூலுக்கும் மாதினியாருக்கும் புதல்வராய் அவதரித்தார். வேளாள குலத் தைச் சார்ந்தவர். இவருக்குப் பெற்றோரால் இடப்பட்ட பெயர் மருணீக்கியார். இவரது சிறுபிராயத்தில் பெற்றோர் இறக்கவே இவர் சைவசமயம் விட்டகன்று சமணசமயம் புகுந்தனர். பிறகு இவர் தமக்கையான திலகவதியார் சிவபெருமானை நோக்கித் தவம்புரிந்து தம்பியை ஆட்கொள்ள வேண்டினர். அதன் படியே சிவபெருமான் மருணீக்கியாருக்குச் சூலைநோய் கொடுத்து, தன் புறுத்தி ஆட்கொண்டார். சூலைநோய் பொறுக்க முடியாத மருணீக்கியார் திருவதிகையில் வதியும் திலகவதியாரிடம் வந்து அவர் உபதேசத்தால் வீரட்டாணேசுரர்முன் “கூற்றாயினவாறு” என்னும் பதிகம் பாடினார். அப்போது அப் பாட்டின் இனிமை கண்டு அவ்வீசுரர் அவர்க்குத் ‘திருநாவுக்கரசர்’ எனப் பெயரிட்டுச் சூலைநோயையும் தீர்த்தருளினர். அதுமுதல் சைவப்பற்றும் பக்தியுங் கொண்டு பல புண்ணிய ஸ்தலங்களுக்குச் சென்று ஆண்டவன் முன்னிலையில் பக்திவெள்ளம் பெருகும் பல இனிமையான பதிகங்கள் பாடிவந்தார். அவைகளை ஒன்றாகத் திரட்டி 4, 5, 6-ம் திருமுறைகளாக வகுத்தனர்.

உதாரணம்:

மாதர் பிறைக்கண்ணி யானை மலையான் மகளோடும் பாடி
போதொடு நீர்சுயந் தேத்திப் புகுவா ரவர்பின் புகுவேன்
யாதுஞ் சுவடு படாமல் ஐயா றடைகின்ற போது
காதன் மடப்பிடி யோடுங் களிறு வருவன கண்டேன்
கண்டே னவர்திருப் பாதங் கண்டறி யாதன கண்டேன்.

திருச்சந்த விருத்தம்.—இது நாலாயிரப் பிரபந்தத்தில் ஒரு பகுதி. இவ்விருத்தம் திருமுழிசைப்பிராநு வியற்றப்பட்டது. விஷ்ணுவின் திருவுள்ளத்தில் படும்படியாக ஆழ்வார் தம்முடைய விருத்தத்தை விண்ணப்பஞ்செய்து ததநுபவவிரோதியான ப்ரக்ருதி ஸம்பந்தத்தை யறுத்துத்தந் தருளவேணுமென்று பாடியிருக்கிறார். இந்த ஆழ்வார் திருமுழிசையில் பார்க்கவருக்கும் கனகாங்கியாருக்கும் குமாரராகத் திருவவதரித்தருளினார். பிறந்தவுடன் ஒரு பிண்டம்போல் அவயவங்கள் தோன்றாது இருந்ததால் பெற்றோர்கள் ஒரு பிரம்பின் புதரின்மீழே போகட்டுப் போனார்கள். அவ்வுருவம் பெரிய பிராட்டியார் அநுக்ரஹத்தால் எல்லா வறுப்புக்களும் பரிபூரணமாய் ஜீவன்தோன்றிச் சிசுவாயிற்று. பின் பசிதாகத்தி லீடுபட்டுப் பால்வேண்டி அழுதுகொண்டிருந்தது. அவ்வளவில் பெருமாள் அங்கேயெழுந்தருளிப் பசிதாகம் தீரும்படி கடா

கூறித்து ஆராவமுதான தன் விக்ரஹசேவையைக் காட்டி மறைந்தார். இவர் பாடிய சந்த விருத்தத்துள் ஒன்று வருமாறு:

கால நேமி காலனே கணக்கி லாத கீர்த்தியாய்
ஞால மேழு முண்டிபண்டொர் பால னுய பண்பனே
வேலை வேவ வில்வளைத்த வெல்சி னத்த வீரநின்
பால ராய பத்தர்சித்தம் முத்தி செய்யும் மூர்த்தியே.

நான்முகன் அந்தாதி.—தேவதாந்தர பரத்வத்தை நிராகரித்துப் பகவத் பரத்தை ஸ்தாபித்துத் திருமழிசைப்பிரானால் பாடப்பட்டது.

திருவாசிரியம்.—நம்மாழ்வாரா லியற்றப்பெற்றது. இவர் காரியாருக்கும் உடையநங்கையாருக்கும் குமாரராகத் திருவவதரித்தருளினார். தாம்ப்ரபர்ணி என்னும் பொருநையாற்றின் கரையில் ஆழ்வார் திருநகரியென்று பெயர்பெற்ற திருக்குருகரில் பரம்பரையாக ஸ்ரீமந் நாராயணனுக்கு அடிமை செய்துவந்த வேளாள குலத்தில் பிறந்தவராவார்.

பெரிய திருவந்தாதி.—நம்மாழ்வார் தம் திருவுள்ளத்தைக் குறித்து எம் பெருமானுடைய அழகையுங் குணங்களையும் பேசி அடிமைசெய்வோம் என்று பாடி யிருக்கிறார்.

உதாரணம்:

முயற்றி சுமந்தெழுந்து முந்துற்ற நெஞ்சே
இயற்றுவா யெம்மொடுநீ கூடி—நயப்புடைய
நாவின் தொடைக்கிளவி யுள்பொதிவோம் நற்பூவைப்
பூவீன்ற வண்ணன் புகழ்.

மேலே காட்டிய இடைக்காலத்து இலக்கியம் சங்ககாலத்து இலக்கியத்தி லிருந்து எவ்வெவ் விஷயங்களில் எம்மாதிரியான வளர்ச்சியடைந்து விரிந் துள்ளதென்பதைப்பற்றி ஆராய்வோம். இவ்விடத்தில் இக்காலத்து மக்க ளுடைய நோக்கம் கிளர்ச்சி இவைகளை அறிதல் அவசியமாகும்.

இடைக்காலத்து மக்கள் சமய சம்பந்தமான கிளர்ச்சியை எங்கும் பரவச் செய்து அக்கிளர்ச்சியி லீடுபட்டு அதற்காக உழைப்பாராயினர். அவ் வுழைப்பில் வெற்றிபெறவுஞ் செய்தனர். சைவர்,

இடைக்காலத்துத் வைணவர், சமணர், பௌத்தர் முதலானவர்கள் அவ

தமிழ் மக்கள் ரவர் சமயத்தை ஸ்தாபிக்கவெண்ணிப் பெரிதும் முயன்ற

நோக்கம் னர். அற்புத சம்பவ நிகழ்ச்சிகளும் உண்மையாகவும்

போலியாகவும் காட்டுவாராயினர். மேலும் தங்கள்

தங்கள் சமயமே மேலானதென்று வாக்குவாதங்கள் செய்து போராடவுஞ்

செய்து வந்தார்கள். இதை யொட்டி அவரவர் கொள்கையை விளக்கும்

நூல்களும் பலமாதிரியில் இயற்ற ஆரம்பித்தனர். எனவே அக்காலத்திற்றேன்

றிய நூல்களெல்லாம் சமய ஆராய்ச்சிபற்றியவைகளாகவே இருந்தன. சமயப்

பெரியார்களும் கடவுளருளாற் றேன்றுவாராயினர். அவரவர்கள் சமயங்களி

லுள்ள உண்மைகளை விளக்கிப் பொதுமக்களுக்குப் புகட்டினர்.

இத்தருணத்திற்றான் சைவாசாரியர்களில் சம்பந்தரும், திருநாவுக்கரசரும் தோன்றினரென முன்னே குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் சரிதங்களை ஊன்றிப் பார்ப்போமாயின் பக்தியின் மகிமை நன்கு விளங்கும். அக்காலத்து மன்னர்களும் சமயப்பற்றுடையவர்களாகவே இருந்தார்கள். அப்பூதி அடிகள், சிறுத்தொண்டர் முதலான சிவனடியார்களும் இக்காலத்திலேதான் அவதரித் தனர். தருமம் தலைகாட்டி நின்றது. தமிழின் மணம் எங்குங் கமழ்ந்தது. சிவவேடம் மாத்திரம் பூண்டார்கூட மதிப்புடன் போற்றப்படுவாராயினர். இவ்வாறே ஆழ்வார்களும் வைணவ அடியார்களும் போற்றப்பட்டனர்.

எனவே இடைக்காலத்து இலக்கியங்கள் சமயச்சார்பானவை. சங்க காலத்து இலக்கியங்கள் இகவாழ்வி லீடுபட்டவை; அவை இல்லற வாழ்வையும் யுத்த முறைகளையும்பற்றிக் கூறுவன; இன்னும் அரசியல் விஷயங்களும் எடுத்துரைப்பன; அறம் பொருள் இன்பம் மூன்றையுங் கூறி வீட்டை மறைமுகமாக விளக்கிக்காட்டுவனவா யிருந்தன. ஆனால் இடைக்காலத்தில் மேற்குறித்தவாறு சமய சம்பந்தமான நூல்களும் அவற்றோடுசேர்ந்த புராண இதிகாசக் கதை களும் நீதிநூல்களும் வளர்ச்சியுற்று இகவாழ்வோடு பரவாழ்வுக்கு வேண்டிய யவைகளும் விரிவாகப் பாடல் ரூபமாக அமைந்து வேண்டிய இடங்களில் இசையும் அழகும் பொருந்தி மக்களைப் பரவசப்படுத்துவனவாயின.

சமயப்பற்று அதிகரிக்கத் தொடங்கவே யாவரும் வேதங்களை ஆராயப் புகுந்தனர். வேதநூல்களெல்லாம் ஆதியில் வடமொழியிலேயே யிருந்தன.

இடைக்காலத்துச் சோழர்களின் சிறப்பியல்பு ஆகவே அந் நூல்களின் கருத்துக்களையும் மொழிகளையும் அதிகமாகக் கையாண்டனர். சங்க காலத்தைப் பார்க்கி லும் இக்காலத்துத் தமிழ் நூல்களில் வடமொழிச்சொற் கள் மிகுதியாகக் கலக்க ஆரம்பித்தன. வடமொழிச் சொற்களும் கருத்துக்களும் அதிகமாகவே, இலக்கணங்

களும் அதற்குத் தக்கபடி வகுக்கலாயினர். அலங்கார சாஸ்திரம் நூதனமாக இயற்றப்பட்டது. வடமொழி நூல்களை மொழிபெயர்க்கவும் ஆரம்பித்தனர். வைணவ நூல்கள் பெரும்பாலும் வடமொழியை ஒட்டியே இருக்கின்றன. சங்க காலத்தில் நூற்றுக்கு ஒன்றிரண்டு வடசொற்களே யுள்ளனவென்று பார்த்தோம். இக்காலத்தில் வைணவ நூல்களில் 100-க்கு 50 சதமானமும் சைவ நூல்களில் 30 சதமானத்துக்குக் குறைவில்லாமலுமிருக்கின்றன. இக் காலத்தில் சாஸ்திரங்களையுஞ் சமயங்களையுங் கவனித்தார்களேயன்றி பாலைஷ வேறுபாட்டை அத்துணை நுணுக்கமாகக் கவனித்தார்களில்லையென்றே சொல்லலாம். அதனால் பாலைஷ வளர்ச்சிக்கு யாதொரு தீங்கும் நேரவில்லை.

பண்டைக்காலச் செய்யுட்கள் செறிவுடையனவாயும் பேச்சு வழக்கின் தன்மையை மிகுதியாகப் பெற்றும் உயர்வு நவீற்சி முதலிய அலங்காரங்களின்றிக்

இடைக்காலத்துச் செய்யுட்கள் களால் தெளிவாய் உணர்த்தும் இயல்பையுடையன.

செய்யுணலம் இடைக்காலத்துச் செய்யுட்கள் சிறிது நெகிழ்ச்சிபெற் றுங் கருதிய பொருளை உயர்வு நவீற்சி முதலிய அலங் காரங்களால் அணிபெறக் கூறியும் பேச்சு வழக்கின் தன்மையைச் சிறிது கை

நெகிழ்விட்டும் விருத்தம் முதலியவற்றின் ஓசைகளிலேயே அமைந்திருந்து செல்லும் இயல்பையுடையன. முற்காலத்துச் செய்யுளின் தன்மையோடு பிற்காலத்துச் செய்யுளின் தன்மையும் ஒருங்கமையவே இயற்கையிலே அழகுடைய ஓர் நங்கைக்கு அவளுக்குகந்த ஆபரணங்களைப் பூட்டிச் செயற்கை அழகும் பொலிவுற வைப்பதுபோன்றிருந்தது இடைக்காலத்துச் செய்யுளானது. இருகாலங்களிலுமுள்ள செய்யுள் நடையை உதாரண முகத்தாற் பார்ப்போம்.

சங்க காலத்துச் செய்யுள்:

பாரி பாரி யென்றுபல வேத்தி
யொருவற் புகழ்வர் செந்நாப் புலவர்
பாரி ஒருவனு மல்லன்
மாரியு முண்டின் டிலகுபுரப் பதுவே.

(புறம், 107)

- ஒங்குமலைப் பெருவிற் பாம்புஞாண் கொளீஇ
யொருகளை கொண்டு மூவெயி லுடற்றிப்
பெருவிற் லமர்க்கு வென்றி தந்த
கறைமிடற் றண்ணல் காமர் சென்னிப்
- 5 பிறைநுதல் விளங்கு மொருகண் போல
வேந்து மேம்பட்ட பூந்தார் மாற
கடுஞ்சினத்த கொல்களிறுங் கதழ்பரிய கலிமாவு
நெடுங்கொடிய நிமிர்தேரு நெஞ்சுடைய புகன்மறவருமென
நான்குடன் மாண்ட தாயினு மாண்ட
- 10 வறநெறி முதற்றே யரசின் கொற்ற
மதனால் நமரெனக் கோல்கோ டாது
பிறரெனக் குணங்கொல்லாது
ஞாயிற் றன்ன வெந்திற் லாண்மையுந்
திங்க ளன்ன தண்பெருஞ் சாயலும்
- 15 வானத் தன்ன வண்மையு மூன்று
முடையை யாகி யில்லோர் கையற்
நீநீடு வாழிய நெடுந்தகை தாழ்நீர்
வெண்டலைப் புணரி யலைக்குஞ் செந்தி
னெடுவே ணிலைஇய காமர் வியன்றுறைக்
- 20 கடுவளி தொகுப்ப வீண்டிய
வடுவா ழெக்கர் மணலினும் பலவே.

(புறம், 55)

இவைகளில் மேலே கூறிய இயல்புகளைப் பார்க்கலாம்.

இடைக்காலத்துச் செய்யுள்:

குரவம்கமழ் நறுமென்குழல் அரிவையவள் வெருவ
பொருவெங்கரி படவென்றதன் உரிவையுடல் அணிவோன்
அரவும்அலை புனலும்இள மதியும்நகு தலையும்
விரவுஞ்சடை யடிகட்கிடம் விரிநீர்விய லூரே.

(சம்பந்தர் தேவாரம்)

செழுநீர்த் தடத்துக் கயல்மிளிர்ந் தாலொப்பச் சேயரிக்கண்
அழுநீர் துளும்ப வலமரு கின்றன வாழியரோ
முழுநீர் முகில்வண்ணன் கண்ணன்விண் ணாட்டவர் மூதுவராம்
தொழுநீ ரிணையடிக்கே அன்பு சூட்டிய சூழ்குழற்கே.

(நம்மாழ்வார் திருவிருத்தம், 2.)

இவ்வாறாகச் செய்யுளின் தன்மை யேற்படவே சிற்சில இடங்களிற் பரி பாஷைச் சொற்களும் முன்னேவிட அதிகமாக வரலாயின. பண்டைக்காலத் திற் பாக்கள் மாத்திரம் தோன்றினவேயன்றிப் பாவினமும் பிரபந்தங்களும் தோன்றவில்லை. இவை சோழர் ஆட்சியிற்றான் அதிகமாக வளர ஆரம்பித்தன. என்றாலும் இடைக்காலத்தில் பாவினத்தில் விருத்தப்பாக்களும் பிரபந்தங்களில் அந்தாதி முதலியனவும் ஆரம்பமாயின. விருத்தத்தை ஆசிரியம், வெண்பா, கலி, வஞ்சி என்று நான்கு பாடல்களின்மேலும் சேர்ப்பாராயினர். அவை முறையே வெளிவிருத்தம், ஆசிரியவிருத்தம், கலிவிருத்தம், வஞ்சிவிருத்தம் என்பன.

வெளிவிருத்தம்.—இது செப்பலோசையும் வெண்சீரும் பெற்று மூன்றடி யானும் நான்கடியானும் முடிந்து அடிதோறும் முடிவிடத்திலே தனிச்சொற் பெற்று வரும்.

ஆசிரியவிருத்தம்.—கழிநெடிலடிகள் நான்காய்த் தம்முள் அளவு ஒத்து முடிவது குறைவுபடுதலில்லாத சீர்களையுடைய அகவல்விருத்தமெனப்படும். இது அகவலிசையும் இயற்சீரும் பெற்றுவரும். விருத்தங்களெல்லாஞ் சீர் வேறு வேறாக மாறிமாறித் தொகுக்கப்படும் வகையினால் வேறு வேறு சந்தம் பெற்றுப் பலவித பேதங்களால் வழங்கும். அவை அறுசீர் விருத்தம், எழுசீர் விருத்தம் முதலானவை.

கலிவிருத்தம்.—துள்ளலோசையுங் கலித்தனையும் பெற்று நாற்சீரடி நான்காய் முடியுமாயின் அது கலிவிருத்தமாகும்.

வஞ்சிவிருத்தம்.—வஞ்சிப்பாவுக்குரிய சீருந் தனையும் அடியும் பிறவும் பெற்று முச்சீரடி நான்காய் வருவது வஞ்சிவிருத்தமாகும்.

பிரபந்தவகையிலுள்ள அந்தாதி.—அந்தமாய் நிற்கும் எழுத்து, அசை, சீர் முதலியன ஆதியுமாய் நின்று தம்முனொன்றத் தொடுக்கப்படும் தொடை, அந்தாதித்தொடை யெனப்படும்.

உதாரணம்:

- (1) நான்முகனை நாரா யணன்படைத்தான் நான்முகனும்
தான்முகமாய்ச் சங்கரனைத் தான்படைத்தான்—யான்முகமாய்
அந்தாதி மேலிட் டறிவித்தே னுழ்பொருளை
சிந்தாமல் கொண்மினீர் தேர்ந்து.
- (2) தேருங்கால் தேவ நெருவனே யென்றுரைப்பர்
ஆரு மறியா ரவன்பெருமை—ஒரும
பொருள்முடிவு மித்தனையே யெத்தவம்செய் தார்க்கும்
அருள்முடிவ தாழியான் பால்.

(நான்முகன் அந்தாதி)

இதில் முதற்பாட்டில் 'தேர்ந்து' என்று முடிய அடுத்த பாட்டில் 'தேரும்' என்பது முதலாக அமையப்பெற்றிருக்கிறது.

IV. பிற்காலத்துச் சோழர் சரித்திரச் சுருக்கம்

தமிழ்நாட்டை ஆதிகாலந்தொட்டே சோ, சோழ, பாண்டியர் என்னும் மூவேந்தரும் ஆண்டுவந்தனர். கி. பி. மூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டிலிருந்து தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பிரபலமாக ஆண்டுவந்த அரசர்கள் சோழ ஆரம்பம் ராவர். இவர்கள் மிகவும் பலசாலிகளாக விருந்து அடிக் கடி சிங்களத்தின்மீது படையெடுத்துச் சென்று அந்நாட்டையும் த்நாட்டோடு சேர்த்துப் பலகாலும் ஆண்டுவந்ததாகத் தெரிகிறது. இவ்வாறிருக்கும்போது நான்காம் நூற்றாண்டில் பல்லவ வமிசத்தைச் சார்ந்த அரசர்கள் சோழர்களை வென்று அடக்கி ஆளத் தொடங்கினர். அப்போது சோழர்கள் சிற்றரசர் பதவியை யடைந்து பல்லவர் கீழிருந்து அரசாளவேண்டியதாயிற்று. என்றாலும் சோழ பாண்டியர்கள் சமயம் பார்த்துக்கொண்டே இருந்தனர். இதற்காகத் தங்களில் பெண்களைக் கொடுப்பதும் வாங்குவதுமான உறவுகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டனர்.

உத்தேசம் கி. பி. 760 ஆண்டுவரையும் பல்லவராட்சி சிறப்புடன் நிகழ்ந்தது. இந் நூற்றாண்டின் மத்தியில் பல்லவ அரசன் 'பரமேச்சுவர போத்தரையன்' இறந்தான். இவனுக்குப் பின் வந்த அரசர்கள் அத்துனை பலசாலிகளல்லர். ஆகவே சோழ ராஜ்யம் எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டிலிருந்து பிரபலமாகத் தொடங்கியது. ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டின் கடைசியில் பட்டஞ்சூட்டப்பெற்ற நிருபதுங்கவர்மன் என்னும் பல்லவனையும் அவனுக்குத் துணைபுரிந்து வந்த அவன் கீழ்ச் சிற்றரசனான முதல் பிருதிவிபதி என்பவனையும் சோழர்கள் யுத்தஞ் செய்து வென்றார்கள். விஜயாலயன் மகன் ஆதித்தன் காலத்தில் இச் சம்பவம் நடந்தது. இதுமுதல் கிராமமாக 13-ம் நூற்றாண்டுவரை அதாவது விஜயாலயன் காலம் முதல் மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கன் காலம்வரையிலும் சோழர் அரசாட்சி உன்னத நிலையிலிருந்தது.

இவ்வரசன் முதலில் தஞ்சாபுரியைப் பிடித்து அதை இராஜதானியாக்கி ராஜ்யத்தை ஸ்தாபித்தான். அங்கே தூர்க்கா தேவிக்கு ஓர் கோவில் கட்டு வித்தான். இவனுக்குப் பின் இவன் மகன் ஆதித்தன் பட் விஜயாலயன் டம்பெற்றான். இவன் காலத்திற்றான் நிருபதுங்கப் பல்லவ னுக்கும் சோழபாண்டியர்களுக்கும் அரைசூர், வேம்பில் முதலிய இடங்களில் போர் நடந்ததில் சோழர் சுவாதீனமடைந்தனர்.

ஆதித்தன் மகனாகிய பராந்தகன் கி. பி. 907-ல் பட்டம் பெற்றான். இவ னுக்கு வீரநாராயணனென்றோர் பெயருமுண்டு. இவ்வரசன் இராமனைப் போல் இலங்கையைப் பிடித்த காரணத்தால் 'சங்கிராம பராந்தகன்' என்கிறார் எனும் காரணப் பெயரும் பூண்டான். இராஜ வம்ம பாண்டிய அரசனையும் போரில் வென்றான். இத் தனால் "மதுரையும் ஈழமுங்கொண்ட கோப்பரகேசரி" என்று அழைக்கப்படுதலு முண்டு. பின்னர் இவன் வாணர்கள் நாடாகிய வாணகப்பாடியை வென்று கொண்டான். இவனால் வெல்லப்பட்டவர்கள் நான்காம் விஜயாதித்தனும் அவன் தந்தை வித்தியாதரனுமாவர். வாணகர் நாடாவது வடஆற்காடு தென் னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவாகும். இவன் 40 வருஷம் தன் இராஜ்யபாரத்தைச் சரிவர வகித்துக் காலஞ்சென்றான். இவன் மக்கள் முதல் இராஜாதித்தன், கண்ட ராதித்தன், அரிஞ்சயன், ஆதித்தன் என்பவர்கள்.

பராந்தக னிறந்ததும் அவன் மூத்த மகன் இராஜாதித்தன் கி. பி. 947-ல் முடிசூடினான். இவன் பட்டம் பெற்றதும் இராஷ்ட்ரகூட அரசர்மேற் படை யெடுத்தான். அக்காலத்தில் அரசாண்ட இராஷ்ட்ரகூட இராஜாதித்தன் மன்னன் கன்னரதேவன். இவன், சோழன் படையெடுத்து வருவதை அறிந்து தானும் ஒரு படையைத் திரட்டித் தக் கோலம் என்னுமிடத்தில் யுத்தஞ்செய்ய வந்தான். அதில் இராஜாதித்தன் ஜயம் பெற்றான். என்றாலும் தக்கோலத்திலிருந்து திரும்புமுன் இறந்துவிட் டான். இதை அறிந்த கன்னரதேவன் திரும்பவந்து சோழர் இராஜ்யத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியைத் தனது வசமாக்கிக்கொண்டான். மீதியான பாகத்தைக் கண்டரா தித்தனும் அரிஞ்சயனும் ஆண்டார்கள். இவர்கள் காலத்துச் சாஸனம் ஒன்றும் காணப்படவில்லை.

971-ல் கன்னரதேவ னிறந்தான். அப்பொழுது சோழர்கள் முன்போல் சுவாதீனமடைந்தார்கள். இத்தருணம் சோழவரசன் அரிஞ்சயன் மகன் இரண் டாம் பராந்தகன் ஆவன். இவனைப்பற்றி விரிவாக ஒன்றும் தெரியவில்லை. ஆனால் இவனுடையதும் இவன் பத்தினியுடையதுமான படிமங்களைச் சமைத்து தஞ்சாவூரில் இராஜராஜேசுவரத்தில் எழுந்தருளுவித்துப் பூசை நைவேத்தியங் கள் நடக்கும்படி இவர்கள் மகள் சூந்தவையால் ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்யப்பட்டன.

இவனுக்குப் பின் இவன் பெரியப்பன் மகன் மதுராந்தகன் அரசுகட்டி லேறினான். இவனுக்குப் பின் முதல் இராஜராஜன் பட்டம் பெற்றான்.

இவன் பட்டம்பெறப் பல இடையூறுகளிருந்தாலும் அவைகளை வென்று கி. பி. 985-ல் பட்டாபிஷேகஞ் செய்யப்பெற்றான். சிலகாலமாக க்ஷணதசை அடைந்த சோழ ராஜ்யம் இவன் காலத்தில் உன்னத ஸ்திதிக்குக் கொண்டி

வரப்பெற்று மறுபடியும் ஸ்தாபிக்கப்பட்டது. இவ்வரசன் முதற் பத்து வருஷ மாகத் தன்னாட்டைப் பலப்படுத்தினான். பின் காந்தளூர் என்னும் துறைமுகத் தில் சேரரை வென்றான். அமரபுஜிங்கன் என்னும் பாண்டி முதல் யனும் இவனால் வெல்லப்பட்டான். பிறகு கங்கபாடி, இராஜராஜன் துளம்பபாடி, வேங்கி நாடு, குடகு இவைகளைப் போரில் வென்று தன் இராஜ்யத்தோடு சேர்த்தான். ஈழமும் ஜயிக் கப்பட்டது. இவன் பாண்டிய அரசனையும் மற்றும் சிற்றரசர்களையும் வென்று வகசக்கிரவர்த்தியாக இருந்தான். இதனால் இவனுக்கு மும்முடிச் சோழன் எனப் பெயர் வழங்கி வந்தது.

இவ்வரசன் சிவபக்தன். இவன் மனைவிமக்களும் சைவ அபிமானிகளே. இவன் மனைவியரில் ஒருவரான திரைலோக்கிய மாதேவியார் திருவையாற்றில் இப்போது உத்தர கைலாசமென்று பெயர் பெறும் லோகமகாதேவீசரம் கட்டி வித்தார். பிருஹதீசரமென்னப்பட்ட இராஜராஜேசுவராலயம் இவ்வரசனால் கட்டப்பட்டது. இதனைப்பற்றித் திருவிசைப்பாவில் ஒரு பதிகம் பாடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

மேலும் இராஜராஜன் கல்விமான்களிடத்தும் மிக்க பற்றுடையவன். இவன் காலத்தில்தான் நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பிகளும் கண்டராதித்த தேவர் முதலிய திருவிசைப்பாவுடையாரும் வாழ்ந்தனர். திருமுறைகண்ட சோழனும் இவனே.

சைவப்பற்றிருந்தாலும் மற்றச் சமயங்களையும் வெறுத்தானில்லை. அது அவன் காலத்துச் சாஸனங்களாலும் ஜைன பௌத்த பள்ளிகளுக்கு இவ்வரசன் தன் பெயரிடச் சம்மதித்திருப்பதாலும் தெரிகிறது. இவனுக்குப் பின் இராஜேந்திர சோழதேவன் பட்டம்பெற்றான்.

இவன் கி. பி. 1012-ல் முடிசூடினான். இவனும் தன் தகப்பனைப்போலப் பல இராஜ்யங்களை ஜயிக்க முயன்றான். முதலில் இடைதுறை நாட்டையும் வனவாசியையும் கைப்பற்றினான். பின்னர்க் கோசலநாடு,

இராஜேந்திர இலாடதேசம், வங்காளம் இவைகளை வென்றதாகவும், சோழன் மகிபாலன் என்பவன் தலையில் கங்கா தீர்த்தம் நிரப்பிய குடமொன்றேற்றித் தன் இராஜதானிக்குக் கொண்டு

வரும்படி செய்ததாகவும் அவன் மெய்க்கீர்த்தி ஒன்று கூறுகிறது. இவன் கங்கைகொண்ட சோழபுரமென்று ஒரு நகரங்கட்டி அதில் கங்கை கொண்ட சோழீச்சுரமென்னும் ஓர் சிறந்த ஆலயமுங் கட்டினான். இதனைப் பற்றிக் கருவூர்த் தேவரால் அவர் திருவிசைப்பாவில் பாடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

இராஜேந்திர சோழன் இறந்தபிறகு இராஜாதிராஜன் அரசாண்டான் இவனும் தன் பாட்டனைப்போலக் காந்தளூர்ச் சாலையில் கலமறுத்ததாகத் தெரிகிறது. குந்தளரை அடக்கி அவர்கள் அரசனாகிய ஆஹவ

இராஜாதிராஜன் மல்லனையும் அவன் மகன் விக்கியையும் விஜயாதித்தனையும் தோற்கடித்துக் கொள்ளிப்பாக்கை என்னு மிடத்தில் தீயிட்டுக் கொளுத்தினான். இச் சண்டைகளுக்கு இவன் தம்பியான இராஜேந்திர தேவனென்பவன் மிக்க உதவியாக இருந்தான். கடைசியாக, சாளுக்கியருடன் கொப்பத்தில் போர்புரியும்போது இராஜாதிராஜன் உயிரிழந்தான்,

கி. பி. 1052-ல் இராஜேந்திரதேவன் பட்டம் பெற்றான். பட்டம்பெற்ற நாள்முதல் இவன் சாளுக்கியருடன் யுத்தஞ்செய்தான். முதலில் அபஜயம் ஏற்பட்டது. பிறகு உதவிக்குக் கொஞ்சம் சேனையைத்

இராஜேந்திர திரட்டித் திரும்பவும் யுத்தஞ்செய்து ஜயம் பெற்றான்.

தேவன் 1055-ல் இவன் ஆட்சியில் ஒரு பெரிய கூடம் வந்தது.

இவ்வரசனைப்பற்றிக் 'கோயிலொழுது' என்னும் வைணவ கிரந்தத்தில் கூறியிருக்கிறது: இவ்வரசன் ஸ்ரீரங்கத்தில் கோயிலில் ஒரு பிராகாரத்தைக் கட்டிவைத்தான், அதனால் அப் பிராகாரம் இராஜமகேந்திரன் திருவீதி யென்னும் பெயர்பெற்றது. இவனுக்குப் பின் வீரராஜேந்திரன் பட்டம் பெற்றான்.

இவ்வரசன் 'வீரசோழியம்' என்னும் இலக்கணத்தில் புகழ்ந்து பாடப் பட்டிருக்கிறான். சாளுக்கிய மன்னன் ஆஹவமல்லன் மகன் விக்கிரமாதித்தனுக்கும் வீரராஜேந்திரனுக்கும் 'கூடலம்' என்னுமிடத் வீரராஜேந்திரன் தில் ஒரு யுத்தம் நடந்தது. விக்கிரமாதித்தன், வீரராஜேந்திரனிடம் சரணமடைய, அவனுக்கு இரட்டபாடியையும் கொடுத்துத் தன் மகளையும் மணம்புரிவித்து இளவரசுப்பட்டங் கட்டினான்.

வீரராஜேந்திரனால் விஜயாதித்தனுக்கு வேங்கிநாடு கொடுக்கப்படவே அந்நாட்டு இளவரசனாகிய குலோத்துங்கன் நாடிழந்து துன்புற்றிருந்தான். அப்படி யிருக்கும்போது வீரராஜேந்திரன் இறக்கவும் அவன் மகன் அதிராஜேந்திரன் சோழ சிம்மாசனம் ஏறினான். குலோத்துங்கன் இவ்வரசன் வன்மையற்றவன். அதனால் குலோத்துங்கனுக்குத் தான் அரசனாகவேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணம் தோன்றினது.

அதற்காக மேனாட்டுச் சாளுக்கியனாகிய இரண்டாம் சோமேசுவரனுடன் சினைகித்து இருவருமாகச் சோழ ராஜ்யத்தின்மேல் படையெடுத்து அதிராஜேந்திரனைக் கொன்று, பரகேசரி இராஜேந்திர சோழ தேவனுக்கு தெளகித்திர பாத்தியங் கொண்டாடிக்கொண்டு சோழ ராஜ்யத்துக்கு அதிபதியானான். தெற்கே சோழநாட்டில் இதை அறிந்த சாளுக்கிய விக்கிரமாதித்தன் குலோத்துங்கனை எதிர்த்துத் தோல்வியுற்றுத் திரும்பினான். இவன் தாய்முறையில் சோழன், தந்தைமுறையில் சாளுக்கியன். இவனுக்கு இராஜேந்திர சோழன் என்றும் பெயருண்டு. இதைத் தவிர அநபாயன், அபயன், கரிகாலன், ஜயதரன் என்னும் பல பெயர்களும் உள்ளன.

இவ்வரசனைக் குறித்துப் பெரிய புராணத்திலும், தண்டியலங்காரத்தும், கலிங்கத்துப்பரணியிலும் பலவாறு புகழ்ந்திருக்கின்றது.

குலோத்துங்கன் சோழ ஆதிபத்யத்தை ஸ்திரப்படுத்தியதும் முதன்முதல் வேங்கிநாட்டைக் கைப்பற்றி அதில் தன் இரண்டாம் மகனாகிய இராஜராஜனைப் பிரதிநிதியாக வைத்தான். பின்னர் வனவாசி, கலியாணபுரம் இவைகளை வென்றான். பாண்டியநாட்டை எதிர்த்துக் கன்னியாகுமரி, கோட்டாறு இவ்விடங்களையும் தன்னாட்டோடு சேர்த்தான். சேரர்கள் கலங்களைக் காந்தளஞ்ச்சாலையில் இரண்டுதடவை யறுத்துத் திரும்பினான்.

இராஜ்யத்துக்குப் பல நன்மைகளைச் செய்தான். முதன்முதல் சுங்கங் களைத் தவிர்த்தான். இதனால் இவனைச் 'சுங்கந்தவிர்த்தசோழ'னென்று அழைத் தார்கள். இராஜ்யமுழுவதும் புதிதாக அளப்பித்து, ஆறிலொரு கடமையாக வரி யேற்படுத்தினான். பல ஏரிகளையும் கால்வாய்களையும் வெட்டிக் கிருஷிக்குத் தண்ணீர் உதவும்படி செய்தான். சிதம்பரத்தில் பேரம்பலம் பொன்வேய்ந் தான். இவ்வரசன் காலத்திற்குள் இவனது வேண்டுகோளால் சேக்கிழார் பெரியபுராணம் பாடினார். ஸ்ரீராமாதுஜாசாரிய ரிருந்ததும் இவன் காலமே. குலோத்துங்கன் சைவப்பற்றுள்ளவன். இவ்வரசனுக்குத் திருநீற்றுச்சோழ னென்றும் ஒரு பெயருண்டு.

கி. பி. 1070 முதல் 1118 வரையிலும் 49 வருஷம் அரசாண்டான். பின் விக்கிரம சோழனுக்கு இளவரசுப்பட்டங் கட்டினான்.

இவ்வரசன் 18 வருஷம் அரசாண்டான். இவனுடைய ஆறாம் வருஷத் தில் நாடெங்கும் ஒரு பெருத்த ஸ்காமம் வந்து வடக்கே திருவோத்தார் முதல் தெற்கே தஞ்சை வரையினு மிருந்த குடிகளை வருத்திய விக்கிரம சோழன் தாம். 'விக்கிரமசோழனுலா' இவ்வரசனைப் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனாகக்கொண்டு பாடப்பட்டதாகும்.

விக்கிரம சோழனுக்குப்பின் அவன் மகன் இரண்டாம் குலோத்துங்கன் முடிசூடினான். இவனையும் இவன் மகன் இரண்டாம் இராஜராஜனையும் பற்றி ஒன்றும் தெரியவில்லை. இருவரும் 'குலோத்துங்க இரண்டாம் சோழன் உலா', 'இராஜராஜசோழன் உலா' என்னும் குலோத்துங்கன் உலாக்களுக்கு நாயகர்கள்.

இரண்டாம் இராஜராஜனுக்குப் பிந்தியும் மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கனுக்கு முந்தியும் இராஜகேசரி இராஜாதிராஜனென்ற பெயருடன் ஓர் அரச னிருந்தான். இவன் முன்பின்னவர்களுக்கு என்ன உறவுமுறை யென்பது தெரியவில்லை.

இவன் இராஜாதிராஜனுக்குப் பின் பட்டம் பெற்றவன். இவ்வரசன் காலத்தில் பாண்டிய நாட்டில் விக்கிரம பாண்டியனுக்கும் வீரபாண்டியனுக் கும் போர் தொடங்கிற்று. குலோத்துங்கன் அப் போரில் விக்கிரம பாண்டியனுக்குத் துணைபுரிந்து வீரபாண்டியனை வென்று நாட்டைக் கொடுத்தான். இரண்டாம் முறையும் போர் தொடங்கிற்று. இந்த முறை குலோத்துங்கன் வீர பாண்டியனைக் கொன்றுவிட்டான். அமராபரணன் சீயகங்கனென்பான் குலோத்துங்கன்கீழ் அரசுபுரிந்த சிற்றரசர்களி லொருவன். இச் சீயகங்கனே பவணந்திமுனிவரை நன்னூல் இயற்றும்படி கேட்டுக்கொண்டவன்.

மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கனுக்குப்பின் அவன் மகன் மூன்றாம் இராஜராஜன் சோழசுக்கிரவர்த்தியானான். இவன் காலத்தில் சிற்றரசர்கள் பிராபல்லியம் அதிகரித்தது. பாண்டிய நாட்டில் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் பட்டந்தரித்தான். (கி. பி. 1216.) இவ்வரசன் பலசாலி; சோழ இராஜ்யத்தின் பலக்குறை வையும் இராஜராஜன் சிற்றின்பத்தி லீடுபட்டு இராஜ்யத்தைக் கவனியாதிருப்

பதையும் அறிந்து இவனை ஜயிக்க எண்ணங்கொண்டான். ஆகவே சுந்தர பாண்டியன் யுத்தஞ்செய்து இராஜராஜனை வென்றான். **மூன்றாம்** இராஜராஜன் நாடிழக்கநேர்ந்தது கி. பி. 1222-க்கு இராஜராஜன் முந்தியே. பிறகு 1224-ல் வீரநரசிம்மன் பாண்டியர்களிடமிருந்து சோனாட்டைத் திரும்ப வாங்கி இராஜராஜனுக்குக் கொடுத்தான்.

பிறகு இராஜராஜன் கி. பி. 1232 வரையிலும் கவலையின்றி அரசாண்டான். இப்படி யிருக்கும்போது பல்லவ அரசனான 'அவனியாளப்பிறந்தான்' என்பவன் படையெடுக்க ஆரம்பித்தான். இவன் சோழ அரசனையும் இராஜ்யத்தையும் சின்னபின்னமாக்கினான். அப்போதும் பாண்டியன் உதவியால் சோழன் தப்பி இராஜ்யம் பெற்றுக் கி. பி. 1246 வரையிலும் ஆண்டான்.

மூன்றாம் இராஜராஜனுக்குப் பிறகு அவன் மகன் மூன்றாம் இராஜேந்திரன் கி. பி. 1246-ல் அரசனானான். இவ்வரசன் இடம்பம் பேசித் தன் மாமன் முதலியவர்களை விரோதித்தான். அப்போது ஜடாவர்மன் **மூன்றாம்** சுந்தரபாண்டியன் சோழராஜ்யத்தை ஜயிக்க முயன்றான். இராஜேந்திரன் மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கன் காலத்திலே நிலைகுலையத் தொடங்கிய சோழநாடு இப்போது முற்றும் அழிவுற்றது.

ஆகவே முதற் பராந்தகனால் நிலைநாட்டப்பட்டும் முதல் இராஜராஜனால் மேன்மேலும் விருத்தியாக்கப்பட்டும் முதற் குலோத்துங்கனால் சீராக்கப்பட்டும் வந்த சோழ இராஜ்யமானது சக்தியற்ற மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கன், அவன் மகன் மூன்றாம் இராஜராஜன், அவன் மகன் மூன்றாம் இராஜேந்திரன் என்னும் அரசர்கள் கையி் லகப்பட்டுச் சீர்குலைந்து அழிந்தது.

எனவே விஜயாலயன் காலத்தில் ஆரம்பித்து இராஜேந்திரன் காலமாகிய 13-ம் நூற்றாண்டுவரையிலும் தக்க சிறப்போடு விளங்கிவந்ததென்று சோழ ராட்சி அக்காலத்துச் சிலாசாஸனங்களாலும் பிறசரித்திரச் சான்றுகளாலும் அறிகிறோம்.

இவர்கள் காலத்தில் இராஜ்ய காரியங்களைச் சரியாகப் பார்த்துவர உடன் கூட்டத்து அதிகாரிகளை நியமித்து வந்தனர். அரசன் **சோழஅரசர்** கட்டளைகளைக் கேட்டு எழுதப் பல உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் **நாகரிகம்** இருந்தனர். இவர்களுக்குத் 'திருமந்திர ஒலை எழுதுவார்' என்று பெயர்.

இராஜ்யம் பல மண்டலங்களாகவும், மண்டலங்கள் கோட்டங்களாகவும், கோட்டங்கள் கூறுகளாகவும், கூறுகள் நாடுகள் வளநாடுகளாகவும் வகுக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. நகரங்களிலே அந் நகரங்களை யாளும் சபைகள் வருஷந்தோறும் நியமிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. இந் நியமனம் ஊர்மகாஜினங்களே செய்வதென்பது அக்காலத்துச் சாஸனங்களால் அறியப்படுகிறது. இவர்கள் ஊர்களில் நியாயம் விசாரித்துத் தீர்ப்பு அளிப்பது முதலானவைகளும் செய்துவந்தனர்.

ஒவ்வோர் ஊரும் அதைச் சார்ந்த புலங்களில் விளைந்த நெல்லின் ஒரு பகுதியை வரியாக அரசனுக்கு இறுக்கவேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்யாதவர்கள்

நிலத்தை அவர்களிடமிருந்து திரும்ப வாங்கிக்கொண்டு ஊர்ப்பொது நில மாக்கி, அவ்வவ்வூராள்களே தமக்குள் விலையாக்கி அதனால் வரும் பணத்தை இறைக்குக் கொடுப்பது வழக்கம். வாங்கப்பட்ட வரித்தொகைகளைக் கணக்கிற் பதிந்துகொள்வோர்க்கு வரியிலார் என்று பெயர்.

சோழ அரசர் காலத்தில் அநேக கோயில்கள் கட்டப்பட்டன. மேலும் பழைய கோயில்கள் புதுப்பிக்கவும்பட்டன. இவ்வரசர்கள் யானைப்படை, குதிரைப்படை, காலாட்படை, கப்பற்சைநியங்கள் முதலானவைகளை மிகுதியாக வைத்துப் பரிபாலித்து வந்ததாகவும் தெரிகிறது. யுத்தத்தில் ஊர்களை அழிக்கும்போது கோயில் குளங்களைத் தொடுவதில்லை. போரில் மடிந்த வீரர்களுக்கு அரசனாலாயினும் இறந்தவர் பந்துக்களாலாயினும் அவர்களுடைய ரூபகச் சின்னமாக அவர்களைப்போல உருச்சமைத்துக் கல்லொன்று நடுவது வழக்கம்.

சோழர்கள் தாமே மிக்க கல்விமான்களாயிருந்ததோடு கற்றோர்களை ஆதரித்தும் வந்தார்கள். இவர்கள் காலத்துத்தான் முன்னே சொல்லியபடி நம்பியாண்டார்நம்பிகள் திருமுறைகள் தொகுத்தது. சேக்கிழார் பெரிய புராணமும், புத்தமித்திரன் வீரசோழியமும், சயங்கொண்டார் பரணியும், பவணந்தியார் நன்னூலும், திருவிசைப்பாவும், மெய்கண்டதேவர் சிவஞான போதமும், இன்னும் பற்பல நூல்களும் எழுதப்பட்டன. கோயில்கள்தோறும் திருப்பதிகம் பாடும்படி இவ்வரசர்கள் திட்டஞ்செய்து மானியமும் விட்டிருந்தனர். சோழ அரசர்களில் ஒன்றிரண்டு பேர் தவிர ஏனையோர் சைவப்பற்றுடையவர்கள். இவ் வமிசத்தார்க்குக் குல தெய்வம் திருச்சிற்றம்பலநாதர். ஆதலால் இவ்வூர்க்கோயிலை அரசரொவ்வொருவரும் பொன்மயமாக்கி வந்தனர்.

எனவே பிற்காலத்துச் சோழர் பலவாற்றானும் நன்மை புரிந்து பராக்கிரமத்தோடு ஆண்டுவந்தார்களென்பது புலப்படுகிறது.

இனிமேல் இவ்வரசர்கள் காலத்துள்ள தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களையும் அவைகளைச் செய்த புலவர்களையும் பற்றி ஆராய்வோம்.

V. பிற்காலத்துச் சோழ ராட்சியில் இலக்கியங்கள்

8-ம் நூற்றாண்டு முதல் 13-ம் நூற்றாண்டு வரையிலுமுள்ள கால அளவையிற் றேன்றிய இலக்கியங்களை ஈண்டு ஆராயப்படுவன. இக்காலத்தைப் பற்றிப் பார்ப்போமாயின் சைனம், பெளத்தம் முதலான சமயங்களின் எழுச்சி அதிகமாகி, சைவம் வைணவம் இவைகளும் ஓங்கி எல்லாம் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று போட்டி போடலாயின. அப்போது சைவசமயத்தினும் வைணவ சமயத்தினும் முறையே நாயன்மார்களும் ஆழ்வார்களும் தோன்றினர். நாயன்மார்கள் பன்னிரு திருமுறைகளையும், ஆழ்வார்கள் நாலாயிரப் பிரபந்தங்களையும் இயற்றினர். ஐம்பெருங் காப்பியங்களில், மணிமேகலை சிலப்பதிகாரம் தவிர ஏனைய சிந்தாமணி, குண்டலகேசி, வீனாயாபதி ஆகிய மூன்றும், சிறு காப்பியங்களும் தோன்றின. திவாகரம், பிங்கலம் முதலிய நிகண்டு நூல்களும் எழுந்தன. பாரதவெண்பா, நந்திக்கலம்பகம், கல்லாடம், கலிங்கத்துப்பராணி, மூவுருலா, குலோத்துங்கன் பிள்ளைத்தமிழ், தக்கயாகுப்பராணி, இராமாயணம்,

ஏரெழுபது, அம்பிகாபதி கோவை, சடகோபாரந்தாதி, சரஸ்வதியந்தாதி முதலிய நூல்களும் இயற்றப்பெற்றன.

நன்னூல், நேமிநாதம், புறப்பொருள்வெண்பாநூலை, யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தி, யாப்பருங்கலக் காரிகை, வெண்பாப் பாட்டியல், வீரசோழியம், தண்டியலங்காரம் முதலிய இலக்கணநூல்களும் செய்யப்பட்டன.

தொல்காப்பியத்திற்கு இளம்பூரணர் உரையும், சிலப்பதிகாரத்துக்கு அடியார்க்குநல்லார் உரையும் வகுக்கப்பட்டன.

பன்னிரண்டு திருமுறைகளாவன.—திருஞானசம்பந்த ரியற்றிய தேவாரத்தை 1, 2, 3 திருமுறைகளாகவும், திருநாவுக்கரசர் அருளிய தேவாரத்தை 4, 5, 6 திருமுறைகளாகவும், சுந்தரர் தேவாரத்தை ஏழாம் திருமுறையாகவும், மாணிக்கவாசகர் பாடினதை எட்டாம் திருமுறையாகவும், திருவிசைப் பாவை ஒன்பதாம் திருமுறையாகவும், திருமூலர் திருமந்திரத்தைப் பத்தாம் திருமுறையாகவும், சில்லறைப் பிரபந்தங்களைப் பதினொன்றாம் திருமுறையாகவும், பெரிய புராணத்தைப் பன்னிரண்டாம் திருமுறையாகவும் வகுத்துள்ளார்கள். இவைகளில் 1 முதல் 6 திருமுறைகள் இடைக்காலப் பகுதியில் உண்டானவை. அவைகளை அங்கே ஆராய்ந்தோம்.

ஏழாம் திருமுறை.—இது சுந்தரமூர்த்தி நாயனரால் பாடப்பட்ட தேவாரங்கள். இவர் திருமுனைப்பாடி நாட்டில் திருநாவலூரில் அவதரித்தவர். சம்பந்தர், அப்பர் காலத்துக்குப் பிந்தியவராவர். இவருடைய விவாககாலத்தில் சிவபெருமான் இவரைத் தடுத்து ஆட்கொண்டார். 'பித்தா பிறைகுடி' என்னும் சொற்றொடரை முதலாகவுடைய பதிகமே இவரது முதற்பதிகமென்று கருதப் படுகின்றது. பின்னர், திருவருட்டுறை, திருநாவலூர், திருத்துறையூர் முதலிய ஸ்தலங்களிற் சென்று திருப்பதிகம் பாடினார். இவர் பாடிய திருப்பதிகங்களை ஏழாம் திருமுறையாக வகுத்தனர். இவர் பல்லவ அரசனாகிய இரண்டாம் நரசிம்மன் காலத்திருந்தவர். இவர், 'தடல்குழந்த வுலகெலாங் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர்கோன் கழற் சிங்கன்' என்று ஒரு பல்லவ அரசனைக்குறித்துப் பாடியிருக்கிறார்.

எட்டாம் திருமுறை.—இது மாணிக்கவாசகரால் இயற்றப்பட்டது. இவருக்கு மணிவாசகர், வாத்தூரடிகள் என்ற வேறு பெயர்களுமுண்டு. இவரது காலம் ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டென்று நிச்சயித்திருக்கிறார்கள். இவரது திருவாசகத்தில் தாழிசை, துறை, விருத்தம் முதலிய பாவினங்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. திருச்சதகம், திருவெம்பாவை, திருவம்மாளை, திருபொற்சுண்ணம் முதலியனவும் இவரது திருவாசகத்தில் அடங்கியனவே. அகப்பொருட்சுவை விளங்கத் திருக்கோவையாரை வெகு அழகுபட இயற்றியுள்ளார்.

திருவிசைப்பா.—இது சேந்தனார், கண்டராதித்தர் முதலியோரொன்பதின்மரா வியற்றப்பட்டது.

திருமந்திரம்.—இது திருமூலர் இயற்றியது.

பதினொன்றாம் திருமுறை.—இது நக்கீரர் நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பிகள் முதலியோரால் இயற்றப்பட்ட நூல்க ளடங்கியது. நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பிகள் முதல் இராஜராஜன் காலத்தவர்; அவ்வரசனால் நன்குமதிக்கப்பட்டவர்.

பெரியபுராணம்.—இந்தூல் சேக்கிழாராற் சொற்சுவை பொருட்சுவை நிரம்ப, கற்பனாசக்தி துலங்க, தமிழ்த்தாயின் அழகு மிளிர, சைவமதத்தின் தன்மையை உலகோருணர்ந்துய்ய, நாயன்மார் புகழ் பாக்க, சோழ அரசர் நாடு ஒங்கி இன்பம் பயக்கும்படி இயற்றப்பட்டது. சேக்கிழார் தொண்டைமண்டலத்தில் குன்றத்தூரில் வேளாளர் குலத்தில் சேக்கிழார் மரபில் தோன்றியவர். இவரது பெயர் அருண்மொழித் தேவர். சேக்கிழார் மரபை விளக்கினமையால் இவருக்குச் சேக்கிழாரெனவே பெயராயிற்று. இவருடைய கல்வி, அறிவு, ஒழுக்கங்களை அநபாய சோழன் அறிந்து இவரைத் தமக்கு முதன் மந்திரியாக்கி உத்தம சோழப் பல்லவரென்னும் பட்டப்பெயரும் அளித்தனன். இவர் சோழ நாட்டிலுள்ள திருநாகேச்சுரமென்னுஞ் சிவதலத்தினிடத்தே தமக்கு அன்பு மிகுந்திருத்தல் பற்றிக் குன்றத்தூரில் ஓர் ஆலயப்பிரதிஷ்டை செய்து அதற்குத் திருநாகேச்சுரமென்று பெயரிட்டு அதில் நித்திய ரைமித்திக உத்ஸவங்களை வழுவாது நடப்பித்துக்கொண்டு அவ்வரசனது செங்கோலை ஒழுங்குபெற நடத்திவந்தார்.

இவ்வாறு நடந்துவரும் நாட்களில், சைவர்களிற் சிலர் மெய்நூல்களாகிய சைவநூல்களைக் கற்காமல் புறச்சமயங்களுள் ஒன்றாகிய சமணமதத்தைச் சார்ந்த காப்பியமாகிய சீவகசிந்தாமணியை மெய்நூலென்று கொண்டு தங்கள் வாணுளை வீணாகக் கழித்ததுபோலவே அநபாய சோழனும் அந் நூலைப் பெரிதும் பாராட்டிப் பொழுது போக்குவானாயினன். இதனை அறிந்த சேக்கிழார் அரசனைச் சமய நூல்களைப் படிக்கும்படி வற்புறுத்த, அவ்வாறான நூல் யாது என்று வினவிய அரசனுக்கு நாயன்மார்களின் பெருமையைக் கூறிப் பெரிய புராணத்தைச் செய்து அரங்கேற்றினார்.

இந்த நூல் நாயன்மார்கள் சரித்திரத்தைக் கூறுகிறது. இதிலிருந்து சைவத்தின் மகிமையும் ஆசிரியரது திறமையும் நன்கு அறியலாம். பெரிய புராணச் செய்யுட்கள் படிப்போருக்கும் கேட்போருக்கும் நல்லுணர்ச்சியை உண்டிபண்ணி இன்பந்தருவன. சுருங்கிய சொல்லும், விரிந்த பொருளும், நல்லோசையும் பெற்றனவாய், செறிவு தெளிவு முதலிய குணங்களும், தன்மை உவமை முதலிய அணிகளும் நன்கமைந்தன. மேலும் மேலும் நயந்தோன்றச் சுவை மலிந்தன. ஆசிரியர் தமிழ்மொழிப்பற்றுள்ளவரென்பது ஆங்காங்குக் காணப்படும் பாடல்களா லறியலாம். உதாரணமாக:

‘வண்டமிழ் நாவலர்தம் பெருமான்’,
 ‘தமிழ்மாலைகள் சாத்து முணர்வுபெற’,
 ‘தேமாலைச் செந்தமிழின் செழுந்திருத்தாண் டகம்பாடி’,
 ‘தீந்தமிழின் தொடைமாலை’,
 ‘ஒங்குதமிழ்ப் பெருவாய்மைத் தொடைமாலை’,

இம் மாதிரியாக அநேக பாட்டுக்களில் பாடியிருக்கிறார்.

இவரது காலம் அநபாய சோழன் காலம். சிற்சில இடங்களில் அம் மன்னனைப்பற்றியும் பாடியிருக்கிறார். உதாரணமாக:

1. வென்றிவெண் குடையநபாயன், செய்யகோ லபயன் நிருமனத்தோங்கும்
2. பொதுக்கடிந் தினிதுகாக்குங் கொற்றவ நநபாயன்

3. மன்னு சீரந் பாயன் வழிமுதல்

4. சென்னி வெண்குடை நீடந்பாயன் நிருக்குலம்

5. பொன்மலை...மன்னியவந்பாயன் சீர்மரபின்.

நாலாயிரப்பிரபந்தம்.—ஆழ்வார்களால் வைணவசமயத்தின் பெருமை விளங்க இயற்றப்பட்ட தோத்திரப் பாடல்களை ஒன்றாகச்சேர்த்து நாலாயிரப் பிரபந்தமென வகுத்தனர். இப் பாடல்கள் இராகம், தாளம் முதலியனவமைந்து பெரும்பாலும் விருத்தத்தாலானது.

ஐம்பெருங் காப்பியங்கள்

சிலப்பதிகாரம், மணிமேகலை இவைகளைப்பற்றி முன்னே பார்த்தோம். ஏனைய சிந்தாமணி, வளையாபதி, குண்டலகேசி இவைகளைப்பற்றி ஆராய்வோம்.

சிந்தாமணி.—இதற்கு மணதூலென்றும் ஒரு பெயர் வழங்குகிறது. இது திருத்தக்கதேவர் என்னும் ஐனை முனிவரா வியற்றப்பட்டது. இதிலுள்ள பாடல்கள், சொல்வளம், சந்தவின்பம், செய்யுணடை யினிமை முதலியனவும் பலவகைச்சுவைகளும் அலங்காரங்களு முடையனவாய், காலம், இடம் முதலிய வற்றிற்கு ஏற்ற வருணனைகளும் அமைந்துள்ளன. இது சீவகன் என்னுமோர் அரசன் பிறந்தது முதல் வீடுபேறெய்தியது வரையிலுமுள்ள கதையைக் கூறு கிறது. இந் நூலைச் சைனர்கள் பெரிதும் கொண்டாடுகின்றனர். இந்நூலுள் அமைச்சனை ஆராயவேண்டுமென்பதும், பெண்வழிச்சேறல் பெருந்துயர் விளைக்குமென்பதும், எதுவும் காலங்கருதிச்செய்தால் வெற்றி பெறலாமென்ப தும், தாய் தந்தையர் சொல்லைத் தலைமேற்கொண்டு ஒழுகவேண்டுமென்பதும் இவைபோன்ற நீதிகள் பிறவும் தக்க சந்தர்ப்பங்களில் தெளிவுறக்காட்டப்பட் டிள்ளன. இந்நூல் தமிழ்த்தாய்க்குச் சிறந்த மணி ஆரம்போன்று விளங்குகிறது.

வளையாபதி.—இதவும் ஓர் ஐனை காவியம். இது சிந்தாமணிக்கு முன்னே இயற்றப்பட்டதெனக் கூறுவாருமுளர். ஆனால் காலம் நிச்சயமாகத் தெரியவில்லை.

குண்டலகேசி.—இது ஓர் பௌத்த காவியம். குண்டலகேசி என்னும் ஒரு வணிக கன்னிகையின் கதையைக் கூறுவது. அவள் அருக்கசந்திரன் என்பவனிடத்துப் பௌத்த சமயத்தைக் கற்று நாவலந்தீவிலுள்ளாரை வாதத் தில் வென்று பௌத்தராக்குவேனெனச் சங்கற்பித்துக்கொண்டு பல்லோரும் இயங்குங் கோட்டைவாயில் வழியில் நாவல்மரக்கொம்பினை நட்டு மக்கள் அவ் வழிச் செல்வதைத் தடுத்துவந்தனர். ஆவணமென்னும் நகரில் நாதகுப்தனார் என்னும் அருகர் ஒருவரையும் வென்றனர். இவர் அருகசமயக்கொள்கை களில் மேம்பட்ட ஞானமுடையராய் இருந்ததால், அருகதர்களுக்கு அவரது தோல்வி மிக்க பரிபவத்தை விளைத்தது.

அருகர்கள் நீலகேசியென ஒரு பிரபந்தத்தை இயற்றி அதில் குண்டல கேசியையும் அவளுக்கு உபதேசித்த அருக்கசந்திரனையும் அருகர் வாதித்து வென்றதாய்க் கூறினர். நீலகேசித்தெருட்டில் குண்டலகேசி வாதச்சருக்கம், சந்திரவாதச் சருக்கம் முதலிய பகுதிகளுள். இவற்றால் குண்டலகேசி என்ற நூலின் இயல்பு இன்னதென அறியலாம். நீலகேசித்தெருட்டு இன்

னும் அச்சில் வெளிவரவில்லை. குண்டலகேசி என்னும் காவியம் பெளத்த சமயம் தமிழ்நாட்டில் ஒங்கி விளங்கிய காலத்து இயற்றப்பட்டதென அறியலாம். அதில் காணப்படும் பெயர்களும் இக்காலத்து அறியக்கூடிய பெயர்களாயில்லை.

ஐஞ்சிறு காப்பியங்கள்

குளாமணி, நீலகேசி, யசோதர காவியம், உதயண குமார காவியம், நாக குமார காவியம் என்ற நூல்களே ஐஞ்சிறு காப்பியங்களாகும்.

நிகண்டு நூல்கள்

திவாகரம், பிங்கலம் என்ற நிகண்டுகளும் இக்காலத் தியற்றப்பட்டன.

திவாகரம்.—ஆதிதிவாகரம் என்றும், சேந்தன்திவாகரமென்றும் இரண்டு நூல்களுள்ளனவென்றும் அவற்றில் இப்போதுள்ளது சேந்தன் திவாகரமெனவுங்கூறுகின்றனர். ஆனால் ஆதிதிவாகரம் என்னும் நூல் இருந்ததற்கு யாதொரு ஆதாரமுமில்லை. உரையாசிரியர்கள் கையாண்டிருப்பதும் சேந்தன் திவாகரமே.

பிங்கலம்.—இது திவாகரத்திற்குப்பின் தோன்றிய நிகண்டு என்று கூறுகிறார்கள். இதற்குச் சரியாகப் பிங்கலச் சிறப்புப்பாயிரத்திலுள்ள ‘செங்கதிர் வரத்தாற் நிவாகரன் பயந்த, பிங்கல முனிவனெனத் தன்பெயர் நிநீஇ’ என்ற அடிகளை ஆதாரமாகக் கொள்கின்றனர். திவாகரத்தினும் பிங்கலம் விரிவானதாயினும் அருகர், புத்தர் இவர்களைக் கூறுமிடத்துத் திவாகரம் விரிந்தும் பிங்கலம் சுருங்கியுமிருக்கிறது.

வேறு நூல்கள்

பாரதவேண்பா.—இது பெருந்தேவனாரா வியற்றப்பட்டது.

கல்லாடம்.—இது கல்லாடரா வியற்றப்பட்டது. சங்ககாலத்திலும் கல்லாடர் ஒருவர் இருந்தனரெனச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இந்தக் கல்லாடர் வேறு, அவர் வேறு. இஃது அகப்பொருட்டுறைகளுள் நூறு துறைகளையெடுத்து விளக்கிக்கூறி மதுரையம்பதி பற்றிய பல விஷயங்களையும் தெரிவிக்கிறது. இது மாணிக்கவாசக ரியற்றிய கோவையைத் தழுவி எழுதப்பட்டதென்பர்.

கலிங்கத்துப்பராணி.—இது சயங்கொண்டாரா வியற்றப்பட்டது. இதில் 11-ம் நூற்றாண்டில் அரசுபுரிந்த சோழசக்கிரவர்த்தியான இராஜேந்திரதேவன் கலிங்க தேசத்தை வென்றுகொண்டமை கூறப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

தக்கயாகப் பராணி.—தக்கன் சிவபெருமானை அவமதித்துப் புரிந்த யாகத்தைச் சிவபிரானுடைய அம்சமான வீரபத்திரக் கடவுள் அழித்து, தக்கனுக்கு உதவிபுரிந்த தேவர்களை வென்று அவனுடைய தலையையுங் கொய்த வரலாற்றை இது கூறுகிறது. பலவகைப்பட்ட பிரபந்தங்களுள் ஒன்றான பராணி அரசர் முதலியோர்மேற் செய்யப்படுவதன்றித் தெய்வங்கள்மேலும் தம் தம் ஆசிரியர்மேலும் இயற்றப்படுவதுண்டு. இது தெய்வத்தின்மேல் வியற்றப்பட்டது.

இந் நூலாசிரியர் ஒட்டக்கூத்தராவர். இவர் விக்கிரமசோழனிடம் ஆஸ்தான பண்டிதராக இருந்தார். பின்பு அச் சோழன் மகனாகிய குலோத்துங்க

னுக்கு வித்தியா குருவாகவும் அவனுக்கும் அவன் மகனான இராஜராஜ சோழனுக்கும் ஆஸ்தாந பண்டிதராகவும் அமர்ந்திருந்தார். இவர் சப்தாடம்பரத் தோன்றச் செய்யுள் செய்ததால் கௌடப் புலவர் எனப்படுவர். இவர் காங்கேயன் நாலாயிரக் கோவை, அரும்பைத் தொள்ளாயிரம், மூவருலா, குலோத்துங்கன் பிள்ளைத்தமிழ், ஈட்டியெழுபது முதலிய பல நூல்களும் செய்துள்ளார்.

இராமாயணம்.—கம்பர் தமது கவித்வசக்தியுங் கற்பனாசக்தியும் புலப்பட உயரிய கருத்து நலம் வாய்ப்பப் பத்தழகும் பாங்குடனமைய ஒன்பது சுவையும் பொருந்தப் பதினாயிரம் செய்யுட்களில் 'இராமாயணம்' செய்து முடித்தார். இஃது அவர் பெயரோடுகூடிக் 'கம்பராமாயணம்' என வழங்குகிறது.

இராமாயணத்தில் முதல் ஆறு காண்டங்களும் கம்பரார் பாடப்பட்டன. ஏழாவது காண்டமாகிய உத்தர காண்டத்தை ஒட்டக்கூத்தர் பாடினாரெனக் கூறுகின்றனர். இந் நூல் முழுவதும் விருத்தப்பாக்களா லானது. இயற்கை வருணனையும் அரிய பெரிய நீதிகளும் அவ்வவ்விடங்களில் அமைந்து காணப்படுகின்றன.

கம்பர் இளமையில் தாய்தந்தையரை இழந்து ஆதரிப்பாரில்லாமல் திரு வெண்ணையநல்லூரிற் சடையப்பவள்ளலிடம் போய்ச் சேர்ந்து அவரால் ஆதரிக்கப் பெற்றுக் கல்வியிற் சிறந்தவராயினர். இவர் கல்வியறிவைக் கேள்விப்பட்டு இரண்டாங் குலோத்துங்கசோழன் இவரை வரவழைத்து ஆஸ்தாந பண்டிதராக நியமித்துக் கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்தி என்ற பட்டமு மளித்ததாகச் சரித்திரம் கூறுகிறது. இவர் சடகோபரந்தாதி, ஏரொழுபது, சரசுவதியந்தாதி முதலிய வேறுநூல்களும் செய்ததாகவுங் கூறுவர்.

நளவேண்பா.—இது புகழேந்திப் புலவரார் பாடப்பட்டது. 425 வெண்பாக்களிற் காப்பியச் சிறப்புக்களமையச் சொற்பொருணயங்கள் பொருந்தச் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. இதன் நடை மிகவும் தெளிவானது. நளதமயந்தியின் கதையைக் கூறுகிறது.

இலக்கண நூல்கள்

நன்னூல்.—இது பவணந்தி முனிவரால் எழுத்துஞ் சொல்லுந் தெளிவாகவுஞ் சுருக்கமாகவும் அழகாகவுங் கூறப்பட்ட நூல். சீயகங்கன் வேண்டப் பவணந்தி முனிவர் இயற்றினர்.

நேயிநாதம்.—இது குணவீர பண்டிதரா லியற்றப்பட்டது. சின்னாலெனவும் பெயர் பெறும்.

யாப்பநங்கலம்.—இதுவும் யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகையும் அமிதசாகர ரியற்றியனவே. குணசாகர ரென்னும் ஐனைப் புலவர் காரிகைக்கு உரை செய்திருக்கிறார். இந் நூலில் செய்யுளிலக்கணம் கூறப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது.

புறப்பொருள்வேண்பாமாலை.—இது செய்தவர் ஐயனாரிதனார். பன்னிருபடலம் என்னும் இலக்கண நூலைத் தழுவிப் புறப்பொருள்வேண்பாமாலை யைச் செய்தனர். தொல்காப்பியர் சொல்லிய புறப்பொருள் இலக்கணத்திற்கும் இவர் சொல்லியிருப்பனவற்றிற்கும் வேறுபாடுகள் சிலவுள.

வேண்பாப் பாட்டியல்.—இதில் தமிழிற் கூறப்படும் பிரபந்தங்களினிலக்கணங்களும், பாடுவோனுக்கும் பாடப்படுவோனுக்குமுள்ள எழுத்துப் பொருத்தம் மங்கலப்பொருத்தம் முதலியனவும், நச்செழுத்து அமுதவெழுத்தென்ற பாகுபாடுகளும், ஆனந்தம் முதலிய குற்றங்களும், இன்னோரன்ன பிறவும் விரித்துக் கூறப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன.

வீரகோழியம்.—இது புத்தமிழ்திராரா வியற்றப்பட்டது. ஐந்திலக்கணங்களையும் சுருங்கக் கூறுகிறது.

தண்டியலங்காரம்.—இது அணிநூல். சங்ககாலத்தில் தொல்காப்பியர் கூறியது உவமை ஒன்றுதான். அவர் அகத்திணையியலில் ஏனையுவமம் உள்ள நையுவமமிவைகளை விளக்கி, உவமவியலில் உவமத்தைத் தொழில், பயன், வடிவு, வண்ணம் எனப் பிரித்து விரித்தெழுதி யுள்ளார். அதற்குப் பின் வடநூல் வாணரோடு ஊடாடி ஐந்தாவது இலக்கணமாகிய அணியிலக்கணத்தைத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள் விருத்தி செய்வாராயினர். அப்போது ‘அணிநூல்’, ‘தண்டியலங்காரம்’ முதலிய நூல்கள் இயற்றப்பட்டன. தண்டியென்பவர் இயற்றிய அலங்கார நூலாதல்பற்றித் தண்டியலங்காரமெனப் பெயர்பெற்றது. இவர் தம் நூலில் பொதுவணியியல், பொருளணியியல், சொல்லணியியல் என்று மூன்று பிரிவினை அமைத்தார். பொருளணியியலில் பொதுவாகப் பல வகை நலப்பாடுகளும் புனைவுமுறைகளுங் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன. பொருளணியியலில் தன்மையணி முதலாக முப்பத்தைந்து அணிகள் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன. சொல்லணியியலில் சித்திரகவிகள், மடக்கு, யமகம், திரிபு, அந்தாதி, சிலேடை முதலியன கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன.

மேலே சோழராட்சியிலுண்டான இலக்கிய இலக்கண நூல்களைப்பற்றிப் பார்த்தோம். இனி அந் நூல்களிலுள்ள சிறப்பியல்புகளைப்பற்றி ஒரு சிறிது ஆராய்வோம்.

VI. இலக்கியங்களின் சிறப்பியல்பு

பிற்காலத்துச் சோழர் காலத்திற் றேன்றிய இலக்கியங்களிற் பெரும்பாலான வடமொழியிலுள்ள வேதங்களையும், சாஸ்திரங்களையும், புராணங்களையும், இதிகாசங்களையும், இலக்கணங்களையும் பின்பற்றியன. அவற்றின் கருத்துக்களையும், கதைகளையும் வேண்டிய அளவு உள்ளடக்கிக்கொண்டனவாகவே இருந்தன. அந் நூல்களை இயற்றிய புலவர்களும் இருமொழியிலும் வல்லவராய் வடமொழிநூல்களை நன்றாகக் கற்று ஆராய்ந்து, பின் தங்கள் நாட்டிற்கும் தமிழுக்கும் பொருத்தமான கருத்துக்களைத் தாங்களாகக் கற்பனைகளோடு அமைத்தும் மனோதர்மங்களுக்கு எட்டியவாறு செய்யுளை அழகுபடுத்தியும் வந்தார்கள். இயற்கை யுலகிற்கொப்ப, மக்கள் வழங்கும் மொழிகளும், தோற்றம், வளர்ச்சி, அழிவு முதலியன எய்துவ தியல்பே. எனவே பாவையானது கால இயக்கத்திற்குத் தக்கபடி நாகரிக நிலைக்குரிய புதிய கருத்துக்களை மேற்கொள்ளுமென்பது திண்ணம். புதிய கருத்துக்கள் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டால் அவற்றைத் தக்கவாறு குறிக்கவல்ல சொற்களுஞ் சொற்றொடர்களும் பாவையின்கண் ஏற்படுதல் இயல்பே.

அகத்தே தோன்றும் கருத்தின் வேறுபாடு வெளிச்சொல்லிற் பிரதிபலிக்கும். ஆதலால் மனோபாவம் விரியுந்தோறும், புது விஷயங்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்படுந்தோறும், கலைஞான வண்மைகளும் சாஸ்திர ஞானங்களும் வெளிப்படுந்தோறும், வேற்றுநாடுகளினின்று புதியபொருள்கள் உட்புகுந்தோறும் பாவை விரிந்து முதிர்ந்து சீர்திருந்துதல் வழக்கம்.

ஆகவே மொழிவளர்ச்சிக்கு அன்னிய மொழிகளிலிருந்து கருத்துக் களையோ இன்னும் அருமையான விஷயங்களையோ காலப்போக்குக்குத் தக்க படி எடுத்தாள வேண்டியது அவசியமேயாகும். அவ்வாறே இடைக்காலத்துப் புலவர்களும் சோழர்காலத்துப் புலவர்களும் பலவழிகளிலும் தமிழ்மொழியை வளர்ச்செய்வாராயினர். இதுபற்றியே நமது மொழியில் வட சொற்கள் சங்க காலத்திற் பார்க்கிலும் அதிகமாகப் புகுத்தொடங்கின. தொல்காப்பியரும் 'கடிசொல் லில்லைக் காலத்துப் படினே' என்றார். பிற்காலத்து நன்னூல்செய்த பவணந்தி முனிவரும்

“பழையன கழிதலும் புதியன புகுதலும்
வழுவல கால வகையி னானே”

என்றார்.

எனவே பெருகிய அறிவும் விரிந்த நோக்கமும் உடையராய்ப் புலவர்கள் பெருமையடைந்து வந்ததும் மொழிவளர்ச்சிக்குரிய இயல்புகளனைத்தும் பொருந்தித் தமிழ் ஒங்கி வளர்ந்ததும் பிற்காலத்துச் சோழ அரசர்கள் காலமெனலாம். மேலே இலக்கியங்களைக் குறித்துக் கூறியிருக்குமிடத்தில் இவைகள் விளக்கிக் காட்டப்பட்டன.

செய்யுளின் சிறப்பியல்புகள்

பண்டைக் காலத்துச் செய்யுட்களில் பேச்சு வழக்கொடு பொருந்திய வாக்கிய அமைதியும் செறிவும் சிறப்பியல்புகளாக வுள்ளன. பிற்காலச் சோழர் காலத்துச் செய்யுட்களில், இவை போற்றப்படவில்லை. நெகிழ்ச்சிமிக்குச் சொல்லழகும், பொருள் நயமுஞ் சிறக்கச் செய்யுளியற்றினர். பற்பலவிதமான அணிகளையுங் கையாண்டனர். தற்குறிப்பு, உவமை முதலிய அணிகளை அடிக் கடி உபயோகப்படுத்தினர். இவ் வேறுபாடு இருகாலத்து நூல்களையும் ஒப்பிட்டு நோக்கின் புலனாகும். உதாரணமாக,

சிற்பி னன்றான் பற்றி நின்மகன்
யாண்டுள னேவென வினவுதி யென்மகன்
யாண்டுள னாயினு மறியே னேரும்
புவிசேர்ந்து போகிய கல்லளை போல
வீன்ற வயிரே விதுவே
தோன்றுவன் மாதோ போர்க்களத் தானே.

(புறம், 86)

இச் செய்யுள் சங்ககாலத்தது. அணி யாதாமில்லாது செறிவோடு பேச்சு வழக்கை யொட்டி இனியநடையி லமைந்திருக்கிறது.

பளிக்கறைப் பவழப் பாவை பரிசெனத் திகழுஞ் சாயுந்
களிக்கயல் பொருவ போன்று கடைசிவந் தகன்ற கண்ணு
ளொளிக்கவின் கொண்ட காமத் தூழுறு கனியை யொத்தா
ளளித்தயில் கின்ற வேந்த னஞ்சிறைப் பறவை யொத்தான்.

(சிந்தாமணி, நாமகளிலம்பகம், 192)

இச்செய்யுள் பிற்காலச் சோழர்காலத்தது.

இச் செய்யுளில் உவமையணி, நெகிழ்ச்சி முதலியன அடங்கியிருக்கின்றன. வாக்கியத்திலும் பேச்சுவழக்கின் இயல்புக்கு வேறுகவுள்ளது.

பாவினங்கள் பரவியது இக்காலத்தேதா னென்று மேலே குறிப்பிடப்பட்டது. அதாவது, வெண்பா, ஆசிரியம், கலி, வஞ்சி என்னும் நாலுவிதப் பாக்களுள் ஒவ்வொன்றும் தாழிசை, துறை, விருத்தம் என்ற இனங்களைப் பெற்று வழங்கியது. விருத்தப்பாக்கள் இடைக்காலத்து இலக்கியப்பகுதியில் விரித்துரைக்கப்பட்டன. இங்கே தாழிசை, துறை இவைகளைப்பற்றிக் கூறுவோம்.

வேண்டாழிசை.—மூன்றடியாகி இறுதியடி வெண்பாவேபோன்று மூச்சீர்கொண்டு சிந்தடியாய் முடியும் பாவாகும்.

வேண்டிறை.—மூன்றடியான் முடிவது சுருங்கியதும், ஏழடியான் முடிவது நீண்டதுமாய், நான்கின்மேல்வரும் சீரினால் முன்னுள்ள அடி அகன்றும் இறுதியடி சில சீரினாற் குறைந்தும் வரும்.

ஆசிரியத்தாழிசை.—அடிகளாலொத்து ஒரு பொருண்மேற் கோவையாய் மூன்றடுத்து வருவது.

ஆசிரியத்துறை.—நான்கடியாய்க் கடையயலடி சீர்குறைந்தும் இடைமடக்காயும், நான்கடியாய் இடையிடையே அடிசுருங்கியும் இடைமடக்காயும் வருவது.

கலித்தாழிசை.—அடிவரையறையின்றி அளவினால் ஒத்தும் ஒவ்வாதும் வந்து ஈற்றடிமாத்திரம் நீண்டிசைக்கும்.

கலித்துறை.—நெடிலடி நான்காய் நிகழுஞ் செய்யுள் கலித்துறை எனப்படும். இக் கலித்துறைகள், சீர்நிலைவகையானும் தலைநிலைவகையானும் இன்னும் பலபேதமாய் விரியும். அவற்றுள் கட்டளைக்கலித்துறை ஒன்று.

கட்டளைக்கலித்துறையாவது ஐந்தாம் சீர்மாத்திரம் கூவிளங்காயாயாவது கருவிளங்காயாயாவது நின்றலிலும் வெண்டளை யியைந்து நின்றலிலும் தவறாது, நெடிலடி நான்காய் வந்து ஏகாரத்தான் முடிவது.

வஞ்சித்தாழிசை.—குறளடி நான்குடையனவாய்க் கோவைப்பட்டு வருகின்ற செய்யுள் வஞ்சித்தாழிசையாகும்.

வஞ்சித்துறை.—குறளடி நான்கினையும் நீக்காது கொண்டு தனியே வந்து முடியுமாயின் அது வஞ்சித்துறையாகும்.

பாணி, கலம்பகம், பிள்ளைத்தமிழ், உலா முதலிய பிரபந்தங்கள் தோன்றியதும் இக்காலத்தே தான்.

பாணி.—இது போர்க்களத்து ஆயிரம் யானையைக் கொன்ற ஒரு வீரனைத் தலைமகனாகக் கொண்டு, கடவுள் வாழ்த்து, கடைதிறப்பு முதலிய உறுப்புக்

களை அமைத்து, பாட்டுடைத்தலைவனது பலவகைச் சிறப்புக்களையும் பலமுகமாகப் புறப்பொருளமைதி தோன்ற ஆங்காங்கு விளக்கிக் கலித்தாழிசையாற் பாடப்படுவது. சோழர் காலத்திலுள்ள கலிங்கத்துப்பரணியைப் பார்ப்போமாயின் மேலே கூறிய லக்ஷணங்கள் நன்கமைந்து விளங்குகின்றன. கலிங்கத்துப் பரணியென்னும் நூலி லுள்ள சில பாடல்களைப் பார்ப்போம்.

30. முருகிற் சிவந்த கழுநீரு
முதிரா விளைஞ ராருயிருந்
திருகிச் செருகுங் குழன்மடவீர்
செம்பொற் கபாடந் திறமினே.

இது கடைதிறப்பு.

262. மென்க லாபமட மாதர்சீறடி
மிசைச்சி லம்பொலி விளைப்பதோ
ரின்க லாம்விளைவ தன்றியெங்குமொ
ரிகற்க லாம்விளைவ தில்லையே.

இது அவதாரம்.

கலம்பகம்.—ஒருபோகும் வெண்பாவுங் கலித்துறையும் முதற்கவி யுறுப் பாக முதலிற் கூறிப் புயவகுப்பு, மதங்கு, அம்மானை, காலம், சம்பிரதம், கார், தவம், குறம், மறம், பாண், களி, சித்து, இரங்கல், கைக்கிளை, தூது, வண்டு, தழை, ஊசல் என்னும் பதினெட்டு உறுப்புக்களும், காலத்தால் மருவிய பிச்சியார், கொற்றியார், வலைச்சியார் முதலியனவும் இயையுமாறு மடக்கு, மருட்பா, ஆசிரியப்பா, கலிப்பா, வஞ்சிப்பா, ஆசிரியவிருத்தம், கலிவிருத்தம், கலித்தாழிசை, வஞ்சிவிருத்தம், வஞ்சித்துறை, வெண்டுறை என்னும் இவற்றால் இடையிடையே வெண்பாவுங் கலித்துறையும் விரவிவர அந்தாதித் தொடையால் முற்றுற இறுதியும் முதலும் மண்டலித்துப் பாடுங்கால் தேவருக்கு நூறும், அந்தணருக்குத் தொண்ணூற்றைந்தாம், அரசருக்குத் தொண்ணூறும், அமைச்சருக்கு எழுபதும், வணிகருக்கு ஐம்பதும், வேளாளருக்கு முப்பதுமாகப் பாடுவது.

உலா.—இதன் இலக்கணம் பின்வருஞ் சூத்திரத்தால் உணரலாம்.

பேதை முதலா வெழுவகை மகளிர்கண்
டோங்கிய வகைநிலைக் குரியா நெருவனைக்
காதல்செய் தலின்வருங் கலிவெண் பாட்டே,
முதனிலை பின்னெழு நிலையுலா வெண்கலி
குடிநெறி மரபு கொளல்கொடை விடியல்
நன்னீ ராடல் நல்லணி யணிதல்
தொன்னக ரெதிர்கொளல் நன்னெடு வீதியில்
மதகளி நூர்தல் முதனிலையாகும்.

ஏழு நிலையு மியம்புங் காலேப்
 பேதை பெதும்பை மங்கை மடந்தை
 அரிவை தெரிவை பேரிளம் பெண்ணெனப்
 பாற்படு மகளிர் பருவத் தாதல்
 நோக்கி யுரைப்பது நுண்ணியோர் கடனே.

சோழ அரசர்காலத்து மூவருலா முதலிய உலாக்கள் செய்யப்பட்டன.

சீர்தந்த தாமரையாள் கேள்வன் றிருவுருவக்
 கார்தந்த வுந்திக் கமலத்துப்—பார்தந்த
 வாதிக்க கடவுட் டிசைமுகனு மாங்கவன்தன்
 காதற் குலமைந்தன் காசிபனு—மேதக்க
 மையறு காட்சி மரீஇய மண்டிலஞ்
 செய்ய தனியாழித் தேரோனு—மையல்கூர்....

இச் செய்யுள் மூவருலாவில் விக்கிரம சோழனைப்பற்றிப் பாடியது.

பிள்ளைத்தமிழ்.—அதாவது பெருஞ்சிறப்பு வாய்ந்த மகவொன்றினை அதன் குழவிப்பருவ நிலைக்கேற்பக்கொண்டு பாராட்டிச் செந்தமிழ்ப் பாக்களாற் புனைந்துபாடும் பிரபந்த வகையாகும். இவ்வாறு பாடும் முறை தமிழ்மொழிக் குரிய புறத்திணையுள் பாடாண் பகுதியைச் சார்ந்ததாம். முற்காலத்தே புறத் திணைத்துறைகளிற் பலவும் தனிச்செய்யுளிற் பாடப்பட்டு வந்தன என்பது சங்க காலத்துநூல்களால் நன்கறிந்தது. உதாரணமாக, பத்துப்பாட்டிற் கண்ட ஆற்றுப் படைகளும் களவழி முதலியனவுமாம். பிற்காலத்தமைத்த பிரபந்தங்களுட் பல புறத்துறை பற்றியனவேயாம். அம்முறையே குழவி மருங்கினமைந்த காமப் பகுதி பற்றிய புறத்துறையும் தனிப்பிரபந்தமாகப் பாடப்பெறும் வழக்குற்றது. அதன் வகையே பிள்ளைத்தமிழ் என்பது. இது பிள்ளைப்பாட்டு, பிள்ளைக்கவி என்றும் வழங்கும். இதில் வகுத்துக் கூறப்படும் பருவங்கள் பத்தாம். ஆண் மகவாயின்

சாற்றரிய காப்புத்தால் செங்கோை சப்பாணி
 மாற்றரிய முத்தமே வாராணை—போற்றரிய
 அம்புலியே யாய்ந்த சிறுபறையே சிற்றிலே
 பம்புசிறு தேரோடும் பத்து

என்றும், பெண்மகவாயின் இறுதி மூன்றுக்கும் பிரதியாகக் கழங்கு, அம்மானை, ஊசல் சேர்வன வென்றும், பிறந்த மூன்றாந் திங்கள் முதல் ஏழாம் ஆண்டு வரை பிள்ளைக்கவி பாடப்பெறும் என்றும் விதிக்கப்பெற்றுள்ளது. பிள்ளைப் பருவங்கள் பத்தே இப் பிரபந்தங்களிற் கூறப்படுவன வாயினும், இவற் றுடன் தளர்நடை, அச்சோவச்சோ, புறம்புல்கல், அப்பூச்சி காட்டல், நீராட் டல், பூச்சூட்டல், காப்பிடல், அம்ம மூட்டல் முதலியவற்றையுஞ் சேர்த்துப் பெரியாழ்வார் பாடியருளுதல் அறியத்தகும்.

சோழராட்சியில் இரண்டாம் குலோத்துங்கனைப்பற்றி ஒட்டக்கூத்தர் 'குலோத்துங்கசோழன் பிள்ளைத்தமிழ்' என்னும் நூல் செய்துள்ளார். அதிற் காணும் பாடல்:

கல்விக்கும் வஞ்சியர் மரந்தைக்கு நாயக
 னுறந்தைப் பிரான கிலமுங்
 கண்ணூர மேருவி லெடுக்கும் புலிக்கொடி
 கலிக்கள்வ னைப்பொ ருதுபோர்
 வெல்விக்கு மானதன் மகோதைக்கு மன்னன்முடி
 கொண்டான் மகற்கு மகனென்
 வெற்றிக் கவித்தநில மண்ணைக் கடக்கவிகல்
 விண்ணைக் கடக்க விகலிக்
 கொல்விக்கும் யானைகொடு சாளுக்கி வார்க்கமற
 வேளுக் கிராம மிடறிக்
 கொல்லாபுரம் பொருது கல்யாண மூதெயில்
 பறித்தேழு கொங்க ணமுடை
 செல்விக்கும் ராசாதி ராசன் திருப்பெயர
 செங்கீரை யாடி யருளே
 சேரா பெருங்கவிகை வீரோதை யாவாழி
 செங்கீரை யாடி யருளே.

குலோத்துங்க அரசன் செங்கீரையாடும் பெருவத்தைப்பற்றிப்பாடிய செய்யுளாகும்.

எனவே பிற்காலத்துச் சோழவரசர் காலத்தில் பண்டைக்காலத்தைவிட இலக்கியங்களும் இலக்கணங்களும் மிகு நிரம்பின. தமிழிலக்கியம் என்னும் விருகூடம் செழிப்புற்று வளர்ந்தோங்கித் திண்ணிய கவிகள் பல திசைதொறும் போக்கிப் பசேலெனத் தழைத்துத் தண்ணிமில் பரப்பி வானளாவி நின்று தனது பூரண ஆகிருதியை யடைந்தது. சோழவரசர்களும் அபிமானத்தோடு தமிழன்னைக்குத் தொண்டுபுரிந்தும் புரிவித்தும் வந்தனரென்பது அவர்காலத் துச் சாஸனங்களால் வெள்ளிடைமலையென விளங்குகின்றது.

VII. முடிவுரை

இதுகாறும் ஆறு அதிகாரங்களால் பிற்காலச் சோழஅரசர் காலத்து இலக்கியங்களை ஒருவாறு கூறினேன்.

முடிவுரையாக ஒரு சில கூறவேண்டுவதுண்டு. தமிழ் மொழியானது வளர்ந்துகொண்டே செல்லும் பாவையாம். அதனுடைய சரித்திரத்தை நாம் ஆராய்வோமானால் அதனுடைய மொழித்தொகுதிகளிலே பிறமொழிச்சொற்கள் பல கலந்து பெருகிக்கொண்டே வந்திருக்கின்றன. இதனால் அதனுடைய சொல்வளம் நாளடைவில் விருத்தியாகிக்கொண்டே வந்திருக்கிறது. இதற் குரிய காரணங்களை நாம் இங்கே விவரிக்கவேண்டிய ஆவசியகமில்லை. இந்தச் சொல்வளமானது சோழவரசர்களுடைய காலத்திலே முன்பின் இல்லாத ஒரு

பெருக்கத்தை யடைந்து தமிழ்மொழி வீறுபெற்று விளங்கியதெனக் கூறலாம். இக்காலத்தேதான் பெரும்புலவர்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டிற் றேன்றியது. அப்பொழுது தான் இலக்கணங்கள் நிரம்ப எழுதப்பெற்று மொழியினுடைய சிறப்பியல்கள் நன்றாக விளக்கப்பட்டன. சமயமானது உன்னத நிலையை யடைந்து தத்துவ சாஸ்திர விசாரணைகள் தமிழ்நாட்டில் பெருகத்தொடங்கின.

இத்துணை யளவாகத் தமிழ்மொழியும் தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களும் பெருமை யெய்துதற்குத் தக்கபடி தமிழ்நாட்டிலே தக்க செளகரியங்கள் வாய்ந்திருக்க வேண்டும். பிற்காலத்துச் சோழராட்சியில் அவ்வகையான செளகரியங்கள் புல வர்களுக்கும் அறிஞர்களுக்கும் வாய்ப்பதற்கிடமிருந்தது. சோழவரசர் கல்வி யைப் போற்றி வந்தார்கள். கோயில்கள் முதலியவற்றில் கல்வி பயிலவேண்டும் செளகரியங்களும் நிபந்தங்களுஞ் செய்துவந்தார்கள். தங்களுடைய ஆஸ்தா நத்தில் புலவர்களை ஆதரித்துத் தக்கபடி கௌரவித்து வந்தார்கள். உதாரண மாக, ஒட்டக்கூத்தரைப்பற்றிக் குலோத்துங்கவரசன் பாடியதாகச் சொல்லுஞ் செய்யுளைக் காண்க:

ஆடுங் கடைமணி நாவசை யாம லகிலமெல்லாம்
நீடுங் குடையிற் றரித்தபி ரானென்றும் நித்தநவம்
பாடுங் கவிப்பெரு மாடுனாட்டக் கூத்தன் பதாம்புயத்தைச்
சூடுங் குலோத்துங்க சோழனென் றேயென்னைச் சொல்லுவரே.

இவ்வாறே பெரியபுராணஞ் செய்த சேக்கிழாரை அரசன் சிறப்பித்த முறையைப் பின்வருஞ் செய்யுள் விளக்குகின்றது.

செறிமதயா னைச்சிரத்தில் பொற்கலத்தோ டெடுத்துத் திருமுறையை இருத்தியபின் சேவையர்கா வலரை, முறைமைபெற ஏற்றிஅர சனுங்கூட ஏறி முறைமையினால் இணைக்கவரி துணைக்கரத்தால் வீச, மறை முழங்க விண்ண வர்கள் கற்பகப்பூ மாரி மழைபொழியத் திருவீதி வலமாக வரும்போ, திறை வர்திரு வருளோரினைத் தடலரசர் கோமான் ' இதுவன்றோ நான்செய்த தவப் பயன் ' என் றிசைத்தான்.

இங்ஙனமே கம்பருக்குச் சோழனும் அவன் தேவியும் பல்லக்கெடுத்த செய்தி தமிழ் நாவலர் சரிதையிற் கூறியிருக்கிறது.

உமையவளு நீயு மொருங்கொப்பை யொப்பை
உமையவளுக் குண்டங்கோ ருனம்—உமையவடன்
பாகந்தோய்ந் தாண்டான் பலிக்குமுன்றான் பாண்டியனின்
பாகந்தோய்ந் தாண்டான் பதி.

இங்ஙனமாகக் கற்றோர்களையும் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்களையும் ஆதரத்தோடு போற்றி வந்த தமிழரசர்கள் காலத்துத் தமிழ் மேலோங்கி விளங்கியதெனக் கூறுவது மிகையாகும்.

கால இயல்புக்குத் தக்கபடி மொழியினியல்பும் இலக்கியங்களி னியல்பும் மாறுபடு மென்பது அறிஞர்களுடைய கொள்கை. பிற்காலத்துச் சோழர் காலத்திலேதான் தமிழ்மன்னர்களுடைய பெருமை பல பிரகாரத்தானும்

மிக்கு ஒங்கி விளங்கியது. இதற்குத் தக்கபடி அக்காலத்துப் பிறந்த இலக்கண இலக்கிய நூல்களுந் தலைசிறந்து பெருமையுடன் விளங்குகின்றன.

ஆகவே பிற்காலச் சோழர் காலத்துப் பிறந்த தமிழ் இலக்கியங்கள் நம் மால் பெரிதும் போற்றத்தக்கனவாயுள்ளன. அவை நமது மொழியை வளர்ப்பதற்கும் சீர்திருத்துவதற்கும் ஒரு முன்மாதிரியாகவு மிருக்கின்றன. அவற்றில் நிரம்பிக் காணப்படும் காவியச்சுவை கற்பார்க்கு இடையறாது இன்பம்பயக்க வல்லதாயுள்ளது. தமிழ்த்தாய் ஒளியுடன் எங்கு மூலாவிப் புகழ்பெற்று விளங்கினள்.

பிற்காலத்துச் சோழர் காலத்து இலக்கியங்களை நுட்பமாக ஆராய்வதனால் நாம் பெரும்பயன் அடைவோமென்பது திண்ணம். அவ்வகை ஆராய்ச்சியில் உழைப்பதற்குத் தமிழ்மக்கள் முந்துவார்களாக.

சுபம்.

കേരള നസ്രാണികളുടെ വിവാഹാചാരങ്ങളും തത്സംബന്ധമായ പാട്ടുകളും

പി. ജെ. തോമസ്, എം. എ., ബി. ലിററ്., ഡി. ഫിൽ.

ക്രിസ്തുമതാരംഭത്തോടടുത്തതന്നെ കേരളത്തിലും ആ വേദം വന്നു ചേർന്നുള്ള വസ്തുത പ്രസിദ്ധമാണല്ലോ. ക്രിസ്തുവിന്റെ പന്ത്രണ്ടു പ്രധാന ശിഷ്യ(സ്ത്രീ)ന്മാരിൽ ഒരാളായ മാർ തോമ്മാ തന്നെ ക്രിസ്താബ്ദം 52-ാമാണ്ടിടക്കു കേരളത്തിൽ വന്നെന്നും നമ്പൂതിരി മുതലായ ശ്രേഷ്ഠ വർഗ്ഗങ്ങളിൽപെട്ട ചില ജനങ്ങളെ മാഗ്ഗ്ത്തിൽ ചേർത്തെന്നും ആണ് പരമ്പരാസിദ്ധമായ ഐതിഹ്യം. പിന്നീട് പലേ കാലങ്ങളിലായി സിറിയ, മെസപ്പൊത്തോമിയ മുതലായ ഭിക്ഷകളിൽനിന്നും കച്ചവടത്തിനായി ചില ക്രിസ്തീയ സമൂഹങ്ങൾ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ, കൊല്ലം എന്നീ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കുടിയേറിപ്പാർക്കുകയും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ രണ്ടു വംശങ്ങളും കലർന്നുണ്ടായതാണ് 'സുറിയാനി ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ' എന്നും 'നസ്രാണിമാപ്പിളമാർ' എന്നും പേരുള്ള സമുദായക്കാർ. ഇന്നു പത്തു ലക്ഷത്തോളം ജനങ്ങൾ ഈ കൂട്ടത്തിലുണ്ട്. കൊല്ലത്തിനു വടക്കും കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂരിനു തെക്കുമുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലാണ് ഇവരിൽ അധികഭാഗവും അധിവസിക്കുന്നത്. പുറംകാലം മുതൽ ചില പ്രത്യേക ചാരങ്ങളും നടപടികളും വസ്ത്രധാരണ രീതികളും ഇക്കൂട്ടക്കുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. കേരളരാജാക്കന്മാരിൽനിന്ന് ചില പ്രത്യേകാവകാശങ്ങളും അവർക്കു സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവരുടെ പള്ളികളും ഗ്രാമങ്ങളും, കൊച്ചി, വടക്കുംകൂർ, തെക്കുംകൂർ, ചെമ്പകശ്ശേരി മുതലായ രാജസ്വരൂപങ്ങളുടെ പ്രത്യേക രക്ഷയിൽ ഉണ്ടായവയാണ്. യൂറോപ്യൻ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ ആഗമനശേഷം ഇക്കൂട്ടരുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഉൾപ്പിരുവുകൾ ഉണ്ടാവുകയും അവരുടെ സാമൂഹ്യാചാരങ്ങൾക്കും അവകാശങ്ങൾക്കും ക്ഷീണം തട്ടുകയും ചെയ്യുകയും പല സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും പുരാതനാചാരങ്ങൾ ഇന്നും തീരെ നിലച്ചിട്ടില്ല.

1. വിവാഹനിശ്ചയം.

നസ്രാണിമാപ്പിളമാർക്ക് ദേവാലയസംബന്ധമായും ഗൃഹ സംബന്ധമായും പല ഉത്സവങ്ങളും പണ്ടേക്കാലം മുതൽ ഉള്ളതാണ്. ഈ ഉത്സവങ്ങളിൽ നടക്കുന്ന ചടങ്ങുകളിൽ അധികഭാഗവും ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഉള്ളവതന്നെ. നസ്രാണികളുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഗൃഹ സംബന്ധമായുള്ള ആഘോഷങ്ങളിൽ വെച്ചു ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനപ്പെട്ടത് വിവാഹമാണ്. ഇവരുടെ വിവാഹമുറ പലതരത്തിൽ മറ്റു കേരളീയരുടേതിനോടു സാമ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. യൂറോപ്യൻ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ വിവാഹമുറ ഈ അടുത്ത കാലംവരെ ഒട്ടും തന്നെ കേരളനസ്രാണികൾ സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നു പറയാം. ഗൃഹത്തിലെ ചടങ്ങുകൾ മിക്കവയും കേരളാചാരമുറക്കോ കൽദായവംശത്തിന്റെ പൂർ്വാചാരപ്രകാരമോ ആണ്. പള്ളിയിൽ വെച്ചു വരൻ 'മിന്നും മന്ത്രകോടിയും' സമ്മാനിക്കുന്ന മുറയും അപ്രകാരംതന്നെ. താലി കെട്ടിനു ശേഷം പള്ളിയിൽനിന്ന് ഗൃഹത്തിലേയ്ക്കുള്ള ഘോഷയാത്രയിൽ നടക്കുന്ന വായ്കരവ, നടവിളി, പരിശമുടുകളി; വെററില ഏറ്, ഞാണിന്മേൽ ദണ്ഡിപ്പ് മുതലായവയും തനി കേരളാചാരങ്ങളാണല്ലോ.

നസ്രാണികളുടെയിടയിൽ അടുത്തകാലംവരെ വിവാഹം വളരെ ചെറുപ്രായത്തിൽ നടന്നിരുന്നു. അതിനാൽ കല്യാണം നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്ന കായ്ത്തിൽ വയുവിനും വരനും വളരെ തുച്ഛമായ ഒരു ഭാഗമേ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുള്ളൂ. ഇന്നും സാധാരണ മാതാപിതാക്കന്മാരുടേയും ബന്ധുജനങ്ങളുടേയും കടമയാണത്. തന്റെ മകൾക്കോ മരുമകൾക്കോ ഒരു വരനെ അന്വേഷിച്ച് നാടൊട്ടുക്കു ചുറ്റി നടക്കുന്ന അച്ഛനാരെയും അമ്മാവനാരെയും പലയിടത്തും കാണാം. ഇക്കായ്ത്തിൽ ചില ഭൂതന്മാരെയും ദല്ലാലികളെയും ഏല്പിട്ടുത്തുന്നതും അപൂർവ്വമല്ല. ഇപ്രകാരം വരനെയോ വയുവിനെയോ അന്വേഷിക്കാൻ പുറപ്പെടുന്നവർ അനുസരിക്കേണ്ട മുറകളും വിധികളും പരമ്പരാ സിദ്ധമായിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവയെ ലംഘിക്കുന്നതു വലിയ പോരായ്മയായിട്ടാണ് കരുതിപ്പോരുന്നത്. വരന്റെ ഗൃഹത്തിലെ യഥാർത്ഥനില അറിയാനുള്ള ചില ലക്ഷണങ്ങളും പഴവന്മാർ വിധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. തടിച്ചനായും ക്ഷീണിച്ചുകാളയും സമ്പത്തിനെ സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ചിഹ്നങ്ങളാണത്രെ. വാക്കുകൊണ്ടു മാത്രം കല്യാണം നിശ്ചയം ചെയ്താൽ പോരാ, പൂത്തൻ പനയോല

യിൽ പഴയ രീതിയിലുള്ള കുറിയും എഴുതിമാറിയാലേ കല്യാണം സുനിശ്ചിതമാവുകയുള്ളൂ. വിവാഹം സംബന്ധിച്ച ചെമ്പേണ്ട ദാനങ്ങളും മറ്റു ചടങ്ങുകളും നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്നത് സാധാരണ ഒരു 'ഒത്തുകല്യാണം' സമയത്തായിരിക്കും. ചില ദിക്കുകളിൽ അതിനു 'വിരുന്നെ'ന്നു പറയുന്നു. അതിന്റെ ശേഷമാണ് പള്ളിയിൽ കത്തനാർ കല്യാണം വിളിച്ചറിയിക്കുന്നത്.

നസ്രാണികളുടെ ഇടയിൽ സ്ത്രീധനം ഒഴിച്ചുകൂടാത്ത ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്. മുൻകാലത്തിൽ സംഖ്യ ചുരുങ്ങിയിരുന്നെങ്കിലും അടുത്തകാലത്തു സംഖ്യകൾ വർദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. വടക്കൻ ദിക്കുകളിൽ സ്വർണ്ണമാണ് സ്ത്രീധനം. തെക്കു സാധാരണ പണമത്രേ നടപ്പ്.* സ്ത്രീധനത്തിന്റെ സംഖ്യയനുസരിച്ചുള്ള ഒരു തുക (പസാരം) പള്ളിക്ക് കൊടുക്കണം. ഇതു കൂടാതെ ചുരുട്ടു അയനിയപ്പം മുതലായ വയും കൊടുക്കണം. പള്ളിയിൽ 'വിളിച്ചുചൊല്ലു' നടന്നാൽ ഗൃഹത്തിൽ കല്യാണാഘോഷത്തിനുവേണ്ട ഒരുക്കമായി. വീടു അലങ്കരിക്കുക, വിരുന്നിനുള്ള പന്തൽ തീക്കുക, ആഭരണങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കുക അല്ലെങ്കിൽ സംഭരിക്കുക, എന്നിങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരുക്കങ്ങളെല്ലാം ചെയ്യുന്നത് അച്ഛനമ്മമാരുടെ മാത്രമല്ല ബന്ധുജനങ്ങളുടെ യെല്ലാം കടമയാണ്. ഈ ഒരുക്കങ്ങളുടെ എല്ലാം ഒരു ചുരുക്കം താഴെ കാണുന്ന പഴയപാട്ടിൽ വിവരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

മംഗല്യം വട്ടക്കളി.

മംഗല്യമെന്നതിന്റെ ഭംഗി പറയതിൻ
എണ്ണം നിറഞ്ഞു കന്നി† അങ്ങീനരുൾ തരിക
ചുറ്റുമിരിക്കും ജനം കുറവും കുറകൾ കണ്ടേൽ
പെറ്റൊമാതാവേപോലെ കുറവും പൊറുത്തീടേണം.
കുറാർകഴലിയാളെ പൊറു വളരേന്താരമ്മ
ഉറൊരുതാതെന്നാടു പെട്ടെന്നുരത്ത മൊഴി
കെട്ടിന്നവൾക്കടുത്തു പെട്ടെന്നൊരു ചെറുകുൻ
ഇക്കും വരുമേടത്തു ഒട്ടും വൈകാതെ കണ്ടു
എന്ന മൊഴികൾ കേട്ടിട്ടന്നു തിരഞ്ഞു താതൻ

* ഒരുപിധം നിലയുള്ള കുടുംബങ്ങളിൽ ആയിരം പണമിട സ്വർണ്ണം (തെക്കു 10,000 ചക്രം) ആയിരുന്നു മുഖ്യ കൊടുത്തിരുന്ന സ്ത്രീധനം. (=350 രൂപ) ഇന്ന്, തെക്കു 5000 രൂപാവരെ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ നിയമപ്രകാരം ആവാം. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ അതിലധികവും ചിലർ കൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

† Virgin Mary

നിന്നു പുരുഷനെനിട്ടന്നു വരം കൊടുത്തു
 അന്നേയറിഞ്ഞു താതന്നു പുരുഷനുമായ്
 അച്ഛുലാരം കൊടുത്തു പെണ്ണിനേ ചെന്നുകണ്ടു
 ഖണ്ഡിച്ചു കല്യാണവുമെണ്ണി കുറിച്ചനാളിൽ
 പുത്തൻപനഃയാലയിൽ ചിത്രാമഴയ്ക്കുവെട്ടു
 കത്തൻ വിളിച്ചുചൊല്ലി തുലാമാം പുഷ്പനരം
 കോലാഹലദത്താടങ്ങു നാലുടിശിയറിഞ്ഞു
 ചെത്തിവഴി പറമ്പിലെത്തുന്നവർക്കുവേണ്ടി
 ഇട്ടെരുപന്തലൊക്കെ പട്ടാൽ വിതാനംചെയ്തു
 വെട്ടംകൊളത്തിനീളേ ഇട്ടു മണർകോലവും

‘മംഗല്യഗീത’ എന്ന പാട്ടിലും ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള വിവരണങ്ങളുണ്ട്.

ചെത്തിവഴിപറമ്പും എത്തുന്നവർക്കിരിക്കാൻ
 പുത്തൻപന്തൽ ചമച്ചു പത്തുപ്രാകാരത്തോടെ
 ഇട്ടെരുപന്തലൊക്കെ പട്ടാൽ വിതാനംചെയ്തു
 വെട്ടംകൊളത്തി നീളെ ഇട്ടു വീരാളിപ്പായ്.

2. വിവാഹപരിപാടി; ആരംഭമിനം.

മൂൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ നാലിൽ കുറയാതെ ദിവസംകൊണ്ടേ നസ്രാ
 ണികളുടെ കല്യാണങ്ങൾ പൂർത്തിയായിരുന്നുള്ളൂ. പണ്ടു ഞായറാഴ്ച
 യാണു സാധാരണമായി കല്യാണം നടന്നിരുന്നത്. ശനിയാഴ്ച
 തന്നെ സംബന്ധികളും കുടുംബക്കാരും എത്തിക്കൂടും. ശനിയാഴ്ച
 വൈകുന്നേരം ഊണിനു മുമ്പായി പന്തലിൽ എല്ലാവരും എത്തി
 യമാസ്ഥാനം ഇരിക്കും. കാരണ്ടിമേൽ കോടിമുണ്ടു വിരിച്ചു
 വേണം മണവാളൻ ഇരിക്കാൻ. അപ്പോൾ ആദ്യത്തെച്ചടങ്ങു ഗുരു
 ദക്ഷിണയാണ്. കരയിലെ ഗുരുനാഥന്നാണ് ദക്ഷിണ കൊടുക്കു
 ന്നത്. അതു കഴിഞ്ഞു ചന്തംചാർത്ത് എന്ന് പ്രധാനക്രിയ നടക്കും.
 (തെക്കൻ ദിക്കുകളിൽ ‘അന്തം ചാർത്തു’ എന്നും പറയാറുണ്ടു) ചന്തം
 ചാർത്തുന്നതു കരയിലെ ക്ഷുരകൻ ആണ്. അമ്പട്ടൻ, വിളക്കിത്ത
 ലയൻ, പ്രാണോപകാരി എന്നെല്ലാ പേരുകളും ക്ഷുരകനുണ്ട്.
 “പതിനമ്പരിക്ഷമാളോർ” “പതിനമ്പരിക്ഷയച്ചന്മാർ” എന്നെല്ലാം
 വേണം വിളക്കിത്തലയനും അമ്പട്ടനും നസ്രാണിമാപ്പിളമാരേ
 സംബോധന ചെയ്യാൻ. (പതിനേഴു പരിക്ഷയ്ക്കു് ഉടയവർ എന്ന
 രീത്?) “പതിനമ്പരിക്ഷമാളോരോടു ചോദിക്കുന്നു—ചന്തം ചാ
 ർത്താൻ കയററിയിരുത്തട്ടെ” എന്നു മൂന്നു പ്രാവശ്യം ക്ഷുരകൻ സദ
 സ്വരോടുചോദിക്കണം. അതിന്റെശേഷം കത്തിയെടുത്തു കെജുരം

ചെയ്യും. “കോതു വെട്ടുക” എന്നാണു ആ ക്ഷൗരത്തിനു പറയുന്നതു. കല്യാണംവരെ മുഖം വടിക്കുക പണ്ടു പതിവില്ലാത്തതാണ്. കോരണ്ടിമേൽ ഇട്ട കോടിമുണ്ടും കുറെ അരിയും പണവും ക്ഷൗരകനു ഉടനെ കിട്ടും.

വരനു ചന്തംചാർത്തുന്നതുപോലെ വധുവിന്റെഗൃഹത്തിൽ “മൈലാഞ്ചിയിടൽ” എന്നൊരു സമ്പ്രദായവും പണ്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോഴും തെക്കുംഭാഗരുടെ ഏടയിൽ അതു നടപ്പുണ്ട്. ‘മുറുതോന്നി’ എന്നതുതന്നെ മൈലാഞ്ചി. ചന്തംചാർത്തു കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ എണ്ണതേച്ചു കുളിപ്പിക്കുകയായി. കുളികഴിഞ്ഞു വീണ്ടും വരൻ സദസ്സിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കും. അപ്പോഴാണ് ‘മധുരം’ കൊടുക്കുന്നതു.* അപ്രകാരമെന്നു വധുവിന്റെ വീട്ടിലും മൈലാഞ്ചിയിടൽ കഴിഞ്ഞു പെണ്ണിനു പലഹാരം കൊടുക്കും. മേൽവിവരിച്ച ഓരോ ഘട്ടത്തിലും പാടേണ്ട പാട്ടുകൾ പ്രത്യേകമായിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിനെല്ലാം മുമ്പായി ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ സരസ്വതിപൂജപോലെ ഒരു മംഗളഗാനവും ഉണ്ട്. ആ പാട്ടിന്റെ പേര് “മാരേന്താമ്മാൻ” എന്നാണ്. മലങ്കാരാധിപനായ മാരേന്താമ്മാശ്ലീഹായെ സ്മരിച്ചിട്ടുവേണമല്ലോ മലങ്കര നസ്രാണികളുടെഎല്ലാ ക്രിയകളും ആരംഭിക്കാൻ.

മാരേന്താമ്മാൻ-

മാരേന്താമ്മാൻ നന്മയാലൊന്നു തുടങ്ങുന്നു
നന്നായ് വരേണമേയിന്ത്
ഉത്തമനായ മിശിഹാ തിരുവുള്ളം
ഉൺമൈ യെഴുന്നള്ളുവേണം.
കന്തിശാനായനെ ! യെഴുന്നള്ളി വന്നീട്ടു
കർപ്പൂരപ്പന്തലകുമേ.
കൈകൂപ്പിനേൻ ഞാൻ പെറുവളരേന്താരു
കന്നീമകളേ ഞാൻ നിന്നെ.
തോളം തുടയും മുഖവും മണിമാറും
യോഗത്താലേ പരിതുണ്ട്.
എന്റെ മകളേ പരമേറ്റി വയ് വേളും
എൻമനസ്സോ പരമുനും.
നെല്ലുമാനീരും പരമേറ്റിവച്ചാറെ
എൻമനസ്സോ തെളിയുന്നു.
ചെമ്പകപ്പുവിൻനിറം ചൊല്ലാം പെണ്ണിനു
ചെമ്മേയരുൾ പെറുവെണ്ണം.

* ഇതിന്റെ ‘ഇച്ഛാപ്പാട്ട്’ എന്നാണു പലയിടത്തും പറയുക.

പെണ്ണിനെക്കണ്ടവരെല്ലാം ചൊല്ലുന്നു
 ഈ യുലകിലവൾക്കൊത്തവരില്ലാ.
 നല്ലൊരുനരം മണങ്കോലം പൂക്കാറെ
 നന്നായ്ക്കുപേണമിതെന്ന്
 കാരണമായവരെല്ലാം കൂടിട്ട്
 നന്മവരുത്തിത്തരണം.
 ആലാഹാനായനും അയ്യമ്പൻമിശിഹായും
 കൂടെത്തന്നെയുയിവക്കും."

ഈ മംഗളഗാനം ഓരോ ചടങ്ങിനേറയും ആരംഭത്തിൽ പാടാനുള്ളതാണ്. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഓരോ ഘട്ടത്തിനും പ്രത്യേകം യോജിച്ച പാട്ടുകൾ പാടും.

ചന്തംചാത്തുപാട്ട്.

മറാനീശോപതവിയിലെ മണക്കോലച്ചതു മകാബർമാൻ
 കൂറാനബന്ധുക്കളും ഗുണമുടയ അറിവുജ്ഞാനം
 അപ്പനോട് അമ്മാവന്മാരയലാരും ബന്ധുക്കളും
 തേരാന ധനത്തെയൊത്തു വേഗമോടെ തൻപിതാക്കൾ
 മറാനേ മുൻനിറുത്തി മാഗ്ഗമാനനാൾകുറിച്ചു
 നാൾകുറിച്ച ദിവസമതിൽ മുഴക്കെപ്പൂശി ഭംഗിയോടെ
 നിറത്തോടൊത്തങ്ങിരിക്കുന്നേരം പാടിക്കളിക്കും ബാലകൾ
 കോൽപിടിക്കും പാവാടയും അന്തം ചാത്തിനീരുമാടി
 നിന്നവർ കരവയിട്ടു നെല്ലമിട്ടു നിറവുവന്നു
 തകിൽനാദം കെന്തുവിളി മററുമുള്ള ഘോഷമായി
 ഇടിയലരും വരവുകണ്ടാൽ പുലരും മുന്മുഖത്തിലേക്കും
 ഉണ്മയിലിരുന്ന പെണ്ണിനെ കളിവിൽവെച്ചു വെളിവതാക്കി
 മങ്കുരയനെ കൊണ്ടുചെന്നു മണവാളിനരികെയിരുത്തി
 ബുദ്ധിക്കൊത്ത കത്തങ്ങളും ബോധമുള്ള ചെമ്മാച്ചന്മാരും
 മന്ത്രകോടി മടിയിലിട്ടു മാഗ്ഗമായ വചനം ചൊല്ലി
 വചനം ചൊല്ലി തൊട്ടു താലി മാഗ്ഗമായി കെട്ടിനാലേ
 കാലാലേ വേഗമോടി കനകമൊത്തങ്ങകമ്പടിയും
 വായിലെ മൊഴികൾ ചൊല്ലി പലതരത്തിൽ ബാലകൾ
 തകിൽ നാദം കെന്തുവിളി മററുമുള്ള ഘോഷമായി
 ഇടിയലരും വരവുകണ്ടാൽ ഇരളുംമുന്മുഖ പന്തല്ലകം
 നെല്ലം നീരും വിളക്കുമായി അമ്മായി വന്നങ്ങിതിരേററു
 ബാലകരെ കൊണ്ടുചെന്നു മണക്കോലം പൂക്കുവാറെ,

ഇതിൽ കല്യാണത്തിന്റെ വിവിധചടങ്ങുകളുടെ ഒരു ചുരുക്കം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളത് എത്രയും പ്രയോജനകരംതന്നെ.

മൈലാഞ്ചിപ്പാട്ട്.

(ആദം ചരിത്രമാണു ഇതിലെ കഥാവസ്തു. മൈലാഞ്ചിയുടെ സാരവും അതിൽനിന്നു വെളിവാകും. ചില ഭാഗങ്ങൾ മാത്രം ഇവിടെ ചേർക്കുന്നു.)

ആദത്തെ നായൻ മലയൊക്കെ നോക്കിനാൻ
ഹൊ മനയാളംകൂടെ മലമീതെ
മരതകമുത്തുവിളങ്ങും മലമീതിൽ
മൈലാടുംപോലെ വിളങ്ങുന്ന ഭായ്യയേ
അഞ്ചും മൈലേപ്പോലെ അഞ്ചുണ് മൈലേ നീ
മൈലാഞ്ചിയില്ലത്തേ കാരണം തോഴിമാർ
ആ മരമുട്ടിലൊളിച്ചവരിരുവരും
അപ്പഴേ നായനെഴുന്നെള്ളി വന്നിട്ടു
പണ്ടുപറഞ്ഞൊത്തൊരാളത്തിൻ ഭായ്യയോ
ഹൊ മനയാളെ നായൻ കൊടുത്തുപോൽ
അന്നന്നു കന്നിമാർ മംഗല്യം വാഴുവൻ
പച്ചില മൈലാഞ്ചികൊണ്ടു പൊതിയേണം
കയ്യാലെ കായും പറിച്ചൊരു കാരണം
കൈപ്പടം തന്നിൽ പൊതിയുന്നു മൈലാഞ്ചി
കാലാൽ നടന്നു കനിതിന്ന കാരണം
കാൽനഖം തന്നിൽ പൊതിയുന്നു മൈലാഞ്ചി
അസ്ഥിമേൽ മണ്ണു പൊതിഞ്ഞൊരു കാരണം
കൈപ്പടം തന്നിൽ പൊതിയുന്നു മൈലാഞ്ചി
അന്നവർ നാണിച്ചൊളിച്ചൊരു കാരണം
ഇന്നിങ്ങുപിള്ളേരൊളിച്ചു നടപ്പതും
മൈലാഞ്ചിറുലാലെ പിഴവന്ന കാരണം
മൈലാഞ്ചിയിട്ടല്ലൊ റുൽ കൂട്ടുമാറൊള്ളു
നീതി കൊടുത്തുപോലിന്നിങ്ങു പിള്ളേർക്കു
എന്നേക്കും നീതി കൊടുക്കണം നായകാ

(മട്ടുമാറി)

പിഴ വഴിയ്ക്കു നിറമൊലിഞ്ഞു തന്റെ നിറമകന്നുപോലെ
മൈലാഞ്ചി തടവിടയാർക്കു നിറപിഴച്ചുതടയാളം
പച്ചമനി മൈലാഞ്ചി ഇട്ടു കൈകൾ ചുവപ്പുവർക്കു
കരുണ പിള്ളേർ വരുന്നയാണ്ടിലതിമുതുന്നീവഴക്കുമെല്ലാം
വാഴുടയ മൈലാഞ്ചി പൊരുളുടയ മൈലാഞ്ചി

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മൈലാഞ്ചിപരവു കാൺമാൻ വരുവിനഹോതോഴിമാരെ

കന്നകപഞ്ചരം മുരൾപഞ്ചരം കാണിക്കട്ടോ തോഴിമാരെ
 മുരളമട്ടളം തകിലുവട്ടയും കേൾപ്പിനടോ തോഴിമാരെ
 മരതകത്തൊട്ടു കരവയിത്തരം കേൾപ്പിനടോ തോഴിമാരെ
 ആദമങ്ങുമയങ്ങിവിണ് ഭായുതന്റെ കൈപിടിച്ചു
 മൈലാഞ്ചിമണം കേട്ടു മയങ്ങിവിണ് മണവാളൻ
 മൈലാഞ്ചിമണം കേട്ടു മയങ്ങിവിണ് മണവാട്ടി
 കരുണപിള്ളേക്കുരുതരിക ഇഴശോനായൻ, തമ്പുരാണേ

(ഈ മൈലാഞ്ചിയിടത് പശ്ചിമേഷ്വരയിൽ മാത്രമല്ല കേരളത്തിൽ ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ ഇടയിൽതന്നെയും നടപ്പുള്ളതാണല്ലോ)

അയനിയെടുക്കൽ.

തെക്കൻ ദിക്കുകളിൽ ഞായറാഴ്ച രാവിലെ മണവാളന്റെ പെങ്ങളും മിന്നും മന്ത്രകോടിയും ഒരു പാത്രത്തിലും മറ്റൊന്നിൽ അയനിയപ്പം ചുരുട്ടു മുതലായ പലഹാരങ്ങളും എടുപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പള്ളിയിൽ പോക പതിവായിരുന്നു. ചില ദിക്കുകളിൽ വാദ്രഘോഷങ്ങളോടുകൂടിയാണുപോയിരുന്നത്. അയനിപ്പാട്ടു ചരിത്രപ്രാധാന്യമുള്ള ഒന്നാകയാൽ അതിവിടെ ഉദ്ധരിക്കാം.

അയനിപ്പാട്ട്.

മാറാതെ വാഴടയോൻ മാറാനീശോമിശിഹാ
 മിശിഹാ തന്നരുളാലെ മാർയോഹന്നാനബ്ബനാൻ
 അബ്ബനാമാർ ഐവർകൂടി ദേശമാം കൂറുകൊണ്ടു
 ദേശമാം കൂറുകൊണ്ടു നാലരം നാലുടിക്കിൽ
 വന്നതിൽ മാണിക്യമാം മാർയോഹന്നാനബ്ബനാൻ
 ബെഗദാശിൽനിന്നു പൂക്കു കബ്ബാന ചെയ്യുവാറെ
 കബ്ബാനപ്പരത്തുകൊണ്ടു മനമെഴുന്നപ്പമെല്ലാം
 മാറാന്റെ അപ്പമതിൽ അമ്പിനാൽ കമ്പിട്ടേററം
 ഗുണവാനാം പുരുഷനായ മാർ യോഹന്നാനബ്ബനാൻ.

(മട്ടുമാറി)

മാർയോഹന്നാനബ്ബനാൻ അടികമ്പിട്ടിരിപ്പാൻ
 കന്തീശാപ്പള്ളി നിലയാകെ നിൽപ്പാൻ
 അയ് മേനിയൊക്കെ വിളിപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു
 മാറ്റുമാറിയാതെ നിന്നജനത്തെ
 മാറ്റുവും പൂക്കു കറുവാനുകൊണ്ടു
 ദോഷമെന്ത് നീക്കി ഗുണം താ പെരിയോനെ.

15-ാം ശതാബ്ദത്തിന്റെ അവസാനഘട്ടത്തിൽ ബൾഗാരിയൻ നിന്ന് കേരളത്തിൽ വന്ന അഞ്ചു മെത്രാന്മാരെയാണ് പാട്ടിൽ പ്രതിപാദിക്കുന്നത്. 1490 ൽ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർനിന്നു യൌസേപ്പ്, മത്തായി, ഗീവർഗീസ് എന്ന മൂന്നു പേർ കൽദായ സുറിയാനി പാര്യയർക്കീസിന്റെ സന്നിധിയിൽ പോയി സങ്കടം പറഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ഫലമായി, ആ പാര്യയർക്കീസ് ആദ്യം മാർത്തോമ്മാ, മാർ യോഹന്നാൻ എന്നു രണ്ടു മെത്രാന്മാരേയും പിന്നീട് യാക്കോബു, ദനഹാ, യബ്തുലാഹാ എന്നിങ്ങനെ വേറെ മൂന്നു മെത്രാന്മാരേയും ഇൻഡ്യയിലേക്കു നിയോഗിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. അവരിൽ മാർയോഹന്നാൻ ഉദിയമ്പേരൂർ കന്തീശങ്ങളുടെ പള്ളിയിൽ താമസിച്ചു.

3. കല്യാണദിവസത്തെ ഘോഷങ്ങൾ.

പിററദിവസം (കല്യാണദിവസം) രാവിലെ വധുവിന്റെയും വരന്റെയും ഗൃഹങ്ങളിൽ വലിയ തിരക്കായി. പുറത്തു സമൃദ്ധ്യുള്ള വട്ടം ഒന്നങ്ങനെ. പന്തലിൽ മണർക്കോലം ഉണ്ടാക്കി വിതാനിക്കുന്ന ശ്രമം ഒന്നങ്ങനെ. ഇതിലെല്ലാം പ്രധാനമായത്, വധുവരന്മാരെ വിശേഷവസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ ധരിപ്പിച്ച് ആഭരണങ്ങൾ അണിയിക്കുന്നതിന് അകത്തു നടക്കുന്ന ശ്രമമത്രേ. നസ്രാണി സ്ത്രീകളും പുരുഷന്മാരും സാധാരണയായി തന്നെ വെള്ളവസ്ത്രമേ ധരിക്കാറുള്ളൂ. എന്നാൽ കല്യാണത്തിന് മണവാളനും മണവാളിയും മഞ്ഞയും ചുവന്നതും ആയ പട്ടുവസ്ത്രങ്ങളും പലേതരം ആഭരണങ്ങളും ധരിക്കണമെന്നാണ് മുറ. ഈ അലങ്കാരവിശേഷങ്ങൾ പല വട്ടക്കളിപ്പാട്ടുകളിൽ ഭംഗിയായി വിവരിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു.

എട്ടുതരിര വട്ടക്കളി

എട്ടുദിശിയും വിളങ്ങിന മത്തോമ്മാൻ
അരുൾപെറ മാനു മണവാളപ്പിള്ളതാൻ
ഏറമരുൾ പെറ കന്നിതാൻ വാഴ്വെല്ലാം
മണവാളി തന്നുടെ തോഴിയുമായിട്ടു
പൊന്നും മുടിയും മുടിക്കീഴാഭരണവും
മറു കൈമോതിരം കൈയണിഞ്ഞുപോൽ
പേർപെറ മക കുഴഞ്ഞുലോരോരതരം
പണിപ്പെറൻകൊണ്ടൊക്കെയലങ്കാരമായിട്ടു
പൊക്കമഴകിയ സിംഹാസനത്തിന്മേൽ

ശിങ്കാരത്താലെയിരിക്കും പദവീകൾ
 പെൺമണിക്കാർകൾ പൊൻമുടിയും പൊന്നും
 പൂവാലണിഞ്ഞൊരു നെററപ്പട്ടം ചാത്തി
 ആഭിരൂപേപ്പാൽ വിളങ്ങും മണവാളൻ
 തന്നരിക്കത്തൊരു തിങ്കളുടിച്ചപോൽ
 ആകുമില്ലാക്കും കൊടുപ്പവനെ നിന്റെ
 കന്യകൾ രണ്ടിനേ കാര്യകൊള്ളേണമെ
 കത്തിയടുത്താപ്പുതുപ്പട്ടതിൻമിതേ
 വടിയോടു പുത്തൂർ കളഭം കസ്തൂരികൾ
 ഭവനമെല്ലാം വിളങ്ങുമിത്തൊഴന്മാർ
 കരുതുക നാലും വെച്ചുപൊന്നും പൂവും
 പരമുചിരൽക്കും നിരന്തരപാദോന്മാരിരും
 പാലുപോൽ തങ്കം വിളങ്ങും തലുവവും
 പരമുചിരപതം തരണികളകമ്പടി
 പാട്ടും കരവയലങ്കാരത്തോടായി
 എത്തിനാർ പന്തലിൽ മെല്ലെമെല്ലെ ചെന്ന്
 വെച്ചുപെന്തരിരിയൊക്കെജാലിപ്പിച്ചു
 പന്തലകത്തുളള പൂക്കുവരെല്ലാം

“മററൊരു വട്ടക്കളി”യിലും ഈ അലങ്കാരങ്ങൾ രസകരമായി വിവരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

വേണ്ടും ജനത്തോടു കല്യാണം കേൾപ്പിച്ചു
 വേണ്ടും തരങ്ങളെല്ലാം വരുത്തിട്ടു
 നല്ല സുഗന്ധവസ്ത്രങ്ങളുമെങ്ങനെ
 നീരാളംകൊണ്ടുളള കുപ്പായമെങ്ങനെ
 നല്ലൊരു വില്ലുസിൻചട്ടയുമെങ്ങനെ
 ബേതിമാരവർ തോഴരുമായിട്ടു
 വസ്രമണിത്തുളള യാത്ര തിരിച്ചവർ
 നല്ലവിളക്കും നഗരിയിലിണങ്ങും
 ശിപ്പപ്പണിപ്പൊന്നുമൊക്കെയണിഞ്ഞോറേ
 നല്ല കരിതും പണമാലയിട്ടാറെ
 ഏററം വിലയുള്ള പത്താക്കു കോർമ്പലും
 വില്ലിട്ട കാതുകൾ, മാലകളെങ്ങനെ
 മാണികൂക്കല്ലിനോടൊത്തൊരു രത്നങ്ങൾ
 കാതിലലകരുതുകുമണികളും
 കാതിൽകനകങ്ങൾ കൈവളമോതിരം
 പൊൻമുടിയും നല്ല പൊൻപൂവും ചൂടീട്ടു
 ആലവട്ടം നല്ല വെഞ്ചാമരങ്ങളും

ഇങ്ങനെ ഷോഷമായ് പജിയകമ്പുക്കു്
 നേർച്ചയും കാഴ്ചയും നന്നായി ചെയ്തിട്ടു
 പട്ടക്കാരൻ വന്ന കൈയും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു
 മംഗല്യകർമ്മങ്ങളെല്ലാം തികഞ്ഞിട്ടു്
 ഷോഷത്തോടെയവർ യാത്ര പുറപ്പെട്ടു
 പാട്ടും കുരവയും വാദ്യധ്വനികളും
 അഭ്രാസക്കാരവർ ചാടിമറിയുന്നു
 ഇങ്ങനെ ഷോഷമായ് പന്തലകമ്പുക്കു്
 മേവതിമാരെ മണർക്കോലമേറീട്ടു്
 എല്ലാം പന്തലിൽ മോദാലിരിക്കുന്നു
 പൊന്നും തളികയിൽ വെച്ചോരു വെററില
 കൂടിയവരൊക്കെ വാങ്ങിച്ചു വെററില
 വെളിത്തളികമേൽ വെച്ചോരു വെററില
 മങ്കമാർക്കൊക്കെ കൊടുക്കുന്നു വെററില
 മരതകവീട്ടിൽ വിളങ്ങുന്നു വെററില
 കെട്ടോടെ വാരി വിതറുന്നു വെററില
 കല്യാണഷോഷം പറഞ്ഞാൽ മതിവരും.

ഇങ്ങനെ മണവാളൻ (വരൻ) പുതുപ്പട്ടു കുത്തിയടുത്തും,
 മുട്ടിനു താഴെ ഇറങ്ങിക്കിടക്കുന്ന ഒരുടുപ്പു് (കാപ്പ) ഇട്ടുകൊണ്ടും
 തലയിൽ പൊൻമുടിയും കഴുത്തിൽ പൊൻ കുരിശും കൈകളിൽ
 പൊൻവളകളും ധരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും, മണവാട്ടി പട്ടുചട്ടയും കയ്യിൽ
 പൊൻവളയും വിരലുകളിൽ മോതിരവും കഴുത്തിൽ പന്താക്കുമാ
 ലയും കാലിൽ പൊൻതളയും കാതിൽ കാതിലയും തലയിൽ പൊൻ
 മുടിയും നെററിപ്പട്ടവും മററനേകാഭരണങ്ങളും ധരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും,
 വിശേഷാലകാരദ്രക്ഷിതരായ തോഴജനങ്ങളുടെ അകമ്പടിയോടു
 കൂടിയും വൻകുടകം ചൂടിയും ആയിരുന്നു ദേവാലയത്തിലേയ്ക്കു
 പോയിരുന്നതു്. കളഭം കസ്തൂരി മുതലായവ എല്ലാക്കാലത്തും
 നസ്രാണികൾ ഉപയോഗിച്ചിരുന്നു. പെണ്ണങ്ങൾ കണ്ണെഴുതാറുണ്ടാ
 യിരുന്നു.

“പെണ്ണം ചെറുക്കുമായ് കണ്ണടിമിന്നുംപോലെ
 കണ്ണമെഴുതി കുറി അഞ്ജനംകൊണ്ടു തൊട്ടു്”
 കൂടാതെ “കൂന്തലഴിച്ചു തല കോന്തിയൊതുക്കിക്കെട്ടി
 വേന്തൻമുടികൾവെച്ചു കാന്തികലരംവണ്ണം”

(മംഗല്യം പട്ടക്കളി)

മണവാളനും മണവാട്ടിയും മുടിചൂട്ടുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം ഈ
 അടുത്തകാലംവരെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നതാണു്. പ്രതാപികളായ കുടും

ബക്കാർ മുടി, വള, കാപ്പ മുതലായവ ഉണ്ടാക്കിച്ച് വച്ചിരുന്നത് അന്ത്യന്മാർ 'എരവു' വാങ്ങിയിരുന്നു. തെക്കും ഭാഗം സ്ട്രീക്കും ധരിക്കാറുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ഒരു 'പൊന്നിൻപൂവ്' തൊടുപുഴ അടുത്തുള്ള ചുക്കത്തുപള്ളിയിൽ ഇപ്പോഴും സൂക്ഷിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. "വേന്തൻ മുടികൾ" എന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നത് ആ മുടി ചേരമാൻപെരുമാൾ ക്ലായിത്തൊമ്മൻ മുതലാളിയ്ക്കു കൊടുത്തതാകയാലാണത്രെ. ഒരു ക്ലായിത്തൊമ്മൻ പെരുമാൾ പൊൻമുടി സമ്മാനിച്ചെന്നൊരു ഐതിഹ്യം താഴെ വിവരിക്കുന്ന പാണൻപാട്ടിലും മറ്റു രേഖകളിലും കാണാം.

കല്യാണദിവസം രാവിലെ ഇപ്രകാരം സർവാലങ്കാരഭൂഷിതരായി വയുവരന്മാർ സ്വസ്വഗൃഹങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു, അച്ഛനമ്മമാരുടെ ആശിസ്സു വാങ്ങിച്ച്കൊണ്ടു്, പള്ളിയിലേയ്ക്കു ഘോഷയാത്രയായി തിരിക്കും. മൂൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ ഒരുവിധം നിലയുള്ള കുടുംബങ്ങളിലേ വിവാഹയാത്രയിൽ വരൻ പല്ലക്കിലോ ആനപ്പുറത്തോ ആണു പ്രയാണം ചെയ്തിരുന്നത്. വിവാഹം കഴിഞ്ഞു തിരിച്ചു പോരുമ്പോൾ ഘോഷയാത്രയുടെ പ്രതാപം വർദ്ധിക്കും. മുമ്പിൽ വാളും പരിചയും ധരിച്ച അകമ്പടിക്കാർ നടക്കും. പഞ്ചവാദ്യങ്ങൾ, കുരവ, കുന്തപ്പയിററ്, ഞാണേൽദണ്ഡിപ്പു്, വെഞ്ചാമര, മേത്തരം കുടകൾ മുതലായവയും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കും. ഈ ചടങ്ങുകളിൽ മിക്കവയും ബ്രാഹ്മണ പുഷ്പന്മാരിൽനിന്നു നസ്രാണികൾക്കു ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായിരിക്കണം.

“പുരസ് താച്ഛ പ്രതിക്ഷേരൻ പദികഃ ഖഡ്ഗപാണയഃ
ദാസീരഭയതഃ കൃതാവഹേയുസ്സാഞ്ചവാഹകഃ”

(ശാങ്കരസ്മൃതി)

(അർത്ഥം:—വാൾക്കാർ കാൽനടയായി മുമ്പിൽ അകമ്പടി കൂടും. ദാസിമാരെ ഇരുപുറത്തും അണിനിരത്തിയിട്ടു പോണ്ടന്മാർ പല്ലക്കു വഹിക്കും)

വടക്കൻദിക്കുകളിൽ പ്രചാരത്തിലുള്ള “മംഗല്യഗീത” എന്ന കൃതിയിൽ കല്യാണം ഇങ്ങനെ വിവരിക്കപ്പെടുന്നു:—

“മെല്ലെയിരുപരേയും പല്ലക്കിലങ്ങെടുത്തു
നല്ലതോഴിമക്കാരങ്ങെല്ലാവരുമടുത്തു
മൊല്ല നടന്നവർകൾ കല്യാണഘോഷത്തോടെ
കൊട്ടം കഴൽവിളിയും ഇക്കുപ്രകാരത്തോടെ
താളംപിടിച്ചു നല്ല വാളും പരിചക്കാരും
മേളം തെളിഞ്ഞു നല്ല കാളം കഴൽവിളിയും.”

വധുവരന്മാർ പടിക്കൽ എത്തുമ്പോൾ നിലവിളക്കു വയ്ക്കുകയും ഭാസിമാർ താലപ്പൊലി എടുത്ത് എതിരേല്ക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ബ്രാഹ്മണമുറ നസ്രാണികളും സ്വീകരിച്ചിരുന്നു. മംഗല്യഗീത ഇപ്രകാരം പ്രസ്താവിക്കുന്നു:—

ചെങ്ങിവിളക്കു വെളുക്കെത്തുടച്ചിട്ടു
നമുനെയും കോരിപ്പകർന്നു
എല്ലാത്തിരക്കും തിരുമുമ്പിൽ കാൺമാൻ
ഇരുപത്തൊന്നല്ലോ വിളക്കു
പൂമങ്കത്താഴിമാരാടിടും പാടിടും
പന്തൽക്കകമേ പുറമേ
നെല്ലും നീരും വീഴ്ത്തി വരമേറോരമ്മായി
കയും പിടിച്ചുങ്ങിരുത്തി.

4. പന്തലിലെ ചടങ്ങുകൾ.

വിവാഹസംബന്ധമായ എതിരേല്പ് സാധാരണയായി പടക്കൻ ദിക്കുകളിൽ വധുവിന്റേയും തെക്കു വരന്റേയും ഗൃഹത്തിലാണ് നടക്കാറുള്ളത്. വധുവരന്മാർ പന്തലിൽ എത്തുമ്പോൾ ഗൃഹനായിക വന്നു അവരെ അഭിവാദ്യംചെയ്ത് പന്തലിന്റെ ഒരു വശത്ത് പട്ടം പരവിതാനിയും ഇട്ടലങ്കരിച്ച 'മണർകോല'ത്തിൽ രണ്ടാസനങ്ങളിലായി ഇരുത്തും. വധുവിന്റെ കൂട്ടത്തിൽനിന്നു വന്ന 'വിരുന്നുകാർ' ഒരു ഭാഗത്തും വരന്റെ സ്വജനങ്ങളും 'ഇണങ്ങരും' മറേറ ഭാഗത്തും ഇരിക്കും. വിരുന്നുകാരിൽ രണ്ടുമൂന്നു വൃദ്ധന്മാരെ കട്ടിലിന്മേൽ വെള്ളയും കരിമ്പടവും വിരിച്ച് ഇരുത്തേണ്ടതാണ്. ഉടനേ താംബൂല വിതരണമായി. പന്തലിൽ വെററില വയ്ക്കിക്കണം എന്നാണ് വെപ്പ്. അപ്പോഴേക്കും പഞ്ചവാദ്യങ്ങൾ പൊടി പൊടിക്കും. വധുവരന്മാർക്ക് 'മധുരംകൊടുക്കുക' എന്ന ക്രിയയാണ് അടുത്തതായി നടക്കുന്നത്. ഈ കൃത്യം നിറവേറേണ്ട കടമ വരന്റെ മാതൃലന്റെതാണ്. ചില ദിക്കുകളിൽ പന്തലിൽവെച്ചുതന്നെ സ്രീധനം കൊടുക്കുന്ന പതിവുണ്ട്. പിന്നീട് പാട്ടുകച്ചേരി തുടങ്ങുന്നു. വടക്കുംഭാഗം ജനങ്ങളുടെ * കല്യാണങ്ങളിൽ പുരുഷന്മാർ മാത്രമേ പന്തലിൽവെച്ചു പാടാറുള്ളൂ. എന്നാൽ തെക്കുംഭാഗക്കാരുടെയിടയിൽ സ്ത്രീകളും കൂട്ടം

* നസ്രാണി മാപ്പിളമാരുടെ ഇടയിൽ തെക്കുംഭാഗം, വടക്കുംഭാഗം എന്നിങ്ങനെ രണ്ടുവിഭാഗങ്ങൾ പണ്ടേയുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഇവർ തമ്മിൽ കല്യാണബന്ധം ഇന്നും ഇല്ല. തെക്കുംഭാഗക്കാർ വിദഗ്ദ്ധരായിട്ടു വന്നവരല്ലെന്നതെന്തെങ്കിലും ഐതിഹ്യം.

കൂട്ടമായിപ്പേൻ പാടുകയും ചിലപ്പോൾ ആടികളിക്കയും ചെയ്യാറുണ്ട്. ആ പതിവു. ഇന്നും അവരുടെ കല്യാണങ്ങളിൽ നിലനിന്നു വരുന്നു. അവർ പാടുന്ന പാട്ടുകൾ 'മാന്തോമ്മാൻ,' 'എട്ടുത്തിരവട്ടക്കുട്ടി,' 'മുന്നംമലങ്കര,' 'പന്തൽപാട്ട്,' 'വാഴുപ്പാട്ട്,' 'നല്ലൊരോരോശലം,' 'ഇന്നു നീ ഞങ്ങളെ,' 'പൊന്നണിന്തിടം' എന്നിവയാണ്. പലേതരം വട്ടക്കളികളും അവർ കളിക്കാറുണ്ട്. ഇപ്പറഞ്ഞ പല പാട്ടുകളിലും വിലയേറിയ ചരിത്രവിവരങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ട്. അവയുടെ രചനാകാലം നിശ്ചയിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. എങ്കിലും ഭാഷ സാമാന്യം പഴക്കമുള്ളതുതന്നെ. സംസ്കൃതപദങ്ങൾ ചുരുക്കവും പഴയ മലയാളപദങ്ങൾ അധികവും ആയിക്കാണുന്നു. പറങ്കികളിൽനിന്നും സിദ്ധിച്ച ചില പദങ്ങളും അപൂർവ്വമായി ഉണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ആ കാരണംകൊണ്ടു മൂലകൃതി പറങ്കികൾ (പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർ) വന്നശേഷം ഉണ്ടാക്കപ്പെട്ടതാണെന്നു വരുന്നില്ല.

മേൽപ്പറഞ്ഞ പെൺ പാട്ടുകളിൽ പലതിന്റേയും പ്രതിപാദ്യ വിഷയം ക്രി. 345-ൽ ക്ലായിത്തോമ്മാ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂരിൽ കുടിയേറി മഹാദേവർ പട്ടണത്തു് ആസ്ഥാനമുറപ്പിച്ച കഥയും പിന്നീടു വന്ന മെത്രാന്മാരുടെ വൃത്താന്തങ്ങളും ആണ്. തെക്കുംഭാഗംനസ്രാണികളുടെ കല്യാണങ്ങളിലാണ് ഈ പാട്ടുകൾക്കു പ്രധാന്യം.

നല്ലൊരോരോശലം.

“നല്ലൊരോരോശലം തന്നിൽ നഗരിയിൽ
മരതകമുത്തു വിളയുന്ന നാട്ടിലു്
മൈലാടുംപോലെ വിളങ്ങുന്ന മന്നൻ
പത്തരമാറിൻ നിറമനി ചൊല്ലാമെ.
ചീനക്കുഴൽപോല ചിന്നുന് മന്നൻ
മാർത്തിലെരിവെടും കുറവില്ല മന്നൻ
മലനാടു വാഴുവാൻ പോകണം മന്നൻ
ബാലാടെ കല്പനയെല്ലെ പുറപ്പെട്ടു
യാത്ര വിധിച്ചുടനന്തവാദവും വാങ്ങി”

(ലയംമാററം)

“അതുകൊണ്ടു കലങ്ങളിലമുശങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തു
പലകൂട്ടം കാരോലിക്കാപ്പുതവികൾ കൊടുത്തു
രാജവാദ്യത്തോടേ യോഗ്യതയാൽ നടത്തി
ശുദ്ധമനതയുള്ളിലെപ്പുസ്തകവും വാങ്ങി.”

മുന്നം മലങ്കര

“മുന്നം മലങ്കര കുടിയേറുവതിനാലെ
തൊമ്മൻ കിനാനെന ദേഹം മുതിന്വാറെ
അരചമക്കളെണ്ണാവതുംകൂടിപ്പുകിന്ത്
കുടിയായത്തമരംകമിവർ നാലുരൂറും
കാതോലിക്കായരുളാലേ കപ്പൽ പുകിന്തു
പുക്കിനാർ ചേരക്കോനക്കണ്ടു പരിചധികമായ്
പൊന്നും പവിഴം മുതുംവെച്ചു രാജ്യംകൊണ്ടറെ.”

ഈവിധം നാലാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ ഇവിടെ കുടിയേറിപ്പാർത്ത
നസ്രാണികൾ സ്വദേശത്തിന്നു പോന്നപ്പോൾ ബന്ധുമിത്രാദിക
ളോടു വിട പറയുന്നതായിക്കാണുന്ന ഭാഗം സരസമായി പ്രതി
പാദിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു:—

“ചട്ടയും മുട്ടകളും കൊന്ത തലമുണ്ടും
ചങ്ങല കൈവള ചന്തമം സ്ലീബായും
ചന്തമായുളളോരു കോപ്പുകൾ കൂട്ടിട്ട്
കൂട്ടംകുടപിടിച്ചൊട്ടേടം ചെന്നപ്പോൾ
കപ്പലേൽ കേറുവാൻ കടപ്പറം പുകാരെ
ഉറവരുടയവർ ബന്ധുക്കളെല്ലാരും
തങ്ങളിത്തങ്ങളിലമ്പൊടുതഴുകുന്നു.
മാവുതു കണ്ണനീർകൊണ്ടു നനയുന്നു
തമ്പുരാനല്ലാതെയില്ലൊരു സാക്ഷിയും
മക്കളെക്കാണ്മോ ഹിന്ദുവിയിൽ പോയാലും
ബന്ധുക്കൾ വേർപെടാതോക്കണമെപ്പൊഴും
“പത്തുമൊരേഴു” * മതെപ്പൊഴും ചിന്തിപ്പിൻ
പാടുമറിയാതിരിക്കണം നിങ്ങളും
തമ്പുരൻ തന്റെ മാനാഗുണംകൊണ്ടിട്ടു
കപ്പലൊരു മൂന്നുമൊന്നായിട്ടോടുന്നു”

കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ വന്നതിന്റെ ശേഷമുള്ള സ്ഥിതി പല പാട്ടിലും
സവിസ്തരം വിവരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഒരു സംക്ഷിപ്തവർണ്ണനം ഇപ്ര
കാരമാണ്:—

“വേദപതവികൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടുവോളം നൽകീതേ
ചേരക്കോൻ പെരുമാളിങ്ങു ചെല്ലേടൊന്നു കുറിച്ചീതെ
ചെന്നു മന്നൻ കണ്ടു നിലം ദാനമങ്ങു നൽകീതെ

* പത്തു പ്രമാണങ്ങളും ഏഴു കടാശകളും (Ten Commandments and Seven Sacraments)

മാറാൻ വന്നു പിറന്നശേഷം “ശോവാലെ”ന്നകാലത്തിൽ
മാനവൻ ക്കനായിത്തൊമ്മൻ ചെമ്പേടങ്ങു വാങ്ങിച്ചു
താശിയോടെ തച്ചർവന്നുവച്ചു പള്ളിപട്ടണം.” -

വാടിമനം വട്ടക്കളി.

(ക്രായിത്തോമ്മാ മകോതേവരിൽ പട്ടണം പണിയിച്ച ചരിത്രമാണ് ഈ പാട്ടിലെ കഥാവസ്തു.)

വാടിമനം മകോതേവരിലവർ കണ്ട ക്കനാവോ
കാമനപ്പതിയെ കാണാൻ വഴിതേടി നടന്നു ഞാൻ
കടൽ തന്നിലിരുന്നു ഞാൻ തരുതായ്ക്കുളയൻ
കുടുകവന്നടിയാരെ കരക്കൊൾക തമ്പുരാൻ
മുടിച്ചുടും രാജിതം തിരുവുള്ളമേറു
മുതച്ചയാൽ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർനഗരം കണ്ടയൻ
തേടിവന്ന തിരുമെയ്യെയിതായെന്റെ തമ്പുരാൻ
വെളിച്ചപ്പെട്ടടിയാരെ കരക്കൊൾക തമ്പുരാൻ
അളവാലെനിലംകൊണ്ടതറിയിപ്പാൻ വരുന്നേൻ
അഴകതായിച്ചെപ്പേടും ഏഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു്
കൊടികെട്ടി അറിയിച്ചു അടിസ്ഥാനം പണിവാൻ
അൻപിനോടെ മത്തോമ്മാൻ പള്ളിയന്നു ചമച്ചു
കട്ടകപ്പോയടിസ്ഥാനം പട്ടത്തുകല്ലയർത്തി
കാരണമായ നിലവും പരിചോടെ നിരത്തി
കിടങ്ങും മോപുരം നാലും മതിലും മാളികയും
ചെരുകോൻപദവികൾ എഴുപത്തുരണ്ടല്ലോ
വെടികൊട്ടു കഴൽചിഹ്നം മുരളു മട്ടുളവും
തകിൽ പറകൊട്ടിച്ചു കയ്യിവിളക്കും പാവാടയും
അടപ്പിച്ചാൻ തുറപ്പിച്ചാൻ കിഴക്കു മോപുരം നാലും
വരും വൻപർ തരുതായ്ക്കൾ ജനം തമ്മിൽ പിശകി
വടക്കുമോപുരം തൊട്ടു വടക്കുഭാഗം നഗരി
നാത്തു കുടിയുണ്ടു് വിരിങ്ങേൾ അതില്
കിരിയങ്ങേൾ എഴുപത്തുരണ്ടല്ലോ താവഴി*
നഗരി കിനാനന്നു മതിലും മാളിക പൊന്നാലെ

ഇവ കൂടാതെ കല്പുണദിവസത്തിലെ പ്രത്യേക ക്രിയകളെ സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്ന പാട്ടുകളും അന്നു പാടാറുണ്ടു്. “പന്തൽപാട്ടു” സ്രീകും പന്തലിന്റെ വാതുക്കൽ നിന്നുകൊണ്ടാരംഭിച്ചു മണക്കോലത്തിന്റെ സമീപം വന്നവസാനിക്കണം. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം വാഴ്ചപ്പാട്ടാണു്.

* ഇതിൽ വടക്കും തെക്കും എന്നുള്ള പിരിവിന്റെ ഉൽപ്പത്തി സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

പന്തൽപാട്ട്.

ആദിയടിയാരെ ആക്കിയതും ചൊല്ലാം
 അമ്പൻ മിശിഹാടെ നായകത്വംകൊണ്ടു
 മാനവും നാളും വഴിയും വളർച്ചയും
 മാതാവു ചൊല്ലുന്ന മാർഗ്ഗവഴികേൾപ്പാൻ
 ചേലിലിവയെല്ലാം ചെൽവം പിരിയാതെ
 ചെലമുകാൽ ഒരു തോഴനെ വേണ്ടുകിൽ
 ഇപ്പടപ്പെല്ലാം ഉടലൽ പണിതീൻ

(മട്ടു മാറററ)

ജനവറയിൽ മരുവിടും മങ്കതന്റെ കല്യാണം
 കല്യാണപന്തലിതു കാതലുജ്ജ പന്തലിതു
 നല്ലമണപ്പന്തലിതു നാരിദേവ്യം പന്തലിതു
 ഇലകളിടും പന്തലിതു കീർത്തിപെട്ട പന്തലിതു
 അവധിചുരുങ്ങിട്ടൊതുങ്ങുകിലോലിവസിനാലുംകല്യാണം
 ഗുണമുടയ * വേദാന്തർ കൊള്ളുമൊരുകല്യാണം
 നഖമുടയമോക്ഷത്തിൽ വാഴുമൊരുകല്യാണം

വാഴുപ്പാട്ട്

വാഴെണ്ണ വാഴ നിനക്കുകെ തന്നേൻ
 നീയും നിന്റെ ഭർത്താവും മക്കളുംഭൂടെ
 കാലം പെരുതായ് വാണിട്ടിരിക്കണം
 വാഴ്ന്ന ഭൂമിയും ഫലമാകെത്തന്നേൻ
 പങ്കിട്ടു നിൻമക്കൾ കൊള്ളുകയെന്നേകി
 വീഴാതെ ശെൽവവും വിരിവുമതെല്ലാം
 വിരിവാന വാഴ്ത്തെല്ലാം നിനക്കു്
 വിത്തുലിരട്ടിപ്പതെല്ലാം നിനക്കു്
 അടിയൊക്കിമകൊടുപ്പതും താനേ
 അരുളാൽ പെരുമ കൊടുപ്പതും താനേ
 തിരുവുള്ളമാന വഴിയെ നടപ്പാൻ
 മുടിച്ചുടുമാറു പെരുമ കൊടുത്തു
 ധനവതിയെന്ന ശ്രീയെ കൊടുത്തു
 താനൊരു നന്ദിയുണർച്ചയും വെച്ചു
 കാരണോർത്താൻപെററ വാഴുവതെല്ലാം
 പെരിയോനരുളാലെ നിങ്ങൾക്കുകയെന്ന്
 അപ്പഴോ പെട്ടിയെടുത്തുതുറന്ന്
 ആഭരണത്തെ പെരിയത്താൻവാങ്ങി

ഉൽപനയൊത്ത മുറയൊമപ്പൊന്നും
 ഓരോന്നും നോക്കി തരം കണ്ടുവാറെ
 ഇമ്പമായുള്ള വളകളു മിട്ടിട്ടു
 ഇപ്പോഴേയ്ക്കിത്രവേണ്ടുവതെന്നു
 ശിപ്തപ്പണിപ്പൊന്നുമാക്കെയണിഞ്ഞോനേ
 കല്പനയായുള്ള ഭർത്താവു മുന്നിൽ
 കായമരംപോലെ നിന്നേൻ അടിയൻ
 കാൺമാൻകൊതിച്ചു പലനാളിരുന്നേൻ
 നിന്നെ ഞാൻ പാലിലെ വെണ്ണ കണക്കെ
 ദിവസവും നെഞ്ചിൽ കലർന്നിരിക്കേ
 പെൺപിള്ളേർ പാടുന്ന പാട്ടുകൾ കേട്ടിട്ടു
 ബാവാക്കു മുമ്മാക്കു തിരുവുള്ളമായി
 ഏറ്റമതേറ്റവും പെരിയൊരുനാളെ
 തിരുവുള്ളമായ വഴിയെ നടപ്പാൻ
 മാർയോക്കോവാബ്ബുനാൻ തൻകൃപകൊണ്ടു
 ത്രിയേകനാഥനാം തമ്പുരാനെ
 അനുഗ്രഹം നൽകണമിവർക്കെന്നേയ്ക്കും.

കല്യാണദിവസം അവസാനമായി പാടുന്ന പാട്ട് “പൊന്ന
 ണിന്തിടും” എന്നാരംഭിക്കുന്ന രസകരമായ ഗാനമാണ്.

പൊന്നണിന്തിടും

പൊന്നണിന്തിടും തണ്ടു കരേറി
 മംഗല്യവേല കാൺമാൻ
 വളർകോടി മുമ്പിൽ മുത്തണിഞ്ഞോനെ
 വാട്ടവും വീശിമെച്ചേ
 പിന്നണി മുന്നിലകമ്പടി നായൻ
 നിൻവിളയാട്ടവും പാട്ടും

മട്ടുമാറി.

മുത്തുചിഹ്നത്തോടെ ചിത്രം നിരത്തിതേ
 മുന്തിങ്ങാമാണിക്യം പള്ളുങ്കുനിരത്തിതേ
 പച്ചവെറുപ്പും പവിഴം നിരത്തിതേ

മട്ടുമാറി.

“സ്ത്രീവായിലേയിടയാർ മണിയിടയോർ നിരത്തിതേ
 ചിത്തിക്കുകളും പൊന്നും പൂവേ നിരത്തിതേ.
 കോവൽപഴുക്കാനിറം ചൊല്ലുമിവർ മേനി
 വഴു കണ്ടാൽ നല്ല തത്ത്വമുണ്ടുനിറം തേങ്ങാ

നിറിൽ കളിച്ചെടുത്ത മുത്തുകനാളിവാഴലേ
 നിലത്തടം കണ്ടവനെ എന്നെ മാനേനാനേ
 ആലിൻതളിരുപോലെ ഇമ്പമുദരമുജ്ജ്വലനേ
 നാളേറെച്ചെല്ലുതോറും നന്നായ് വരുനോനെ
 കൊഞ്ചൽകിളികന്നിമാർ കനകമണിമാർകളും
 ഏറെ നല്ലപങ്കുതരാം പട്ടുതരാം വന്നിരി
 കങ്കമത്തിൻ മണവാളൻതൻ വരവുകാൺമാൻ
 ഏറിയൊരു മേനിമേൽ കേറിയോനിലവരേ"

5. വിരുന്നും 'പാണൻപാട്ടും'

ഇങ്ങനെ പാട്ടുകൾ പാടിക്കൊണ്ടും, വട്ടക്കളി മുതലായ മേളക്കേളാടിക്കൊണ്ടും, വയുവരന്മാരെ സൽക്കരിച്ച ശേഷം സദസ്യരുടെ അനുവാദത്തോടുകൂടി വധുവിനേയും വരനേയും വെച്ചേറെ മുറികളിലേക്ക് ആനയിക്കും.* അതിനു ശേഷം കല്യാണവിരുന്നായി മുൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ വധുവിന്റെ കൂട്ടർ ഉണ്ടുക്കഴിഞ്ഞ ശേഷം വേണം വരന്റെ സ്വജനങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ണാൻ. പന്തലിൽ പല പന്തികളായി പായവിരിച്ച് ഇലയിട്ടാണു വിരുന്നിനിരുത്തുക. ഭക്ഷണത്തിനുള്ള വാഴയില ശേഖരിക്കേണ്ടത് കരയിലെ വേലന്റെ† ചുമതലയാണ്. അതുപോലെ വേറെ ജോലികൾ കമ്മാള ജാതിക്കാർക്കും ഉണ്ടു. അതിനെല്ലാം അവർക്കു അവകാശങ്ങളുണ്ടു. നസ്രാണികൾ മറ്റു മിക്ക സഭ്യകൾക്കും മത്സ്യമാംസാദികൾ ഉപയോഗിക്കു പതിവില്ല. എന്നാൽ കല്യാണസഭ്യക്ക് ആട്ട് കോഴി എന്നിത്തരം മാംസങ്ങൾ അനേകവിധത്തിൽ പാകംചെയ്തു വിളമ്പുക പതിവാണ്. മുൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ മാട്ടിറച്ചിയും മറ്റും അശേഷം ഇവർ ഭക്ഷിച്ചിരുന്നില്ല. പോട്ട് ഗീസുകാരും മറ്റും കൂടുതൽ താമസിച്ചിരുന്ന ദിക്കുകളിലുള്ള നസ്രാണികളുടെ ഇടയ്ക്കു ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം 'പിൻകാലത്തു കടന്നുകൂടി. വിദേശമന്ത്രികളും അവർ ഉപയോഗിച്ചു തുടങ്ങി. ആദ്യം പാച്ചോറാണ് വിളമ്പുക. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം ചോറും മത്സ്യമാംസാദികളും കൊടുക്കും. അതു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടേ സമ്പ്രദികൾ കൊണ്ടുണ്ടാക്കിയ കറികളും മോരും മറ്റും വിളമ്പുകയുണ്ടു. അവസാനമായി തൈർ, പഴം, പാനി, എന്നിവകളും വിളമ്പിക്കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ സദ്യ വട്ടം അവസാനിച്ചു. അടുത്ത ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ നടക്കുന്ന സദ്യ

* വധുവരന്മാർ തമ്മിൽ അന്നെണ്ണം അഭിമുഖസംഭാഷണം ഉണ്ടാവുകയില്ല. കറവകും കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടായിരിക്കാം വധുവിനു സഹജമായ ലജ്ജ തീരുന്നതു്. അപ്പോഴേയ്ക്കു പ്രായവും തികയും. ഇതെല്ലാം മാറിവരികയാണല്ലോ.

† ചിലദിക്കുകളിൽ പരവർ.

കൾക്ക് വിഭവങ്ങൾ കറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുമെങ്കിലും, ചുരുട്ട്, പണിയപ്പം, നെയ്യപ്പം മുതലായ പലഹാരങ്ങൾ ധാരാളമുണ്ടായിരിക്കും. പ്രധാനമായി പാട്ടുകാരും തോഴജനങ്ങളുമാണ് ഇതെല്ലാം തിന്നുതീക്കുന്നത്.

പന്തലിൽ വിരുന്നു നടന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ വിശേഷ വിധിയായ ഒരു ചടങ്ങ് പാണൻവരവും പാട്ടും ആണ്. പാണൻ എന്നു ചില ദിക്കുകളിലും പീരടിയാൻ എന്നു മറ്റു സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും അറിയപ്പെടുന്ന ജാതിക്കാരിൽ ചിലർ പെട്ടെന്നു പ്രതൃക്കുപ്പെട്ട് വലിയൊരു ഒച്ചയുണ്ടാക്കി നസ്രാണികളുടെ ചരിത്രത്തേയും പദവികളേയും വർണിക്കുന്ന പാട്ടുകൾ പാടും. കോട്ടയത്തിനു വടക്കുള്ള ചില ദിക്കുകളിൽ ഈ ആചാരം ഇന്നും നിലനില്ക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. പാണൻ പാട്ടുകളിലേ കഥാസാരം ആശാരി, മൃശാരി, കൊല്ലൻ, തട്ടാൻ എന്നീ നാങ്കിപ്പരിഷകളുടെ ജാതിയർമ്മത്തിനു ചേരാത്തതായ ഒരു കല്യാണം ചേരമാൻപെരുമാൾ നടത്തിച്ചു എന്ന കാരണത്താൽ അകൂട്ടർ നാടുവിട്ട് ഈഴത്തുനാട്ടിലേക്കു (ലങ്കയിലേക്കു) പൊയ്ക്കുതെത്തന്നും തമ്മൂലം അമ്പലങ്ങളും കൊട്ടാരങ്ങളും പണിയാനും കേടുപോക്കാനും ആളില്ലാതെ ആയിത്തീർന്നെന്നും പെരുമാൾ തന്നെ ക്ഷൗരംചെയ്യാൻ ആളില്ലാതായതുകൊണ്ടു വളരെ വിഷമിച്ചെന്നും, ആ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂരിലേ വാണിജ്യപ്രമുഖനായ ക്ലായിത്തോമ്മാ എന്ന ക്രിസ്തീയ നേതാവിനെ പെരുമാൾ ലങ്കാപുരിയ്ക്കു നിയോഗിച്ചെന്നും, തോമ്മാ തിരുവരകൻ എന്ന ഒരു പാണനെ അയച്ചോ അഥവാ കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുപോയോ അവരെ സമാധാനിപ്പിച്ച് തിരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവന്നെന്നും അകൂട്ടത്തിൽ ഈഴത്തു നാട്ടുകാരായ നാലുപേരെക്കൂടി കൊണ്ടുവന്നെന്നും തിരിച്ചുവരുന്ന വേളയിൽ പെരുമാൾക്ക് കാഴ്ചവെക്കാനായി നാങ്കിപ്പരിഷക്കാർ അവരുടെ സ്ത്രീകൾ ധരിച്ചിരുന്ന സ്വർണ്ണാഭരണങ്ങൾ ഉൾക്കി ഒരു മുടിയുണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടുപോന്നെന്നും ആ മുടി തോമ്മാ പെരുമാളിന്റെ സന്നിധിയിൽ കാഴ്ചവെച്ചപ്പോൾ പെരുമാൾ പ്രസാദിച്ച് തോമ്മായ്ക്കു തന്നെ ആ മുടി സമ്മാനിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടു മറ്റു പല അവകാശങ്ങളും അധികാരങ്ങളും കല്പിച്ചുവരിച്ചു കൊടുത്തെന്നും, തോമ്മായേ സഹായിച്ച പാണന്റെ ജനങ്ങളെ നസ്രാണികൾ എന്നേയ്ക്കും (“അറതുറന്നു പറന്നിച്ച് നെല്ലുകൊടുത്ത്”) രക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളണമെന്നു പെരുമാൾ കല്പിച്ചെന്നും, കൂടെവന്ന ഈഴജനങ്ങളെ നാട്ടിൽ കുടിപാപ്പിക്കാൻ വേണ്ട ഏല്പാടുകൾ അദ്ദേഹം ചെയ്തെന്നും മറ്റുമാണ്.

ഈ പാട്ടിന്റെ പലപാഠഭേദങ്ങൾ ഞാൻ ശേഖരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവയിൽ ചിലത് എന്റെ “കേരളത്തിലേ ക്രിസ്തീയ സാഹിത്യം” എന്ന ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ കാണാം.

6. ‘അടച്ചുതുറ’യും ‘നാലാം കുളി’യും

കല്യാണ വിരുന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞു സന്തുഷ്ടതയിൽ വിരുന്നുകാരും കൂട്ടരും താംബൂലാദികൾ സ്വീകരിച്ച് തിരിച്ചുപോകും. എന്നാൽ വധുവിന്റെ അമ്മ, സഹോദരിമാർ മുതലായവർ രണ്ടുമൂന്നു ദിവസംകൂടി അവിടെ താമസിക്കും. ആ ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ സദ്യകളും പലഹാരവിതരണവും അധികവും വധുവിന്റെ കുടുംബക്കാരാണ് നടത്തേണ്ടത്. എല്ലാ ദിവസവും വൈകുന്നേരം ‘മാഗ്ഗംകുളി’ ആട്ടം, വട്ടക്കുളി മുതലായ വിനോദങ്ങളുമുണ്ടായിരിക്കും. നാലാം ദിവസത്തെ വിശേഷമായുള്ള ഒരു ചടങ്ങാണ് അടച്ചുതുറ.* ഇതിന്റെ വട്ടങ്ങൾ ഏതാണ്ടിപ്രകാരമാണ്. വൈകുന്നേരം മണവാളൻ തോഴരുമായി ‘മണവറയിൽ’ കയറി കതകടച്ചു ബന്ധിയ്ക്കും. ഏതോ അതുപിടിക്കാൻ വരൻ വാതിലടച്ചതാണെന്നാണ് സങ്കല്പം. അതിനാൽ അമ്മാവി അമ്മ (വധുവിന്റെ മാതാവ്) വാതിലിൽ മുട്ടി പല പാട്ടുകൾ പാടി വാതിൽ തുറക്കാൻ വിനീതയായി അപേക്ഷിക്കും. അക്കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ഗോദാനം, സ്വർണദാനം, ഭൂദാനം മുതലായവ ചെയ്യാമെന്നു സമ്മതിച്ചാൽ മാത്രമേ വാതിൽ തുറക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. അമ്മാവി അമ്മ എത്ര ഉറക്കെപ്പറഞ്ഞാലും “കേട്ടില്ലാ” “കേട്ടില്ലാ” എന്നു തോഴർ പറയും. ഇങ്ങനെ ആ സാധുസ്രീയെ വളരെ വിഷമിപ്പിക്കാതെ കല്യാണം മോടിയാകയില്ലത്രേ. അതിനാൽ “അമ്മാവി അമ്മ നില്ക്കുക” എന്ന ചടങ്ങു പാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടാണ് പണ്ട് കരുതപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നത്. നല്ല തന്റേറവും സംഗീതവാസനയും ഉള്ളവർക്ക് ആ കൃത്യം ഭംഗിയായി നിർവ്വഹിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. കതകടക്കുമ്പോൾ ചില സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ പാടിയിരുന്ന പാട്ട് താഴെ ചേർക്കുന്നു:—

അകാലം ബാലായും ഉമ്മായുമായി
പുക്കിളമോക്കു മൊരാലയത്തു്
പുത്തീരനായ മിശിഹാനായൻ
പുകഴോടെ വാണവർ മേവും കാലം
ചിത്തംതെളിഞ്ഞു സൂതിച്ചിരിപ്പാൻ
ഇലാമാലാഖമാർ പുണ്യവരതം
അത്തലിപ്പാതവർ മോക്കുംതന്നിൽ

* ഇത് കൽദായഭേദമേതെങ്കിലും ഒരു പുരാണമാണ്.

അശ്വകോടേവോ വലത്തരികെ
 ചിത്തംതെളിവു മുറിഞ്ഞമാതാവിൽ
 വെണ്മയം മാമുദീസാ സമുദ്രത്തിൽ
 വന്നു പിറന്നു മലങ്കരയ്ക്ക്
 മാതൃ മലർ കന്നിത്തയ്യലാളെ
 ചൊല്ലിപ്പൊരിയൊരു ഭാരണൻ വന്നു
 ശോഭയാനാളിൽ വിചാഹംചെയ്തു
 നല്ലൊരു ഞായറാഴ്ച മണിയറപുക്കു
 നലമൊടു പൂക്കു സ്തുതിച്ചിരിപ്പാൻ
 വല്ലഭനാകും മണവാളനും
 മാണിക്കമായൊരു മണവാളിയും
 ഭാഗ്യമകാരനും ഭാഗ്യമാരും
 കൗതുകയുജ്ജ്വല രിണങ്ങരല്ലാവരും
 ചൊല്ലിപ്പിരിയർ തലംപക്കം
 വാചകംചൊല്ലിക്കുകടച്ചു
 ബാധായുപുത്തരിൻതാൻ ശരണം
 അശ്വകൊത്തു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു തമ്പുരാണേ തുണ
 അരുൾചെയ്തു ഞങ്ങളിലു വാതിൽ
 സ്തുതിചെയ്തു നിങ്ങൾ തുറന്നിടേണം.

വാതൽ തുറക്കാനുപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പാടുന്ന പാട്ടുകളിൽ സാ
 മാത്രം നന്നായിട്ടുള്ള ഒന്നു താഴെകുറിക്കുന്നു.

അടച്ചുതുറപ്പാട്ട്.

മങ്കുതങ്കംമണവറയിൽ മണവാളൻകരകടച്ചു
 എങ്കുംപുകൾപൊറവനെ എന്നുടയമണവാളാ
 സന്തോഷാൽ മാധിതാനും തന്നുടയമങ്കമാരും
 താഴിയോടേ നീയടച്ചു മണവറയെ വാതൽ ചുറ്റും
 പേരാരും പൂണ്ടൊരു പെരുന്തായാർ വന്നു വാതൽമുട്ടി
 മണിമോതിരകൈയൊളെ മാധിവന്നു വാതൽമുട്ടി
 പൂമോതിരകൈയൊളെ നന്തൂൻവന്നു വാതൽ മുട്ടി
 ഉറോരു ഭക്ഷത്തി വന്നങ്ങതവിടയോടേ വാതൽമുട്ടി
 പൊറതായാർ മണിവിളക്കും പിടിച്ചുവന്നു വാതൽമുട്ടി
 വട്ടകക്കിഴിയും തരാം വട്ടമൊത്തു തലം തരാം
 കട്ടിൽതരാം മെത്തതരാം കണ്ടിരിപ്പാൻ വിളക്കുതരാം
 പട്ടുചെല ഞാൻ തരുവേൻ ഭംഗിയൊത്ത മേൽവിതാനം".

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* എൻമകനേ മണവാളാ മണവറയോടേ വാതൽതുറ
 ഇത്രയും ഞാനഴിതരുന്നേൻ നീയതേതുറവിയാതോ
 ചിത്തിരത്തിലൊത്തവരും ചിങ്കാരപ്പെൺകൊടിയും

പുതിയൊരുത്താരിരുവരുമായ് പൊഴുതുമാണനിരനിരയം
 മണവാളന്മാർക്കുമെങ്കിൽ തോഴർ വന്നു വാതൽതുറ
 വാതൽതുറപ്പാൻ പുറപ്പെട്ടവിൻ നീരാടുവാൻ നേരമായി”.

അച്ചുതുറസംബന്ധമായി “അമ്പനനുകൂലം” എന്നു തുടങ്ങുന്ന പേരൊരു പാട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇതിൽ വരനെ വിളിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് അമ്മാവി ഇങ്ങനെ പ്രാർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു.

എന്റെ മകനെ നീ ഭംഗിമാൻ മണവാളം
 എന്റെ വിളി കേട്ടുനുകൂലം തുറ വാതിൽ
 ഒത്തതിൽ ഒന്നും കുറയാതെ നൾകുവേൻ
 പുത്തൻ ഗൃഹത്തിനു വെണ്ടുന്ന പാത്രവും
 സ്വർണ്ണത്തിനൊത്തപോൽ ചെല്ലുന്നവയെല്ലാം
 പാരാതെ ഗോവും ശിശുവും തരുന്നു ഞാൻ
 ചേടികൾ വേണമെന്നെങ്കിൽ മടിയില്ല
 ശേഷിയിനിക്കു തന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു നൾകുവാൻ
 കാഞ്ചനമായൊരു വില്ലിസുന്ദരത്തയും
 അഞ്ചുസിമകൊണ്ടു തലയിണയും
 നല്ലൊരുപ്പുറ്റുമാലും തരുന്നു ഞാൻ
 എന്തിനിവേണമെന്നാകിലതൊക്കയും
 ചിത്തം തെളിഞ്ഞു തരുന്നുണ്ടു നിണ്ണയം
 പക്ഷികളൊക്കെ സ്വരമിട്ടുഴലുന്നു
 ഇക്കുണം നിങ്ങൾ കളിപ്പതിനായിട്ടു
 ഇന്നു കളിപ്പതിനുള്ള വകയെല്ലാം
 നന്നായ് വശംവരുത്തിട്ടു മേവുന്നു ഞാൻ
 പൊൻവിളക്കും കയ്യിലേന്തി ഞാനമ്മാവി
 അൻപിനോടങ്ങു പട്ടുകുലയും ചുറ്റി
 മാതാവയോളം തുറക്കണം വാതൽ.

അപ്പോഴേയ്ക്കും വാതിൽ തുറന്നു വരൻ കുളിയ്ക്കാനായി പുറത്തേയ്ക്കിറങ്ങും. കുളിയ്ക്കാൻ എണ്ണ പകരുമ്പോഴും കുളിയ്ക്കുവോഴും പ്രത്യേകം പാട്ടുകൾ പാടേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. അവ താഴെ ചേർക്കുന്നു.

എണ്ണപ്പാട്ട്

“ആളിപെരിയൊൻതന്റെ ഏകയരുളാലെ
 അൻപുറ മണവാളനും പെൺകൊടിയുമായി
 പാതിയൊരുചേല കൊണ്ടോരുമ്പാടൊടുത്തു
 നീതിയോടെ അവർ പോയി പന്തലിലിരുന്നു
 ചിക്കനെ മുതിൻവന്നമ്മാവി എണ്ണതേച്ചു
 ശിശുമോടെ നീരുമാടി ചേലയും പകർന്നു

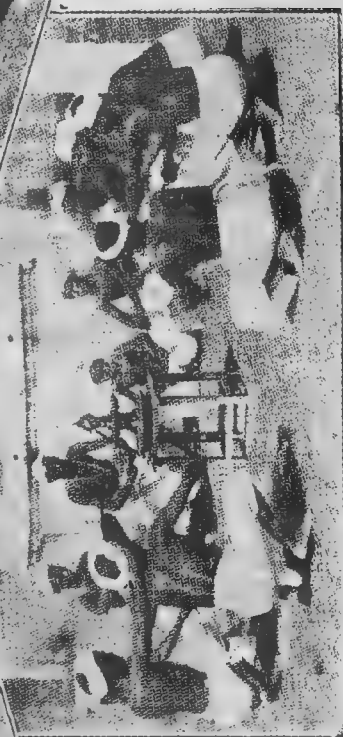
ചുറ്റുംനിന്ന പെൺകൊടിമാർ വായ്ക്കുവെയിട്ടു
അവർതന്റെയമ്മ പെങ്ങൾ നെല്ലും നീരുംവെച്ചു
ഒത്തുനിന്ന പെൺകൊടിമാർ കയ്ക്കു പിടിച്ചുകേററി.”

കുളിപ്പാട്ട്.

“കന്നുകുഴിച്ചു കുളിക്കടവും തൊറന്തീതേ
മണ്ണുകുഴിച്ചു മണിക്കിണവും തൊറന്തീതേ
പൂയിട്ടുകൂന്തലും പൂവും നന്നത്തിതേ
പുഷ്പങ്ങൾ ചൂടും തലയും നന്നത്തിതേ
ശംഖുകടങ്ങു കഴുത്തും നന്നത്തിതേ
ചന്ദനം തേയ്ക്കുന്ന മാർവും നന്നത്തിതേ
ഭൂമിയോടൊത്ത പുറവും നന്നത്തിതേ
ആലിലക്കൊത്ത വയറും നന്നത്തിതേ.”
“പൊന്നും കിടാരത്തിൽ നീർകോരി അവൻ കുളിച്ചു
വെള്ളിക്കിടാരത്തിൽ നീർകോരി അവൻ കുളിച്ചു
പട്ടുമുണ്ടു പട്ടുമാൽ വേണമെന്നു മണവാളൻ
പട്ടുപുടവ പണിച്ചു വേണമെന്നു മണവാട്ടി
ഓടത്തിൽ ചന്ദനം വേണമെന്നു മണവാളൻ
താലത്തിൽ കസ്തൂരി വേണമെന്നു മണവാട്ടി
പൊന്നുംമെതിയടിമേൽ മെല്ലെമെല്ല അവൻ നടന്നു
വെള്ളിമെതിയടിമേൽ മെല്ലെ മെല്ലെ അവൾ നടന്നു
അവനിരിക്കും മാളികമേൽ കങ്കുമപ്പനിനീൽ
അവളിരിക്കും മാളികമേൽ കളഭങ്ങൾ കസ്തൂരി.”

കുളി കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ വധുവും വരനും പുതിയ വസ്ത്രങ്ങളും ധരിക്കണം. വധുവിനുള്ള വസ്ത്രങ്ങളും വരനും വരനുള്ള വസ്ത്രങ്ങളും വധുവും ആൺ കൊടുക്കേണ്ടത്. ഇതുകൊണ്ട് കല്യാണഗൃഹത്തിലെ ഘോഷങ്ങളും എല്ലാം തീർന്നു. പിറേറദിവസം വധുവരന്മാർ ഭായ്യാഗൃഹത്തിലേയ്ക്കു തിരിയുകയായി. അതിന്നു മുമ്പായി ചില ചടങ്ങുകളും നടക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. “കച്ച തഴുകുക” എന്ന മറ്റു അന്നു രാവിലെയാണ്.* അതിന്റെ ശേഷം പന്തലിന്റെ മദ്ധ്യഭാഗത്തു ചുറ്റും തിരികത്തിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു തൂക്കുവിളക്കുവെച്ച് അതിന്നുചുറ്റും മണവാളനും തോഴരും പ്രദക്ഷിണം വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടു മാർത്താണ്ഡപാട്ടുപാടി കുരിശുവരയ്ക്കും. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം മണവാട്ടിയും തോഴിമാരുംകൂടി അതേക്രിയതന്നെ ആവർത്തിക്കും. ഇതാണ് “വിളക്കു തൊടീൽ” എന്ന കർമ്മം. ഇതിന്റെ ശേഷം “കൂടിവിരുന്നു” എന്നൊന്നുണ്ട്. കല്യാണത്തിന്നിടയ്ക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള മത്സരങ്ങളും രസക്കേടുകളും അവിടെവെച്ചു പറഞ്ഞുതീർത്തു കൊള്ളണം. അതു കഴിഞ്ഞു

* പലക്കായി വസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ സമ്മാനിക്കണം.



മാറ്റം കള. Margam Kali Dance

തമിഴിൽതമിഴിൽ യാത്രപറഞ്ഞു വധുവരന്മാർ വധുവിന്റെ ഗൃഹത്തിലേയ്ക്കു “നൽപാതൽ”പോകും. ഇങ്ങനെ വിവാഹോത്സവം അവസാനിക്കും.

വിളക്കുതൊടീൽപാട്ട്.

“കന്നിമറിയത്തിൻ നന്മയതിനാലേ
നന്മയിൽ കന്നിയും തോഴിമാരുംകൂടെ
കല്യാണഃഷാഃകുത്താൽ നീരാടി വന്നിട്ട്
മണവാളിയും തോഴിയും പന്തലകുറുപ്പു
വിതാനിച്ച പന്തലിൽ വിളക്കുതു തുക്കിട്ട്
അഞ്ചുനാലൊമ്പതു തിരിയതും തെരുത്തിട്ട്
വിളക്കിനു മൂന്നുചലത്തുവെച്ചാദരാൽ
ഭക്തിയാൽ കൈകൂപ്പി കരിയ്ക്കും വരച്ചീനെ
കന്നിമറിയം തുണയാക ഞങ്ങൾക്ക്
പന്ത്രണ്ടുശ്ലീഹന്മാർ നിലയാകെ വന്നിട്ട്
ആലാഹാനായനം അമ്പൻ മിശിഹായും
ദഹായുംകൂടെത്തുണയ്ക്കുയിവെക്കുന്നും”.

7. മാറ്റുമേളങ്ങൾ: മാഗ്ഗുംകളി.

കല്യാണദിവസം രാത്രിയിൽ പലകളികളും മേളങ്ങളും ആട്ടങ്ങളും നടക്കാറുണ്ട്. അവയിൽ ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനമായതു മാഗ്ഗുംകളിയാണ്. പന്ത്രണ്ടാളുകൾ അരയും തലയും മുറുക്കി, ശിരസ്സിൽ മയിൽപ്പീലി തിരുകി ഒരു വലിയ നിലവിളക്കിന്റെ ചുറ്റും നിന്നുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ കളിനടത്താറുള്ളത്. ഈ പാട്ടിൽ ഭിന്നവൃത്തങ്ങളിലുള്ള പതിന്നാലു പാദങ്ങളും നാനൂറിലധികം വരികളും ഉണ്ട്. സാത്വികനായ മാർ തോമ്മാ ശ്ലീഹാ കേരളത്തിൽ വന്ന്, പാലയൂർ, കൊല്ലം മുതലായ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണരേയും മറ്റും മാഗ്ഗ്ത്തിൽ ചേർത്തതാണ് ഇതിലെ വർണ്ണവിഷയം. നമ്പൂതിരി ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ ‘യാത്രകളി’യോട് ഇതിനേതാണ്ടൊരു സാമ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു കേട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിന്റെ വാസ്തവം അറിയാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. സുറിയാനിക്കാർ കേരളത്തിൽ കുടിയേറിപ്പാർത്ത കാലത്ത് സിറിയ, മെസപ്പൊത്തോമിയ, മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇത്തരം ആട്ടങ്ങളും കളികളും നടപ്പുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഈ കളി കേരളത്തിൽ അവർ മുഖാന്തരം വന്നു ചേർന്നതായാൽതന്നെ കേരളീയാംശങ്ങൾ കാലാന്തരത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുവരാം. നസ്രാണികളുടെ പഴയ പാട്ടുകളിൽവെച്ച് എല്ലാംകൊണ്ടും കൂടുതൽ പ്രധാനം അർപ്പിക്കുന്നത് മാഗ്ഗും കളിപാട്ടാണ്. ഈ കളി പോട്ട്ഗീസുകാ

രുടെ വരവിനു (1500-നു) മുൻപ്തന്നെ പ്രചാരത്തിലിരുന്നു എന്നാണ് പരക്കെയുള്ള വിശ്വാസം. അതല്ല, പിതക്കാലത്തുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നും ഇപ്പോൾ ചിലർ വാദിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർ ആദ്യകാലങ്ങളിൽ (ക്രി. 1600-നു മുൻപ്) എഴുതിയ ചില ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളിൽ തോമ്മാശ്ലീഹായെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള പാട്ടുകൾ കേരളത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നെന്നും നസ്രാണികൾ അവ പാടി നടനം ചെയ്തു പതിവായിരുന്നെന്നും, 1598-ൽ കേരളമൊട്ടുക്ക് ചുറ്റി സഞ്ചരിച്ച ഒരു പോർട്ടുഗീസ് മെത്രാപൊലീത്തായെ അങ്കമാലി മുതലായ പ്രദേശങ്ങളിലെ നസ്രാണികൾ അപ്രകാരമുള്ള പാട്ടും കളികളുംകൊണ്ടു ആനന്ദിപ്പിച്ചെന്നും മറ്റും കാണുന്നുണ്ട്.* അങ്കമാലിക്കാർ നടത്തിയ കളി മാറ്റംകളിയായിരുന്നെന്നു കയ്യൻ പാതിരി എന്ന നാട്ടു ചരിത്രക്കാരനും എഴുതിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ സ്ഥിതിയ്ക്കു് ഈ പാട്ടിന്റെ പുരാതനത്വം ഏകദേശം സിദ്ധമാണെന്നാണ് തോന്നുന്നത്. പാട്ടിലെ ഭാഷ സാമാന്യം പഴയതും തമിഴ് മയവും ആണ്. ഉദാഹരണമായി ആദ്യത്തെ പാദംതന്നെ എടുക്കാം.

“മെയ്യണിന്ത പീലിയും മയിൽമേൽ തോന്നും മേനിയും
പിടിത്ത ഭണ്ഡും കയ്യും മെയ്യും എന്നെന്നേയ്ക്കും വാഴ്കവേ,
വാഴ്ക വാഴ്ക നമ്മുടെ പരിക്ഷയെല്ലാം ഭൂമിമേൽ
വഴികൂറായ് നടക്കുവേണ്ടി വന്തവരോന്നാമെല്ലാം
അഴിവുകാലം വന്തടുത്ത് അലയുന്ന നിന്മക്കുള്ള
അഴിവാഴ്ചയും കാത്തരുൾവൻ കഴിവുപേതുക മാന്താമ്മാൻ
മലമേൽനിന്നു വേച്ചനമ്പു ചാത്തിമാറിയെന്നപേൽ
മൈൽമേലേറിനിന്ന നില കാണവേണം പന്തലിൽ
പട്ടുടൻപണിപുടവ പവിഴമുത്തുമായും
അലകരിച്ച പന്തലിൽ എഴുന്തരുൾക മാന്താമ്മാൻ.”

മറ്റു ചില ഭാഗങ്ങളും ഇത്രതന്നെ പുരാതനമായിത്തോന്നുന്നില്ല. പക്ഷേ ഓരോകാലത്തും പാട്ടു പാടുമ്പോൾ ഗായകന്മാർ അന്നന്നു നടപ്പുള്ള ഉച്ചാരണം ആവർത്തിക്കുകൊണ്ടു വാക്കുകൾക്കു രൂപാന്തരം സംഭവിച്ചതാണ് അതിനുള്ള കാരണമെന്നുവരാം. ഇങ്ങനെയാണല്ലോ പഴയഗാനങ്ങളിൽ പുതിയ ശബ്ദങ്ങൾ കടന്നു കൂടാറുള്ളതു. വേറെ ചില ഭാഗങ്ങളിൽ ഉദ്യരിക്കുന്നതിൽനിന്ന് ഈ വാസ്തവം മനസ്സിലാക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.

* Maffei's *Historia Indiae* (1558) Vol. II, p. 215; Gouvea's *Jornada* (1606) p. 87.



പരിശമാട്ടു കളി. Sword and Shield Dance

തോമ്മാ സ്ലീഹായോട് കേരളത്തിലേക്കു പോകണമെന്നു ക്രിസ്തു ശ്രുതുകുടിവിച്ച് അന്ത്യമുയർപ്പോൾ സ്ലീഹാ ഇപ്രകാരം മറുപടി പറയുന്നു.

“എന്നെ നീ കാത്തല്ലോ ഏറ്റക്കുറച്ചിലൊക്കെ
എന്നതും പാഴായിട്ടാകുന്നു ദൈവമെ
ഹിന്തു എന്തെങ്കിലും നാടേറിയ സപ്തങ്ങൾ
എന്നിവ യെന്നിയേ യേററമോ ജന്തുക്കൾ

.....
നാളിപ്പു കോളിപ്പു നന്നായി ചൊല്ലിപ്പു
നാടെല്ലാം കാടല്ലോ നായനേ, എന്നെന്നീ
നന്നായികൈവിട്ടോ നാടിട്ടേച്ചാഴത്തിൽ”

.....
“ചത്ത ശവത്തിനെ ചത്തുമായ് വേർക്കുന്നു
ചത്താലോ മത്സ്യംപോൽ ചുട്ടല്ലൊമുട്ടുന്നു
മക്കളെന്നമ്പിപ്പു മാൽചെയ്യും തങ്ങളിൽ
മക്കൾക്കുമെണ്ണം മനത്താരിലിപ്പുല്ലൊ
മറെറല്ലോ നാളിലും മാരാനേ! യീരണ്ടു
മററവന്മാരല്ലോ മാരാതേ പോകുന്നു.” (ഏഴാംപാദം)

ഉടനെ ക്രിസ്തു പറയുന്നു:—

“എന്നിവയെല്ലാം കണ്ണുനീരോടെ തോമ്മായുണർത്തിച്ചനേരം
എങ്ങുംവിളങ്ങുന്ന നായൻ മിശഹാ പേർത്തരുൾ ചെയ്താൻ തുടങ്ങി.
നീയൊരുവൻ താനെന്നൊരു ചിന്തയുള്ളിൽ നിനക്കുഴൽവേണ്ടോ
നിന്നോടു കൂടി ഞാനുമുണ്ടു കൂറു നീ പോകും നാടതിലെല്ലാം
മാനുഷരല്ലാ ഹിന്തുവെന്നു പാഴിൽ നിനക്കുഴൽവേണ്ടോ
മാനുഷരെല്ലാ ജാതികളും പിന്നെ മാൽചെയ്യും ജന്തുക്കളെല്ലാ
നിനടെവാക്കും നിനവുകൾനോക്കും ഭാഷയറിഞ്ഞുകീടും
നിൻനിനവെല്ലാമെൻ നിനവല്ലോ നീയുറയ്ക്കുകലംവേണ്ടോ.”

(8—20 പാദം)

പരിചമുട്ടുകുട്ടി.

വാളും പരിചയും പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഏതാനും യുവാക്കന്മാർ വട്ടമിട്ടുനിന്നു വെട്ടും തടയുന്നതെന്നതാണ് ഈ കുട്ടിയുടെ മറ്റ. കല്യാണാവസരങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രമല്ല, പള്ളിയിൽ ഉത്സവങ്ങൾക്കും ഇതു കളിക്കാറുണ്ടു്. കുട്ടിയുൾക്കു നോക്കി രസകരങ്ങളായ പാട്ടുകളും പാടാറുണ്ടു്. ഈ പാട്ടുകളിൽ പലതും വളരെ പഴക്കമുള്ളവയാണു്. താഴെ ഉദ്ധരിക്കുന്ന പാട്ടിലെ കഥാവസ്തു തോമ്മാസ്ലീഹാ മയൂരാത്ര ധ്വനായി ആതമ്പമല (St. Thomas Mount) യിൽ സഞ്ചരിച്ചെന്നും

ഒരു വേടൻ മയിലിന്റെ നേക്കയച്ച അമ്പ് ആ സിദ്ധന്റെ ദേഹത്തു പതിച്ചെന്നും ഉള്ള ഒരു പഴയ ഐതിഹ്യമാണ്.

മാർത്തോമ്മാനും മലങ്കര മെലുഭമലേഴുന്നള്ളി
മനതൊടെ യാതന്മ മലയിൽചെന്നു
നന്നു വേടാ തിമ്മചെയ്തു നല്ലവഴുവറ വേടാ
മലമെലൊപ്പൂർ പോകവാൻ വഴിവേടാ
എന്തുവഴി വന്നു മൈലേ എന്നു വേടൻ വില്ലെടുത്തു
തന്തിരുമേനിമേലമ്പൊന്നു ചാർത്തി
ചാമ്പെൻ നീ ദൈവമെന്നും ഇത പഠഞ്ഞൊരുക്രൂടി
തമ്പുരാൻ തൻറടുക്കീഴിൽ വീണുകയീട്ടു
ചോഴൻ തന്റെ കോട്ടത്തിൽ ചോഴൻ തന്റെ വാഴുമുറി
ശോഭയോടെ യെഴുന്നള്ളിക്കളിക്കുന്നേരം
അവിടേന്നും കുത്തിയ കൈ വലിക്കുംമുമ്പേ മെത്രേ
ആലാഹാനായനാണ് മരിക്കീല ഞാൻ

പള്ളിപ്പാട്ടുകൾ.

കല്യാണാവസരങ്ങളിൽ പഴയ പള്ളികളുടെ സ്ഥല പുരാണങ്ങൾ കുറിക്കുന്ന പാട്ടുകളും പാടാറുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ആ പാട്ടുകളിൽ പലതും പുരാതനങ്ങളാണെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല ചരിത്രദൃഷ്ട്യാ വിലയേറിയവകൂടിയാണ്. അവയിൽ പള്ളികൾ പണിയുന്നതിന് ധനസഹായം ചെയ്ത രാജകുടുംബങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയും പള്ളി പണിചെയ്തിട്ടിട്ടു കുടുംബക്കാരെപ്പറ്റിയും പ്രസ്താവിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. കേരളത്തിലെ ഏററവും പുരാതനമായ ഏഴുപള്ളികൾ, കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ, പാലയൂർ, കൊല്ലം, നിരണം, കോക്കമംഗലം, ചായൽ എന്നിവയാണ്. ഈ ദേവാലയങ്ങൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചത് തോമ്മാ ബ്ലീഹാ തന്നെയായിരുന്നെന്നാണ് പരക്കെയുള്ള വിശ്വാസം. എന്നാൽ ഇവയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള പാട്ടുകൾ ഒന്നും ഇപ്പോൾ പ്രചാരത്തിലില്ല. വെൺപലനാട്ട് എന്ന പുരാതന ദേശവിഭാഗത്തിലുംപ്പെട്ട കോട്ടയം, കടുത്തുരുത്തി എന്നീ പള്ളികളെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള പാട്ടുകളുടേയും ആരംഭഘട്ടങ്ങൾമാത്രം താഴെ ഉദ്ധരിക്കാം.

കോട്ടയം വലിയ പള്ളിയെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള പാട്ട്:—

“ഭിക്ഷുതിനേരത്തു കർമ്മം ചെയ്യാൻ
വേണം സ്ഥലം നമുക്കെന്നു ലോകർ
വേഗത്തിലെല്ലാരുമാശ്രൂറി
ചേരക്കൊന്നാട്ടിൽ പദവിയേറും
ചെൽവ മൊഴിയാതെ വെമ്പുന്നാട്ടിൽ

ദിക്ഷിതീസ്തജ്ജ്ഞൈർകൃതം കൃതി
 തിമനേർ മന്നൻ കോട്ടയത്ത്
 കർത്താവിനന്നു ചെലുപള്ളി."

കടുത്തുരുത്തിപ്പള്ളിപ്പാട്ടിന്റെ ഒരംശവും താഴെ ചേർക്കുന്നു.

"ആലപ്പനായനെഴുതു തുവാൽ
 അമ്പിനാൽ തമ്പുരാൻ മുന്മാകെയെന്ന്
 നാലെട്ടു ലിഖിലിണങ്ങൾകൂടി
 നന്മയാലൊരു പാഞ്ഞുവാറെ
 കാലത്തു പള്ളി കടുത്തുരുത്തിൽ
 കാതലായ് വെപ്പതിന്നാശുകൂറി
 നാടെട്ടുമുഖ വടക്കുകൂറ്റിൽ
 നായകൻ മന്നനെച്ചെന്നുകണ്ടു
 ആടകൾ പൊൻപണം കാഴ്ചവെച്ചു
 അരുളോടെ ഭൂമികൊടുത്തുവാറെ,"

ഇങ്ങനെ യെല്ലാമാണ് നസ്രാണികളുടെ വിവാഹോത്സവത്തിന്റെ ചടങ്ങുകൾ. അവയിൽ പലതും ആധുനികന്മാർക്ക് അചിതമായി വന്നേക്കാം. ഒരു വളരെ ഭാഗങ്ങൾ അടുത്തകാലത്തു ഉപേക്ഷിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. ജീവിതമത്സരം വർദ്ധിച്ചു വരുന്ന ഇക്കാലത്ത് നാലും അഞ്ചും ദിവസം കല്യാണം ആഘോഷിക്കുന്നതു മൗഢ്യമായും ചിലർ കരുതിയേക്കാം. പഴയ ആചാരങ്ങളെല്ലാം നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകാൻ ഇനി വിഷമമാണെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം ഞാൻ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ ആധുനിക പരിഷ്കാരത്തിൽ നമ്മെ അധികരിക്കുന്ന ചില യൂറോപ്യൻ ജനങ്ങൾ തങ്ങളുടെ പുരാതനമായ സാമൂഹ്യാചാരങ്ങളെ പുലർത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു പോകുന്നതിൽ ഉത്സുകന്മാരായിത്തന്നെയിരിക്കുന്നു. അതെങ്ങനെയുമിരിക്കട്ടെ; നസ്രാണികളുടെ വിവാഹാചാരങ്ങളിൽ സാമൂഹ്യശാസ്ത്രദൃഷ്ടി പ്രധാനമായ പല തത്വങ്ങൾ അന്തർലീനമായുണ്ടെന്നും തത്സംബന്ധമായ പാടുകൾ പഴയപട്ടസാഹിത്യത്തിന്റെ മാതൃകകളാണെന്നും പുഷ്പചരിത്രസംഘടനത്തിനുള്ള സാമഗ്രികളിൽ അവ അദ്ധിതീയസ്ഥാനം അർഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും മേൽ വിവരിച്ചുവെക്കേണ്ട വെളിവാക്കുമെങ്കിൽ ഞാൻ കൃതാർത്ഥനായി.

سنہ ۱۲۱۸ ہجری میں اس تنگناے عالم فانی سے فسحت آباد
عالم باقی کے طرف رحلت کی - نعلش ترچناپلی بھیجی گئی اور نواب
والاجاہ بہادر کے پائیں دفن کی گئی -

اسد

اسد تخلص - اسد الدین نام - اسد الدین خاں بہادر خطاب -
فرزند علاء الدین خطیب مسجد میلاپور - مدراس مولد - سنہ ۱۱۷۷ ہجری
سال ولادت -

اسد کے نسب کا سلسلہ حضرت خواجہ عثمان ہارونی ' پیرو مرشد
حضرت خواجہ بزرگ خواجہ معین الدین چشتی اجمیری رضی اللہ تعالیٰ
عنہما تک پہنچتا ہے -

میر ابجدی سے عربی اور فارسی درسی کتابیں پڑھیں - پھر اور
اساتذہ عصر سے استفادہ کیا - اپنے زمانے کے فاضلوں میں شمار ہوتے تھے -
اعلیٰ درجے کے انشا پرداز تھے - فن خوش نویسی میں بھی کمال حاصل تھا -
نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر فرماں رواے کرناٹک نے از راہ قدر دانی اُن کو
منشی گری کی خدمت مرحمت فرمائی - خان بہادر کا خطاب بھی دیا -
غزل ذیل اسد کے کلام کا نمونہ ہے :-

شمس یک قبتہ ایوان من است	*	ماہ یک شمع شبستان من است
صبح یک چاک گریبان من است	*	شام یک آہ پریشان من است
بسکہ از درد فراقش گریم	*	بحر یک قطرہ طوفان من است
مہر با این ہمہ نور افشانی	*	پر تو ماہ درخشان من است
ہفت اوراق سپہر گرداں	*	فردے از دفتر عصیان من است
نیمبت بر چرخ بریں ابر سیاہ	*	گرد افشاندہ دامن من است
اے اسد عشق علی می دارم	*	بس ہمیں مایہ ایمان من است

نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر کے انتقال کے بعد اسد بوجہ پیرانہ
سری خانہ نشین ہو گئے - سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری میں آسایش دوامی کے لئے
دنیا سے بلالئے گئے -

مختار

مختار تخلص - محمد انور نام - سیف الملک انور الدولہ محمد انور خاں بہادر حسام جنگ خطاب - فرزند سوم نواب والاجاہ فرماں رواے کرناتک - سنہ ۱۱۶۶ سال پیدائش ہے - آپ بہت بڑے شاہ سوار تھے - عالی گوہر شاہ عالم ثانی بادشاہ دہلی نے آپ کو بذریعہ فرمان منصب شش ہزاری ذات و شش ہزار سوار، خلعت ملبوسی خاص، جیغہ و سر پیچ مرصع، ماہی و مراتب، پالکی جہالدار اور خطابات مندرجہ بالا سے سرفراز فرمایا تھا - سادات و فقرا سے آپ کو دلی عقیدت تھی اور ان کی خدمت کو اپنی سعادت و فلاح دارین کا باعث جانتے تھے -

آپ نے فارسی کی درسی کتابیں میر اسمعیل ابجدی اور میر علی مردان یکدل سے پڑھی تھیں - بعد کو فن عروض و قافیہ، علم عقاید و فقہ اور طب میں بھی استعداد پیدا کی - خوش نویس بھی بہت اچھے تھے - شاعری میں ابجدی سے تلمذ تھا - ایک چھوٹا سا دیوان اپنی یادگار چھوڑا -

کلام کا یہ رنگ ہے :-

آئین دلبری نبود بے حجاب را

جز رنگ بوی نیست گل آفتاب را *

از بوالہوس صحبت قلبی طمع مدار

نتوان گرفت از گل کاغذ گلاب را *

بسکہ ضعف و ناتوانی آشنایم گشتہ است

جادہ از بے طاقتی زنجیر پایم گشتہ است *

بہر قطع آرزوہاے جہاں از خاطر

جنبش مرگان جانان کار صد شمشیر کرد *

بہ نیم غمزہ توانی کہ قتل عام کنی

نعوذ باللہ اگر غمزہ را تمام کنی *

در فراقتم راحتم با رنج مي گردد بدل

بے تو ام مانند چراغ خانه چشم شير را *

نہيستم در ديوان سودا همچو من بيتے کہ يار

بر سرم زد نقطہ ہائے انتخاب از سنگ ها *

ماجد از کف هيچگہ مگذار دامن وطن

از شکستن دور باشد تا بود گوهر در آب *

نبود عجب اگر ز پدر خوب شد پسر

ماجد ز سنگ شيشہ و آئينہ بہتر است *

کس بہ تقلید چون بزرگ شود

کوہ تصوير را گراني نہيست *

جان من در طيش از درد دل زارے ہست

نہيست آرام دران خانہ کہ بیمارے ہست *

محفل صاف دلاں نہيست بہ سامان محتاج

خانہ آئينہ نبود بہ چراغان محتاج *

شبے کہ در کفم آن گيسوي زرافشان بود

بکوچہ ہائے کف دست من چراغان بود *

مسافران عدم را چہ لذتے است بخواب

کہ ہر کہ چشم بہ پوشيد گاہ باز نکرد *

زہس نازک دماغ است آن پري، در محفل و صلاش

بہ عرض حال چون چشم بتان گويائي خاموشم *

بہ پيشم آمدي وا کردم از خميازہ آغوشے

مکن ہرگز تغافل اين اشارت را چو مي داني *

ماجد نے سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری میں وفات پائی - 'امير الملک

ماجد نو جوان رفت، تاريخ وفات ہوي -

تھا کہ آپ نے حضور نواب صاحب سے یہ عرض کیا کہ ”صاحب زادے کو اب اصلاح کی ضرورت باقی نہیں رہی“ ورنہ ضرور تعمیل حکم کرتا۔ اس واقعے کے بعد ماجد تبدیل مذہب کر کے شیعہ ہو گئے۔ یہ اور بھی سونے پر سہاگا ہوا۔ کچھ اختلاف مذہب، کچھ اپنی قابلیت کا غرّہ تھا کہ مولانا آگاہ کی نسبت بے ادبانہ جو کچھ چاہتے کہہ بیٹھتے۔ اسی پر بس نہیں کیا بلکہ اُستاد کے دیوان پر جا بجا اعتراضات کئے۔ ایک قول یہ بھی ہے کہ یہ فعل اُن کے کسی مصاحب کا تھا۔ بہر حال جب اُس کی اطلاع مولانا کو پہنچی تو اُنہیں اتنا صدمہ ہوا کہ ماجد کے حق میں بد دعا کی اور فرمایا کہ ”دیکھ لینا عنقریب علی حسین نوجوانی میں دنیا سے ناشاد و نامراد اُٹھ جائیگا“۔ چنانچہ یہی ہوا کہ وہ عین عصفوان شباب میں کہ اتھارہ برس کے تھے رحلت کر گئے۔ اس کے علاوہ جب سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری میں نواب عمدة الامراء بہادر کا انتقال ہوا تو سرکار انگریزی نے ماجد کو نواب نہیں بنایا اور خود براہ راست ملک کرناتک کو اپنے قبضے میں لے لیا اور نواب عمدة الامراء بہادر کے حقیقی بھتیجے نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر (فرزند نواب امیر الامراء بہادر) کو محض اعزازی نواب بنا دیا۔

خاندان انوریہ میں ماجد جیسا نازک خیال شاعر کوئی اور پیدا نہیں ہوا۔ عجیب دماغ تھا۔ بلا کی طبیعت تھی۔ نامور شاعروں اور باکمال استادوں کے چالیس دیوان شروع سے آخر تک پڑھ کر ان پر تنقید کی۔ کسی پر اعتراض کیا اور کسی کو اصلاح دی۔

قصائد کا ایک دیوان، غزلیات کے دو دیوان اور ایک مثنوی ماجد کی بلند فکری اور علوے تخیل کی نشانیاں ہیں۔ ان میں کہیں ماجد تخلص کیا ہے اور کہیں حسین۔

اُن کے کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

اگر راحت طلب باشی اسیر رنج خواہی شد

کہ خفتن برق باشد خرمن عیش زلیخا را *

سحر زمن گل و بلبل کند بگلشن مشق
یکے دریدن جیب و دگر کشیدن آہ *

انور نے سنہ ۱۲۱۲ ہجری میں راہ دارالبقا اختیار کی۔ میلاپور کے راستے میں حضرت شیخ محمد مخدوم ساوی قدس سرہ کے گنبد کے پائیں سپرد خاک کئے گئے۔

ماجد

ماجد تخلص۔ محمد علی حسین نام۔ تاج الامراء امیر الملک ذوالفقار الدولہ محمد علی حسین خاں بہادر ظفر جنگ خطاب۔ فرزند نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر فرماں روا کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۰ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ھ) مدراس مولد۔ سنہ ۱۱۹۸ ہجری سال ولادت ہے۔

نو سال کی عمر میں قرآن مجید ختم کر کے فارسی کی چند رسمی کتابیں بھی پڑھ لیں۔ اسی میں کچھ شعر و شاعری کے طرف توجہ ہو گئی اور قصائد عرفی، دیوان ناصر علی، دیوان اسیر اور چند اساتذہ قدیم کا کلام بغور مطالعہ فرمایا اور شعر کہنا شروع کر دیا۔ یہاں تک کہ قریباً چار ہزار شعر کا ایک دیوان مرتب کر لیا۔ جب اس پر نظر کرنے بیٹھے تو کچھ سقم نظر آئے۔ دوستوں کے مشورے اور ترغیب سے سارے دیوان کو غرق آب کر دیا۔ اب اساتذہ متاخرین کے دیوانوں اور تذکروں کا مطالعہ شروع کیا اور شعر میں اُن ہی کی تقلید کی۔ مولانا باقر آگاہ کو اپنا کلام دکھاتے اور اصلاح لیتے تھے۔ جب مشق سخن بڑھ گئی تو اپنے آپ سے اتنے مطمئن ہوئے کہ بعض موقعوں پر استاد آگاہ کی اصلاح کو ناپسند کر کے اپنے ہی شعر کو بحال بحال رکھنے لگے۔ اس گستاخی کی اطلاع استاد کو پہنچی تو انہوں نے شاگرد کی اصلاح سے ہاتھ کھینچ لیا۔ نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر کو یہ کیفیت معلوم ہوئی تو آپ بہ نفس نفیس صاحب زادے کو مولانا آگاہ کی خدمت میں لے گئے۔ اُن کی خطا معاف کرائی اور بدستور اصلاح جاری رکھنے پر اصرار کیا۔ مگر یا تو مولانا اپنے شاگرد سے صاف نہیں ہوئے یا یہ امر واقعہ

انور شاعری میں مولانا باقر آگاہ کے شاگرد تھے۔ طبیعت بہت موزوں تھی اور حق یہ ہے کہ خوب کہتے تھے۔

نواب والاجہ بہادر کی سترویں سالگرہ کے موقع پر انور نے یہ دو شعر مستزاد کے پیش کئے :-

از نقد بقاسکہ عطا کرد ترا رب الارباب
کردی ہفتاد صرف در راہ خدا با صدق و صواب
از وعدہ ایزدی کہ یک را بعوض دہ می بخشد
ہفتاد حق تست بعد از ان لطف و عطا و ہوا الوہاب
دریا دل نگتہ رس نواب نے انور کا منہ موتیوں سے بھر دیا۔
انور کبھی کبھی دل بھی تخلص کرتے تھے۔ یہ ان کے اشعار کا نمونہ ہے :-

طپیدن ہاے دل می آرد از عشرت نوید اینجا
مگر قرباں شدن باشد مبارکباد عید اینجا *
تو در صد پردہ و من سوختم از پر تو حسنت
مگر آئینہ آتش شد از عکس تو حائل ہا *
گفتمش کردی قرار وصل گیسو شاہد است
گفت این باور نمی آید کہ ہندو شاہد است *
طرہ اش امشب پریشانست ای دل نالہ
لیلة القدر است اظہار تمنا کردن است *
گریہ ام چشم ترا جوش سرور افزاید
سیر در عالم مستی بلب آب خوش است *
صحبت ناراستان ناراست سازد مرد را
می نماید چہرہ را مرآت نا ہموار کیم *
مباد از نالہ ام چشمت شود بیدار می ترسم
من از بیداری این فتنہ ہا بسیار می ترسم *

مخور خار آن پری زادم
 مثل آئینہ حیرت ایجادم *
 جان من عشق مرتضیٰ دارد
 معجو او گشته حیدر آبادم *

افصح کی تاریخ وفات معلوم نہ ہوئی - سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری میں
 نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر کی مسند نشینی تک زندہ تھے -

انور

انور تخلص - نورالدین محمد نام - نورالدین محمد خاں بہادر
 حشمت جنگ خطاب - فرزند ابوالمعالی خاں گویاموی - سنہ ۱۱۶۰ ھ
 سال ولادت -

آپ کے نانا نواب محمد محفوظ خاں بہادر شہامت جنگ
 نواب والاجہ فرماں رواے کرناٹک کے بڑے بھائی تھے - انور نے اپنے زمانے کے
 علماء سے عربی و فارسی کی ضروری درسی کتابیں پڑھیں - اس کے بعد
 نواب والاجہ جنت آرام گاہ کے عہد میں پہلے تنجاور کی خانسامانی اور پھر
 نلور کی فوجداری پر مامور ہوئے - بعد کو ونکٹاچلم عامل نلور کے قتل کے جرم
 میں چندرگیری کے قلعے میں قید ہوئے - قید کے زمانے میں چھ مہینوں
 کی تھوڑی سی مدت میں قرآن مجید حفظ کر لیا - نواب والاجہ بہادر
 کے حضور میں اس واقعے کی اطلاع کے ساتھ معافی قصور کی عرضداشت
 پیش کی - اتفاق سے وہ مہینہ رمضان شریف کا تھا - نواب صاحب نے
 حکم دیا کہ وہ ختم شبینہ سنائیں - انہوں نے تعمیل حکم کی -
 نواب صاحب قرآن مجید سنکر بہت خوش ہوئے اور انہیں دوبارہ
 نلور کی فوجداری مرحمت فرمائی اور پلٹا ڈاورنگول کی فوجداری بھی اس کے
 ساتھ عطا فرمائی -

نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر فرماں رواے کرناٹک نے انور کو محمد پور
 عرف ارکات کا نائب صوبہ دار مقرر کیا اور حشمت جنگ کا خطاب
 بھی عطا ہوا - ایک ہی سال کے بعد معزول ہوکر مدراس واپس آ گئے -

فصل ہشتم

فارسی گو شعراء جو مدراس میں پیدا ہوئے -

افصح

افصح تخلص - حسین علی نام - محمود علی خاں خطاب -
فرزند حاجی محمود علی خاں نایبی - ان کا مولد مدراس ہے - سال ولادت
معلوم نہ ہو سکا -

افصح کے حقیقی چچا حسین محمد خاں چودھری نواب والاجہ
بہادر فرماں روائی کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۱۶۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری) کے
مدارالمہام تھے - افصح نے اساتذہ وقت سے فیض تعلیم اٹھایا -

جب سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری میں نواب عمدة الامراء بہادر المتخلص
بہ ممتاز فرماں روائی کرناٹک ہوئے، افصح نے حضرت ملک العلماء بحر العلوم
قدس سرہ کی وساطت سے نواب ممدوح کی خدمت میں باریاب
ہو کر اردو زبان میں ایک قصیدہ پیش کیا جس کا یہ مطلع ہے :-

ہر ذرۂ بے قدر کو خورشید بنانا

یہ کام تو تیرا ہی ہے ممتاز زمانا *

اس کے صلے میں نواب موصوف نے افصح کو افصح الشعراء کا خطاب
عطا فرمایا - فن شعر میں مولانا باقر آگاہ سے تلمذ تھا - طبیعت میں
تیز، شہ-وخی اور ظرافت تھی -

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

از قتل دشمنان علی ہر مدار دست

بہر حمایت تو رسد صد ہزار دست *

نیست سروے کہ لب جو پیدا ست

نخل آہ ز گلستان من است *

دلا از پر تو مہر علی خورشید گردیدم

بیک جام ولایش مرشد جمشید گردیدم *

نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر نواب کرناٹک نے جو محفل
مشاعرہ قائم فرمائی تھی، اُس میں اکثر جوہر بھی شامل ہوتے تھے۔
نواب ممدوح کی سرکار سے انہیں کچھ تنخواہ بھی ملتی تھی۔
کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

دل پُر جوش من دانست شرح جوہر فردش
چو آمد در نظر رنگ مسی بالائے آن لب ہا *
برد حسن عارض دلدار خط شد کسوف آفتاب یار خط *
بود جنوں زدہ شوق ابروی تو از اں
ز جوہر است بزنجیر آب دریم تیغ *
ہلال وار شدہ جسم جوہر دلریش
ز بسکہ خورد ز دست تو زخم پیہم تیغ *
جوہر کا سال وفات معلوم نہوا۔ مؤلف عاصی کی بسم اللہ خوانی
یعنی سنہ ۱۲۱۲ ہجری تک بقید حیات تھے۔

بخشی گری کی خدمت عطا فرمائی - مدت تک اسی عہدے پر سرفراز
 اور میسور ہی میں مقیم تھے - ایک روز سواروں کا جایزہ لیتے ہوئے
 ایک سوار سے کہا کہ ”میں تجھ کو یاہو رکھنے کی اجازت نہیں
 دے سکتا“ - سوار نے برجستہ جواب دیا کہ ”جب کوئی نواب اپنے رتبے
 سے گر کر بخشی ہونا منظور کر لے تو کوئی سوار اگر گھوڑے کے عوض
 یاہو رکھ لے تو اُس پر کیوں اعتراض کیا جاسکتا ہے“ یہ فقرہ سن کر
 ان کے دل پر سخت چوٹ لگی - نوکری چھوڑ کر مرہٹہ واری کی طرف
 چل دیے - وہاں کے پیشواؤں میں سے بھاؤ نامی پیشوانے اُن کی مدد کی
 اور ان کی ضروریات کے موافق جاگیر دے دی - زمانہ دراز تک وہاں ایسے
 پکیر باندھ کر بیٹھے کہ مرکز ہی آتھے -

آگاہ کے یہ دو شعر بطور نمونہ حاضر ہیں :-

از دہر آنچه حاصل اسباب کردہ ایم

قصرے بلند بر رۂ سیلاب کردہ ایم *

بہ ہفتاد و دو ملت آشنا شد طبع آزادم

چراغم - محفلم - آئینہ ام حسن پری زادم *

آگاہ کا سال رحلت معلوم نہوا -

جوہر

جوہر تخلص - قادر حسین نام - فرزند شیخ داؤد جوہری -

ناگور شریف مولد - سنہ ۱۲۳۳ ہجری سال ولادت ہے -

آپ میاں محمد قاسم عمدۃ التجار ناگوری کے بھانجے تھے -

چھوٹی ہی عمر میں اپنے والد کے ہمراہ مدراس آگئے - جب ہوش

سنبھالا تو شہر کے اہل علم و فضل سے فارسی درسی کتابیں پڑھیں -

ان ہی حضرات سے مشق سخن بھی کی - شیریں سخن خاں راقم نے

جوہر آپ کا تخلص تجویز فرمایا -

درسی کتابیں خوب از بر تھیں - جو کچھ اپنے استادوں سے

سنا تھا، اسی طرح ان کتابوں کو اپنے شاگردوں کو پڑھاتے تھے -

منور

منور تخلص - سید معین الدین نام - منور رقم خاں خطاب -
 فرزند سید عبد القادر خوشنویس - چتر وطن و مولد - سنہ ۱۲۱۷ ہجری
 سال ولادت -

آپ کے والد سرکار کرناٹک میں ملازم تھے - منور کم سنی میں
 اپنے والد کے ہمراہ مدراس آئے اور یہیں مقیم ہو گئے - عربی اور فارسی کی
 ضروری تعلیم پائی - فن خطاطی میں کمال پیدا کیا - سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری میں
 نواب کرناٹک کے دربار میں دارالانشا کے منشی مقرر ہوئے - اس کے بعد
 کچھری دیوانی مال کے منشی مقرر کئے گئے -

اس سے زیادہ آپ کا کوئی حال معلوم نہوا - آپ کے کلام کا
 یہ نمونہ ہے :-

بہ محفلے کہ رخس نور بخش انظار است

ہزار دیدہ چو آئینہ نقش دیوار است *

رو بروے جلوۂ رخسار آن خورشید رو

سر بسر آئینہ از خجالت در آب استاده است *

مگر باشد ہوائی شمع رویش در سرش ہر دم

کہ آتش در جگر افتاد فانوس خیالی را *

سال وفات معلوم نہوا - تذکرۂ گلزار اعظم کی تالیف

(سنہ ۱۲۶۹ ہجری) کے زمانے میں وہ زندہ تھے -

آگاہ

آگاہ تخلص - علی رضا خاں نام - ضیاء الدولہ خطاب - فرزند

حسین دوست خاں بہادر شمس الدولہ عرف چندا صاحب - ارکات مولد -

سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا - شرفاء اہل نواپٹ میں سے تھے - بڑے ذی مروت

ور فیاض تھے - جب اپنی ریاست میں خلل پڑا اور تمام کار و بار درہم

ہو گیا تو میسور گئے - حیدر علی خاں والی میسور نے از راہ شرفا نوازی

سلسلہ پندرة واسطوں سے حضرت قطب ربّانی محبوب سبحانی سیدنا شیعخ عبد القادر جیلانی رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ تک پہنچتا ہے۔ ممالک دکن میں ان کی خاندانی شرافت مشہور ہے۔

ہوش سنبھالنے کے بعد خالص مدراس آئے اور یہاں مولوی شہرین سخن خاں راقم سے تمام درسی کتابیں پڑھیں۔ مشق سخن بھی اُن ہی سے کی۔ نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) کی بزم مشاعرہ میں باریاب ہوئے۔ نیز اس محفل کی منشی گری اور کتب خانہ سرکاری کی مہتممی پر نام زد کئے گئے۔ فہم سلیم اور طبع رسا رکھتے تھے۔

ان کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

خم ز بار منت عشقش بود گردن مرا
یک بدخشاں ریخت لعل از اشک در دامن مرا *
خلعت عریانی از شاہ جنونم حاصل است
نیست خالص ہمچو عیسیٰ حاجت سوزن مرا *
ز شمع روشنی گل کرد بر من این سخن خالص
توان دریافتن نور دل از بیداری شب ہا *
ریزد بجرم ہمسری مہ جبین من
جلاد آسمان شفق خون آفتاب *
در گریہ بوسہ لب جانانم آرزو است
نوشیدن شراب بہ بارانم آرزو است *
جواں بہ مقصد خود میرسد ز صحبت پیر
رود ز فیض کہاں بر سر نشانہ خدنگ *
ننگ می داری ز آغوشم چرا ای شعلہ رو
ماہ را زیب دگر حاصل شود از ہالہ *

خالص کے انتقال کا سال معلوم نہوا۔ سنہ ۱۲۶۹ ہجری تک

وہ زندہ تھے۔

اتنا ضرور معلوم ہے کہ سنہ ۱۲۶۱ ہجری میں گلزار اعظم کی تالیف کے زمانے تک زندہ تھے۔

تمنا

تمنا تخلص - سید محمد حسین نام - فرزند سید امام - وطن و مولد تریاتور - سنہ ۱۲۱۳ ہجری سال ولادت - اپنے والد کے انتقال کے بعد دس برس کی عمر میں چتور پہنچے - وہاں کچھ فارسی پڑھی - پھر مدراس آکر افضل العلماء مولوی ارتضا علی خاں بہادر سے عربی کی تکمیل کی -

سنہ ۱۲۵۰ ہجری میں حافظ یار جنگ بہادر کی وساطت سے نواب کرناتک کی سرکار میں ملازم ہوئے - چندے تاریخ والاجاہی کی تصنیف میں لگے رہے - سنہ ۱۲۶۱ ہجری میں مدرسۂ اعظم کے فارسی مدرس مقرر ہوئے - شرح بوستان المعروف بہ عندلیب بوستان، بدیع الصرف، بدیع الانشا، رسالۃ مناسک الحج موسوم بہ ذخیرۃ العقیدہ فارسی میں اور رسالۃ زیارت مصطفیٰ (صلی اللہ علیہ و آلہ و صحبہ وسلم) ہندی میں تمنا کی یادگار ہیں - شاعری میں جناب افضل العلماء مرصوف سے تلمذ رکھتے تھے -

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

چشم ہر کس معو گلزار است و چشم معویار
ہر کسے مست شراب و من بہ ساقی پر خمار *
کشتہ عشق تو گردید مباهی از خوں
بر سر خویش زیہ افسر شاهی از خوں *

تمنا کا سال وفات معلوم نہوا - سنہ ۱۲۶۱ ہجری تک تو زندہ رہے -

خالص

خالص تخلص - سید محمد نام - فرزند سید صفی اللہ قادری - ادبگیر وطن و مولد - سنہ ۱۲۳۷ ہجری سال پیدائش - ان کے نسب کا

افسر

افسر خلاص - رضا حسین خان نام - رضا حسین خان بہادر خطاب -
فرزند سعید حسین خان جدی - ویلور مولد - سنہ ۱۲۱۹ ہجری
سال ولادت -

خطہ کرناٹک کے سر بر آوردہ جاگیرداروں میں سے تھے - سقرہ برس
کی عمر میں مدراس آئے - فارسی کتابیں مولوی واقف اور عارف الدین
خان رونق سے اور عربی میں میبذی تک مولوی صادق نقشبندی اور
افضل العلماء مولوی ارتضا علی خان بہادر سے پڑھیں - فن شعر میں بھی
واقف اور رونق کے شاگرد تھے -

منشآت افسری - تحفۃ الانشا اور مختصر سا دیوان اپنی یادگار
چھوڑی - طبیعت میں بلا کی تیزی تھی - اتنے زود فکر تھے کہ ایک ہی
جلسے میں غزل بلکہ قصیدہ کہہ اٹھتے تھے -

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

دل آسودہ زلف تو مزین شانہ دگر
خار در سینہ زند ہر سر دندانہ مرا *
بسکہ در شیشہ دل عشق تو افسوں دارد
این پری خانہ بود کعبہ و بتخانہ مرا *
جہاں پا مال عشقش حسن روز افزوں تماشاکن
بنازم دلبرے را ہر دم اعجاز مبین دارد *
گرفتارم بدست خیرۂ یعنی دل شیدا
چکریم در بغل پیدا شد این دشمن خدا حافظ *
چو دیدم رنگ های عالم افسر
دلے می خواہم از ہستی رمیدہ *

آخر عمر میں امراض و افکار نے ان کے حواس مختل کر دیے تھے -
اگلی جودت و ذکاوت باقی نہ رہی تھی - سال وفات معلوم نہوا -

بصارت

بصارت تخلص - غلام محی الدین نام - فرزند حکیم بدیع الدین -
 ارکات مولد - سنہ ۱۱۹۷ سال ولادت - ان کے والد نواب کرناٹک کی
 سرکار میں ملازم تھے - مگر دادا حکیم محمود حسین اپنے وطن سے باہر
 کہیں نہیں گئے - والد بہ ہمراہی نواب انور الدین خاں شہید ارکات پہنچے -
 بصارت نے علوم صرف و نحو عربی اور طب نظری و عملی حکیم شفاغی
 خاں سے پڑھی - فارسی نظم و نثر کی اصلاح سید منان حسینی بینا اور
 دوسرے اساتذہ سے لیتے تھے - اپنے والد کے انتقال کے بعد ان ہی کی جگہ
 سرکاری شفا خانے میں بہ عہدہ طبابت مامور ہوئے - رنگیں مزاج
 خوش تقریر اور چرب زبان تھے - اشعار کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

گشت ویراں دل من از ستم آہ و سرشک
 خانہ ہستی من کرد خراب آتش و آب *
 آب گردیدہ ام از جوش گداز تب عشق
 ہست بیرون درونم چو کباب آتش و آب *
 می کند صد جا توقف تا بہ چشم می رسد
 شاید افتاد از تب دل آبلہ در پائے اشک *
 لب تشنہ و تفسیدہ دہان مردہ ام ای ابو
 بر خاکم اگر اشک نہ باری عجب از تو *

سنہ ۱۲۶۴ ہجری میں اس دار فانی سے عالم جاودانی کی طرف
 سفر کیا - بینش نے جو شیعہ تھے یہ تاریخی قطعہ کہا :-
 دانشمند نہاد چون نرو بعدم

نے نے کہ نجات یافت از بند الم *

تاریخ بحسب اعتقادش جستم

روحش گفتا : ”غلام محی الدینم“ *

اخیر زمانے میں نواب اعظم جاہ بہادر رضواں مآب نواب کرناٹک
(سنہ ۱۲۳۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری) کے مصاحبوں میں داخل ہوئے ۔

شاعر ہونے کے علاوہ بہت بڑے ادیب و انشا پرداز بھی تھے ۔ ایک
تذکرہ گلدستہ کرناٹک کے نام سے نہایت فصیح و بلیغ لکھا ہے ۔

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

بیاقوت جگر کن دیدم اسم شاہ جیلاں را
بہ این اسم معظم تو اما دیدم چو ایماں را *
بہ راہ مرگ رفتن اغنیا را سخت دشوار است
کہ فر بہ کے بہ آسانی نماید قطع منزل ہا *
سر کرد در بساط زمیں بازی فلک
یکسر برات میر ز حکم غلام سوخت *
شعر ناخویت کند رسوای عالم گوش دار
چوں پسر ابتر شود نفریں پدر را می کنند *
ہر دم از سودای عشق آن بیت انور جبین
ہمچو ہندو شمع می مالد بہ خاکستر جبین *

رایق نے بقول تذکرہ اعظم سنہ ۱۲۴۸ ہجری میں قضا کی ۔ جذاب
’والا‘ نے اُن کی تاریخ رحلت حسب ذیل کہی ہے مگر اُس سے سنہ ۱۲۵۱
نکلتے ہیں :-

داروی اجل چو خورد رایق * با بدرقہ گلاب ایماں
سالش ز سربکا دلم گفت * حقا کہ زدہر رفت لقماں
چونکہ اس تاریخ میں ”بکا“ کے سرعنی ب کا تعمیہ ہے ، اس
لئے ب کے دو عدد مصرع تاریخ میں بڑھائے جائیں تو سنہ ۱۲۵۳ ہوتے
ہیں ۔ اس حساب سے تذکرہ اعظم کے بیان اور قطعہ تاریخ میں پانچ
عدد کا فرق ہے ۔

زدود عشق او ہر جا کہ داغ است
 کدورت خانہ جاں را چراغ است *
 وای بر حال نارسائی ہا
 زیستن بے تو سخت دشوار است *
 برہاں بصد ہزار پریشانی زماں
 از دامن تو دور نشد گر غبار شد *
 سنہ ۱۲۳۸ ہجری میں جادہ پیمائے ملک بقا ہوئے۔

رایق

رایق تخلص - غلام علی موسیٰ رضا نام - حکیم باقر حسین خان
 خطاب - فرزند حکیم رکن الدین حسین خان نایبی - محمد پور (ارکات)
 مولد - سنہ ۱۱۸۰ ہجری سال ولادت - تذکرۃ محبوب الزمن میں رایق کا
 مولد ادگیر بتلایا ہے اور سال وفات سنہ ۱۲۴۷ ہجری لکھا ہے - گلزار اعظم نے
 ان کا مولد ارکات اور سنہ ۱۲۴۸ ہجری سال وفات بتلایا ہے - چونکہ رایق کو
 دوبار کرناٹک سے گہرا تعلق تھا اور صاحب گلزار اعظم وہیں کے فرمانروا تھے
 اس لئے ان ہی کا بیان زیادہ قابل وثوق ہے -

نواب حیدر علی خان فرماں رواے میسور کی معرکہ آرائی کے
 زمانے میں ادگیر پہنچ کر وہاں کے جاگیردار سید عبد القادر خان کے
 ملازم رہے - اُس کے بعد مدراس آئے - مولانا باقر آگاہ کے فیض تعلیم سے
 فارسی نظم و نثر میں خاص مہارت پیدا کی - فن طب میں بھی بڑی
 شہرت پائی -

نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر فرماں روائی کرناٹک نے انہیں محمد پور
 میں منشی گری کی خدمت پر مامور فرمایا - نواب موصوف کی
 وفات کے بعد رایق دوبارہ مدراس آئے اور نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر رحمت
 مآب نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۶ تا سنہ ۱۳۱۴ ہجری) کے زمرۂ اطباء میں
 داخل ہو گئے اور نواب ممدوح نے حکیم باقر حسین خان کا خطاب دیا -

مصحف روی تو تفسیر دگر می خواهد

من چه گویم رخ زیبای تو دیدن دارد *

بدین امید که روزی بدامن تو رسم

غبار وار بکویت بسے گزر کردم *

بیخود کے انتقال کا سال نہ معلوم ہوا۔ بہر حال یہ ثابت ہے

کہ وہ سنہ ۱۲۳۵ ہجری تک بقید حیات تھے۔ اس لئے کہ اسی سن میں حیدر آباد گئے تھے۔

برہان

برہان تخلص۔ سید برہان خاں ہانڈی نام۔ فرزند سید حسن

ہانڈی۔ بیجاپور وطن اسلاف۔ نقہر نگر (ترچناپی) مولد۔ سال ولادت معلوم نہوا۔

شرفاء اہل دکن میں سے تھے۔ غلام حسین جودت کے فیض

تعلیم سے فارسی میں اچھی استعداد حاصل کی۔ نظم و نثر کی اصلاح بھی ان ہی سے لیتے تھے۔ فن انشاپردازی میں ان کی بڑی شہرت ہوئی۔

ابتدا میں شرفاء اہل نواپٹ کے یہاں منشی گری کرتے تھے۔ پھر نواب

والاجہ فرمانرواے کرناٹک کے فرزند حسام الملک بہادر کی سرکار میں

بمقام نقہر نگر ملازم ہوئے اور آپ کے حکم سے کتاب ”تزک والاجہی“

تصنیف کی۔ چند روز کے بعد آپ کے ہمراہ مدراس آئے اور یہیں

سکونت اختیار کر لی۔ نعرۂ حیدری، انشاء برہانی، منشآت بے نظیر

اور طوطی نامہ منظوم لکھا۔

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

فرزد عزت عالی نژاد در پستی

دُریے است قطرۂ کہ رفت از سحاب در تہ آب *

تپ دل در ہواش شعلہ جوش است

تمنا ہر نفس محشر خروش است *

صد سے کدہ چوں وقف ایام نگہ تست
 یک دور کہ بے بادہ تباہ است دل ما *
 عدم شخص خود نما شدن است
 غنچه را گل شدن فنا شدن است *
 چشم عالی ہمتاں بالا نہ بیند از غرور
 گرچہ اختر بر فلک باشد نگاہش بر زمین است *
 تکبیر اولین است سلام وداع خویش
 عشاق چوں نماز محبت ادا کنند *
 ز پا افتادہ را عالی مقامان پایہ می بخشند
 کند بر عالم بالا بہ جذب خود سفر شہنم *
 آخر عمر میں معجز تمام کاموں سے دست بردار ہو کر گوشہ نشین
 ہو گئے تھے۔ سنہ ۱۲۲۹ ہجری میں وفات پائی۔

بیخود

بیخود تخلص۔ سید امین غوث نام۔ فرزند سید محی الدین
 بیجاپوری۔ محمد پور عرف ارکات مولد۔ سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری سال ولادت۔
 کم سنی میں مدراس پہنچے۔ فارسی کی کتابیں حضرت سید شاہ
 حسین صاحب قادری مجرم قدس سرہ اور مولوی قادر بخش صاحب سے
 پڑھیں۔ عربی میں میبذی تک ملک العلماء مولوی علاء الدین صاحب
 سے مستفیض ہوئے۔ سنہ ۱۲۳۵ ہجری میں حیدر آباد چلے گئے اور راجہ
 چندو لال کے شعراء کے زمرے میں داخل ہوئے۔ کچھ دنوں بعد دہلی کا
 رخ کیا۔ پھر ان کا پتہ نہ چلا کہ کیا ہوئے۔

برے آزاد منش آدمی تھے۔ بدیہ گوئی میں اپنے ہم عصر شعراء
 میں ممتاز سمجھے جاتے تھے۔

اُن کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

نیست در راہ طلب حاجت مشعل دگرم
 ز آتش عشق سرا پای من افروختہ است *

آگاہ سنہ ۱۲۲۰ ہجری میں جنت نصیب ہوئے۔ مدینہ منورہ کے راستے میں ہاتھی گنتے کے پاس سپرد خاک کئے گئے۔

معجز

معجز تخلص - غلام محی الدین نام - فرزند محمد ندیم اللہ نایبی - اسلاف کا وطن پہلے مدینہ منورہ تھا، پھر پانڈا پونڈا اور اس کے بعد بیجاپور تھا - محمد پور (ارکات) مولد - سنہ ۱۱۷۳ ہجری سال ولادت ہے - عربی میں قطبی اور میر تک اور فارسی درسی کتابیں اپنے زمانے کے استادوں سے پڑھیں - سترہ برس کی عمر میں مدراس آئے اور اپنے بزرگوں کے قدیم تعارف کی وجہ سے محمد محفوظ خان بہادر شہامت جنگی، برادر نواب والاجہ فرمانروای کرناٹک کے مورد عنایت و عاطفت ہوئے - نواب امیر الامراء بہادر فرزند دوم نواب والاجہ بہادر نے اپنے فرزند نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۶ تا سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری) کی تعلیم ان کے سپرد کر دی - جب چند سال کے بعد نواب ممدوح کا انتقال ہو گیا تو نواب والاجہ نے معجز کو اپنے ملازمین کے زمرے میں داخل فرمایا اور اسی خدمت پر بحال رکھا اور اپنے فرزندوں اور دامادوں کو بھی بہ غرض تعلیم ان کے تفویض فرمایا -

نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر رحمت مآب نواب کرناٹک نے اپنے عہد ریاست میں اپنے استاد کو مدارالمہام بنانا چاہا لیکن معجز نے قبول نہیں کیا اور کہا کہ ”میں غلام محی الدین ہوں کسی اور کی بندگی نہیں کرونگا“ اس پر نواب نے ایک سو چالیس روپیہ کا منصب جاری فرمادیا اور اپنے فرزند اکبر نواب اعظم جاہ بہادر کی تعلیم آپ کے سپرد کر دی - نواب رحمت مآب اپنے استاد کی بڑی تعظیم و تکریم کرتے اور مرتے دم تک خلوص کے ساتھ شاگردی کے حقوق بجا لاتے رہے -

شاعری میں آپ کو مولانا باقر آگاہ سے تلمذ تھا -

اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

گند بے بال و پر تیر فلک را ترک چشم او

بہ تیر غمزہ چوں پیوند سازد قوس ابرو را *

شہرت پائی، جیسا کہ ان دونوں کے حالات سے ظاہر ہوگا، جو اس کتاب میں درج ہیں۔

عربی فارسی اور ہندی میں آپ کی بہت سی تصانیف موجود ہیں۔ ان کے اشعار کی تعداد پچاس ہزار سے بھی زیادہ ہے۔ آپ کے کلام کا یہ رنگ ہے :-

الہی مطلع صبح تجلی کن دل مارا
چمن زار گل وادی ایمن کن گل مارا *
غم فراق تو از بسکہ کاست جان مرا
عصا ز آہ بود جسم فاتوان مرا *
بستم بہ طرۂ تو دل زار خویش را
آخر فگندہ ام بہ سرت بار خویش را *
شکافے در دل از تیر نگاہے کردہ ام پیدا
بسوی آن وفا بیگانہ راہے کردہ ام پیدا *
ز رشک آن کہ ساغر از لبش خورشید تابان است
ہلال آسا کند قالب تہی ماہ تمام امشب
برنگ غنچۂ شاخ بریدہ دل تنگم
کہ داغ آن گل رعنا بہ نو بہارم سوخت *
دور نبود شاخ رز گردد اگر مسواک شیخ
بسکہ در دور نگاہت می کشی دارد رواج *
گر نمی داشت اثر جذب محبت آگاہ
شمع را بر سر پروانہ چرا گریاں کرد *

رباعی

ایراں بقیاس ہر سقیم الافکار
رجاں دارد بہند جفت آثار *
نشنید کہ بر طبق احادیث آدم
در ہند فرود آمد و در ایراں مار *

وطن میں فارسی اور عربی کی چند کتابیں پڑھیں۔ پھر طلبِ علم کی غرض سے ترجنپلی گئے اور ذہانت خدا داد سے پندرہ سال کی عمر میں نظم و نثر لکھنے پر قادر ہو گئے۔ انیس سال کی عمر میں حضرت سید شاہ ابوالحسن قدس سرہ سے بیعت کی اور آپ ہی سے اشعار کی اصلاح لیتے رہے۔ نعت و مذہبیت میں بہت سے قصائد و غزلیات اور مثنویاں لکھیں۔ اس وقت آپ نے اپنا کوئی تخلص قرار نہیں دیا تھا۔ پیر و مرشد کے انتقال کے بعد اپنے تمام اشعار غرق آب کر دئے۔ شاعری سے کفارہ کش ہو گئے اور ترجنپلی سے چلے آئے۔ ایک دفعہ پھر ترجنپلی گئے اور نواب والاجہ فرماں روائی کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۱۸۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری) نے بڑے ادب اور تعظیم کے ساتھ ملاقات کی اور اپنے دوسرے فرزند نواب امیر الامراء بہادر کا اتالیق مقرر کر کے دو سو روپیہ ماہوار کا وظیفہ عطا کیا۔ کچھ روز بعد التدریج جاگیر جس کی سالانہ آمدنی بارہ سو ہوں تھی، مرحمت فرمائی۔ جب نواب امیر الامراء بہادر مدراس آئے لگے تو آگاہ بھی ہم رکاب آگئے اور یہیں سکونت اختیار کی۔ مدراس پہنچ کر پھر شعر گوئی شروع کر دی۔ نواب والاجہ بہادر کے جو خطوط اہل حجاز کے نام جاتے تھے وہ سب آگاہ ہی لکھتے تھے۔ جب پہلا خط وہاں پہنچا، تو فصلی وقت نے آپ کی انشا بہت پسند کر کے نواب والاجہ کو محرر کی بہت تعریف لکھی۔ نواب صاحب اس سے ایسے خوش ہوئے کہ اپنے فرزندوں نواب عمدۃ الامراء اور نواب امیر الامراء کو ایک سوئے کے گہوارے کے ساتھ مولانا آگاہ کی خدمت میں روانہ کیا اور دونوں صاحب زادوں سے کہا کہ مولوی صاحب کو اس میں ہتھلا کر جھلاٹیں۔ مولانا نے بڑے اصرار کے بعد یہ تحفہ تو قبول فرمالیا مگر جھلاٹے جانے سے انکار کر دیا۔

آپ کے بہت سے شاگرد تھے۔ ان میں سے نواب تاج الامراء بہادر ماجد فرزند نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر اور اعزالدین خاں نامی نے بڑی

قصائد کے دو کثیر الحجم دیوان ' غزلوں اور رباعیوں کا دیوان اور پانچ مثنویاں و مثنوی معجزہ مصطفیٰ آپ کے افکار آبدار کا نتیجہ ہیں - فصیح اللسان شاعر تھے - قدیم شعراء کی طرز پر کہتے تھے - آپ کی زود فکری غیر معمولی تھی - مولانا باقر آگاہ کا بیان ہے کہ ایک روز حضرت ذوقی نے میرے رو برو سات سو شعر موزوں کئے اور فرمایا کہ بارہا ایسا اتفاق ہوا ہے کہ مجھے ایک دن میں ہزار ہزار شعر کہنے پڑے ہیں -

علاوہ ان مثنویوں کے جن کا اوپر ذکر کیا گیا ہے، آپ نے ایک مثنوی بنام 'دُرّ بے بہا' تصنیف فرمائی - اس مثنوی میں اُس جنگ کے واقعات بیان کئے گئے ہیں جو نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر اور تنجاوریوں میں ہوئی تھی - اسی مثنوی کے چند شعر ذیل میں درج کئے جاتے ہیں، جن سے آپ کے کلام کا اندازہ ہو سکے گا :-

راندہ بارہ بسوی آں بارہ *	آمد اندر خروش نقارہ
تیغ ہا درمیان تیور غبار *	روز روشن نمود درشب تار
بارش گولہ از حسیض زمیں *	ہمچو یاراں زواج چرخ بریں
چرخ را چرخ سر در افکنده *	کر گس آسماں سر افکنده
برگت بید اندران سواد ستم *	خضم را گشتہ برگت راہ عدم
آشکارا شد از میانہ فوج *	شعلہ بر شعلہ موج اندر موج
توپ ہا دود بر سر آوردہ *	وز سراں دود ہا بر آوردہ
بسکہ پیکان تیر دل می سفت *	الامان الامان اجل می گفت
ریکلہ فتنہ ہا بپا کردہ *	گلہ از فرق مہ جدا کردہ
تا برد چیرہ دستیش بعدو *	خورد پستول داروی نیرو
رفتنہ بر باد فتنہ چوں پریاں *	از زمیں بر فلک تنجاوریاں

سنہ ۱۱۹۴ ہجری میں آپ کا وصال ہوا - قلعہ ویلور کی خندق پر اپنے والد ماجد کے پہلو میں دفن کئے گئے -

آگاہ

آگاہ تخلص - محمد باقر نام (نایطی و شافعی) - فرزند محمد مرتضیٰ المعروف بہ محمد صاحب - بیجاپور وطن اسلاف - ویلور مولد - سنہ ۱۱۵۸ ہجری سال ولادت

خوش است سوي زرخدانِ او نظر لیکن
 بہ پائے خویش فتادن بہ چاہ رسوائی است *
 تا نہ گردد دل دو پارہ ہر نیاید آرزو
 دیدہ ام خورشید در چاک گریبان صباح *
 برنگ شیشہ ساعت دلم را باداش بستم
 کہ راز ہر یکے ہر یک دگر پنہاں نمی ماند *
 دل را بہ دام زلف گرہ گیر بستہ اند
 دیوانہ را بہ حلقہ زنجیر بستہ اند *
 برلے رفع گزند حوادثِ دوراں
 شد است داغِ دلم ابجدی مرا تعویذ *
 ابجدی نے سنہ ۱۱۹۳ ہجری میں قصا کی - جامع مسجد میلانپور کے
 صحن میں دفن ہوئے -

ذوقی

ذوقی تخلص - سید عبد اللطیف نام - غلام محی الدین عرف -
 فرزند حضرت سید شاہ ابوالحسن قربی قدس سرہ - بیجاپور وطن اسلاف -
 بیجاپور مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہوا -

اپنے والد ماجد سے ابتدائی فارسی کتابیں پڑھیں - پھر عظیم الدین
 داماد محمد جعفر طالب علم ویلوری سے صرف و نحو عربی اور علم معقول
 کے چند رسالے پڑھے - ذہن و ذکاوت خدا داد تھی - اتنی ہی تعلیم سے
 معقول و منقول کی مستند کتابوں کے مطالعہ کی استعداد پیدا کر لی -
 حقایق و معارف کے علوم سے بھی خوب واقفیت بہم پہنچائی -

حضرت ذوقی کے مزاج میں بڑی بے تکلفی تھی - ظاہری لباس
 و آرایش کا خیال نہ تھا - امیروں اور تونگروں کی بالکل پروا نہ کرتے تھے -
 وقت آخر تک طالبان حق کی تعلیم اور راہ نمائی میں مصروف رہے -

آپ کو تصنیف و تالیف کی طرف توجہ ہوئی تو علم فرائض -
 حساب - بیان - منطق - تصوف وغیرہ میں بہت سے رسائل لکھ ڈالے -

فصل ہفتم

وہ فارسی شعراء جو کرناٹک میں پیدا ہوئے

اجدی

اجدی تخلص - میر اسماعیل خان نام - فرزند سید شاہ میر -
بیجاپور وطن اسلاف - جنگل پیت علاقہ مدراس مولد - سال ولادت
معلوم نہوا -

ان کے والد ملا محمد، مصنف تاریخ فرشتہ کے بھڑوئی تھے -

اجدی نے اپنے زمانے کے اساتذہ سے عربی اور فارسی پڑھی - تحصیل
علم سے فارغ ہونے کے بعد نواب والا جاہ جنت آرام گاہ کی خدمت میں
باریاب ہوئے - آپ نے اپنے فرزندوں یعنی نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر اور
نواب امیر الامراء بہادر کی تعلیم کے لئے ان کو مقرر فرمایا -

اجدی کی طبیعت بہت موزوں واقع ہوئی تھی - فارسی اور
ہندی شعر کہتے تھے - آپ نے ایک دیوان اور پانچ مثنویاں تالیف کیں -
نواب والا جاہ کے حکم سے مثنوی 'انور نامہ' لکھی - نواب موصوف کو وہ
مثنوی اتنی پسند آئی کہ اجدی کو چاندی میں ٹلوا دیا - اس چاندی
کی قیمت چھ ہزار سات سو روپیہ ہوئی اور چند خلعت بھی مرحمت
فرمائے - سنہ ۱۱۸۱ ہجری میں ملک الشعراء کا خطاب بھی عطا فرمایا -

آپ کے کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

دستک بدر سینہ زند دل ز طپیدن

شاید کہ در آید بت سیمیں بدن ما *

از سبک روحی چو بوی گل جہانے سر کنیم

باقدم ہرگز نگرود آشنا رفتار ما *

توبہ امشب بہ بزم یار شکست

عهد در موسم بہار شکست *

پ کے کلام کا یہ رنگ ہے :-

از سر حرف انا الحق شد بہ دست من عصا

حضرت منصور واقف تابود ہادی مرا

چوں مرد مکت ز ترک تردد تمام عمر

آسائشے بہ سایۂ موگانم آرزو است *

بے سوز دل بنائے عمل استوار نیست

دیوار خشت خام گہے پایدار نیست *

بے مشقت نہ فقد گوهر مقصود بکف

مدتے سنگ پی لعل جگر سوختہ است *

خاموشی است موجب سرسبزی دروں

صد بار این سخن بلب خویش پستہ گفت *

مرد میدان نہ کشد منت کس را واقف

بہر آب است کجا تیغ بہ باران محتاج *

ہزاراں حیلہ انکیژد برائے دادن نانے

مگر ہستم بخوان چرخ دون نا خواندہ مہمانے *

واقف - تذکرۂ گلزار اعظم کی تالیف کے وقت تک زندہ تھے - مگر

ان کے انتقال کا صحیح سال معلوم نہوا -

ہمچو شمع محفل شب زندہ داراں طبع من
 ہر زمان مختار روشن تر ز ترک خواب شد *
 ہمچو پروانہ بر چراغ رخت
 شمع فانوس آسمان سوزد *

مختار کی صحیح تاریخ وفات معلوم نہ ہوئی البتہ تذکرہ گلزار اعظم
 کی تالیف کے وقت زندہ تھے۔

واقف

واقف تخلص۔ میراں محی الدین قادری نام۔ فرزند شاہ احمد
 ابو تراب قادری۔ ادگیر مولد۔ سنہ ۱۲۰۵ ہجری سال ولادت۔

کم سنی میں اپنے والد کے ہمراہ مدراس آئے اور یہیں مقیم ہو گئے۔
 مولانا باقر آگاہ اور مولوی غلام محی الدین معجز سے فارسی پڑھی۔ عربی
 کی تحصیل ملک العلماء مولوی علاء الدین صاحب سے کی۔ اپنے حقیقی
 ماموں سید شاہ منصور قادری سے بیعت کی اور تمام سلسلوں میں
 خرقہ خلافت پایا۔ شاعری میں مولوی سید خیر الدین فائق سے تلمذ تھا۔
 بیعت ہونے سے پہلے بسمل تخلص کرتے تھے، مرشد کے حکم سے واقف
 تخلص اختیار کیا۔ چنانچہ ایک اردو غزل کے مقطع میں کنایتاً اس کو
 یوں ظاہر کیا ہے :-

سِرِّ مخفی سے انا الحق کے نہ تھا میں واقف

جب تلک شیخ مرا حضرت منصور نہ تھا *.

مدراس میں 'شہر استاد' کہلاتے تھے۔ نواب غلام محمد غوث
 خاں بہادر اعظم نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) نے
 ایک مدرسہ مدراس میں قائم فرمایا تھا جس کا نام مدرسہ اعظم رکھا۔
 نواب صاحب موصوف کے انتقال کے بعد اس مدرسے کو سرکار انگریزی نے
 اپنے اہتمام میں لے لیا۔ مدرسہ اب تک حضرت اعظم کے نام مبارک سے
 منسوب چلا آتا ہے اور بدستور سرکاری انتظام ہے۔ غرض واقف بھی اس
 مدرسہ کے مدرس مقرر کئے گئے۔ اور محفل مشاعرہ اعظم کے ایک حکم
 بھی تھے۔

از راستی تیر، کہاں راست نگرود
 من چون ز عصا راست کنم پشت دو تارا *
 منزلت در دل و دل بستہ زلف
 زلف مشکن کہ شکست من و تست *
 اشک من راز سینہ افشا کرد
 طفل ہرگز نہ معتمد باشد *
 برباد مکن وفای دیرین
 من خاک شدم غبار تا چند *
 قدرت کی رحلت کا سال معلوم نہیں، مگر وہ تذکرۂ گلزار اعظم کی
 تالیف (سنہ ۱۲۶۱ ہجری) کے وقت زندہ تھے۔

مختار

مختار تخلص۔ باقر حسین نام۔ حسن علی خاں خطاب۔
 فرزند حسن علی خاں۔ سرپرنگ پٹن مولد۔ سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری
 سال ولادت۔

پانچ سال کی عمر میں اپنے والد کے ہمراہ وارن محمد پور (ارکات)
 ہوئے۔ اساتذہ عصر سے فارسی پڑھی۔ سنہ ۱۲۳۰ ہجری میں مدراس آئے
 اور یہیں مقیم ہو گئے۔ نواب اعظم جاہ بہادر رضوان مآب نواب کرناٹک
 (سنہ ۱۲۳۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری) کے عہد ریاست میں 'حسن علی خاں'
 کا خطاب ملا۔ آخر عمر میں مجلس مشاعرۂ اعظم میں 'جسکو نواب
 غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر اعظم نے قائم کیا تھا' داخل ہوئے۔
 فارسی شعر کم اور ہندی شعر خصوصاً مرثیہ اکثر کہتے تھے۔
 کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے:۔

ہر کہ سازد سرکشی ہمچوں حباب شوخ چشم
 زود بیند از ہولے خویش مدفن زیر پا *
 عیش و نشاط اہل جہاں را ثبات نیست
 چوں دامن بہار کہ آمد بدست و رفت *

آپ کا سلسلہ نسب حضرت قاسم بن محمد بن حضرت سیدنا امیر المؤمنین ابوبکر صدیق رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ تک پہنچتا ہے۔ یہ حضرت قاسم وہی ہیں جو مدینہ منورہ کے فقہائے سبعہ میں سے تھے۔ یہ نہیں معلوم ہو سکا کہ قدرت کے اسلاف عرب سے ہند میں کس راستہ سے آئے۔ بہر حال قنوج میں سکونت گزریں ہوئے۔ ان میں سے ایک صاحب سلطنت غوریہ کے اخیر زمانے میں گویامو سے آئے۔ وہاں کے حکام وقت نے ان کی صلاحیت اور امانت کا لحاظ کر کے ان کو نائب صدر مقرر کر دیا۔ اس عہدے کی تنخواہ بہت معقول تھی۔ سلطنت تیموریہ کے اختتام تک ان کی اولاد میں یہ خدمت باقی اور تنخواہ برابر جاری رہی۔

قدرت نے صرف و نحو عربی اور فارسی درسی کتابیں اساتذہ وقت سے پڑھیں۔ سنہ ۱۲۲۷ ہجری میں مدراس پہنچے۔ جناب ارتضا علی خان بہادر خوشنود سے علم فرایض و حساب پڑھا۔ نواب اعظم جاہ بہادر رضوان مآب نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۳۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ھ) کے دربار سے خان کا خطاب اور نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر رحمت مآب نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۶ تا سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری) کے مقبرے کی تولیت مرحمت ہوئی۔ جب نواب غلام محمد غوث خان بہادر اعظم نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) نے محفل مشاعرۂ اعظم قائم فرمائی، اس کے دو حکم مقرر فرمائے گئے۔ اُن میں ایک قدرت تھے۔ آپ زاہد شب زندہ دار اور عابد و پرهیزگار تھے۔

ایک ضخیم دیوان اور ایک تذکرۂ شعراء مسمیٰ بہ 'نتائج الافکار' یادگار چھوڑا۔ یہ تذکرہ نواب کرناٹک کی طرف سے سرکاری مطبع میں طبع ہوا تھا۔

اُن کا کچھ منتخب کلام یہ ہے :-

چشم نشود ملتفت غیر ز سویت
کز قبلہ نگرداند کسے قبلہ نما را *

میر حسن استر آبادی کی بڑی قدر افزائی فرمائی اور مضافات حیدر آباد میں مری کڈتہ کی جاگیر عطا کی۔ شفیع کے والد پہلے تو مچھلی بندر میں تجارت کرتے تھے۔ بعد کر ملازمت کی اور ضلع نلور کے ایک محکمے میں منشی مقرر ہوئے۔

شفیع نے ہوش سنبھالنے کے بعد اپنے والد اور دوسرے اساتذہ سے فارسی اور عربی پڑھی۔ نیز علم حساب میں بھی مہارت پیدا کی۔ عرصہ دراز تک مختلف شہروں کی سیاحت کرتے رہے۔ باپ کے انتقال کے بعد ان ہی کی خدمت پر مامور ہوئے۔ پھر محکمہ صدر امین نلور کے دیوانی دفاتر کی سررشتہ داری پر تقرر ہوا۔ زبان تلمذی وغیرہ سے بھی خوب واقف تھے اور بہت جلد ترجمہ کرتے تھے۔ فن شعر میں میر محمد حسن غریب اور میرزا عبد الباقی وفا سے تلمذ تھا۔ ہندی اور فارسی شعر کہتے تھے۔ مختلف فنون میں ان کی نظم و نثر موجود ہے۔ جس کا شمار ساٹھ ہزار بیت سے زیادہ ہوتا ہے۔

نمونہ کلام فارسی یہ ہے :-

خال بر عین صنم بس بہ ہزار انداز است
الف کرد است نگر حسن الف قامت را *
مرد مک دست تہی شد ز در و لعل سرشک
لعل خنداں مددے، گوہرے دنداں مددے *
نرگس و غنچہ و گل چشم و دہان و رخ تست
حاش للہ روم جانب بستان کسے *

شفیع کے انتقال کا سال معلوم نہوا۔ لیکن وہ تذکرہ گلزار اعظم کی تالیف (سنہ ۱۲۶۹ ہجری) کے وقت تک زندہ تھے۔

قدرت

قدرت تخلص۔ محمد قدرت اللہ نام۔ محمد قدرت اللہ خاں خطاب۔ فرزند محمد کامل۔ گویامو مولد۔ سنہ ۱۱۹۹ ہجری سال ولادت۔

شد چنان سینه مشبک ز خدنگ تو کہ دل
 بہر نظارہ زہر رخنہ درے پیدا کرد *
 تا تراز می کدہ رفتی بہوایت ز حباب
 مے بہ میفا ہمہ تن چشم ترے پیدا کرد *
 قصد صید دل مابود کہ صیاد ازل
 چوں تو نازک بدنے خوش کرے پیدا کرد *
 نیست 'خوشنود' سزاوار ملامت ناصم
 دل و جاں باخت بعشق و ہنرے پیدا کرد *
 خواہی کہ نہاز عشق خوانی
 از خون دو دیدہ با وضو باش *
 از خستہ خود یاد نیاری عجب از تو
 کشتی و بخاکش نہ سپاری عجب از تو *
 خوشنود از انجا بچہ کار آمدہ بودی
 مغفول درین جا بچہ کاری عجب از تو *
 چرخ زن گرد نقطہ وحدت
 ہمچو پرکار باش تا باشی *

رباعی

آدم آئینہ جمال تو بود * عالم ہمہ مظهر کمال تو بود
 آن کس کہ نکرد نفس خود را ادراک * کے محرم محفل وصال تو بود
 خوشنود کا سال رحلت معلوم نہوا - اتنا پتہ چلتا ہے کہ
 تذکرہ گلزار اعظم کی تالیف یعنی سنہ ۱۲۶۱ ہجری تک زندہ تھے -

شفیع

شفیع تخلص - میر محمد شفیع نام - فرزند میر عسکری
 باقری استر آبادی - نلور مولد - سنہ ۱۲۲۸ ہجری سال ولادت - سلطان
 ابوالحسن قطب شاہ عرف تانا شاہ والی حیدر آباد دکن (سنہ ۱۰۸۳ تا
 سنہ ۱۰۹۸ ہجری) نے شفیع کے اجداد میں سے ایک صاحب

سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری) کی سرکار میں ملازم ہوئے اور محکمۂ عالیہ کے مفتی مقرر ہوئے۔ سنہ ۱۲۳۵ ہجری میں کسی وجہ سے مستعفی ہو گئے اور چندے متوکلانہ زندگی بسر کی۔ بعض اہل حکومت کی خواہش پر دوبارہ قاضی کا عہدہ قبول کیا اور چتر کے علاقے میں مقرر کئے گئے۔ کچھ دنوں بعد صدر مفتی ہوئے۔ سنہ ۱۲۴۴ ہجری میں صوبہ مدراس کے قاضی القضاۃ بنائے گئے۔

چوبیس سال تک اپنے فرائض نہایت خوبی کے ساتھ انجام دینے کے بعد سنہ ۱۲۶۸ ہجری میں وظیفہ لے کر اپنی خدمت سے سبک دوش ہوئے اور مع اہل و عیال حرمین شریفین زاد ہما اللہ تعالیٰ شرفاً و تعظیماً تشریف لے گئے۔

نواب غلام محمد غوث خان بہادر اعظم نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) آپ کے شاگرد تھے۔ سیکڑوں طلبہ نے آپ کے خوان تعلیم سے بہرہ وافی حاصل کیا۔ آپ نے بہت سی عربی کتابوں کی شرحیں اور حاشیے لکھے۔ اُن کے علاوہ ذیل کی کتابیں آپ کی تالیف ہیں:-

- (۱) نقود الحساب (۲) فرائض ارتضیہ (۳) شرح فارسی قصیدہ بردہ
 - (۴) تنبیہ الغفل فی اثبات ایمان آباء الرسول (۵) شرح اسماء الحسنیٰ عربی۔
- آپ کے فارسی کلام کا یہ رنگ ہے:-

چشم آہو باہمہ شوخی شکار چشم تست
 نرگس شہلابہ مستی شرمسار چشم تست *
 کے نظر افتد براں گل چہرہ نازک بدن
 ہستی موهوم تو خوشنود خار چشم تست *
 دانہ سبجہ مگر داں زاہد
 انما اللہ اللہ واحد *
 چہ بلا نسوز درونم اثر پیدا کرد
 ریخت اشکے کہ ز چشم شرر پیدا کرد *

از مساس مصحف رویش گنہ نذوشته اند

دست از جان شسته در عشقش وضو داریم ما *

ازیں چین ها کہ دارم بر جبیں وقت کہن سالی

بصد لب می کنم تفسیر رنج ضعف پیری را *

نکند صبر این دل نادان

کار با سخت جاہل افتاد است *

چوں سینہ من کلبہ اخگر شدہ از عشق

ہر ذرۂ آہم چو شرار است بہ بینید *

سخن را آب و تاب از اشک دل سوزے چناں دارم -

بگوش ہر کہ می افتد کم از گوہر نمی داند -

سنہ ۱۲۹۸ ہجری میں انتقال ہوا - شاہ راہ میلاپور میں دلیر جڈگ

بہادر کے مقبرے کے روبرو سپرد خاک کئے گئے -

خوشنود

خوشنود تخلص - (مولوی) ارتضا علی نام - ارتضا علی خان بہادر

خطاب - فرزند مولوی مصطفیٰ علی خان بہادر خوشدل - قصبہ گویامڑ میں

سنہ ۱۱۹۸ ہجری میں پیدا ہوئے -

پندرہ سال کی عمر میں اپنے والد سے فارسی کی چند کتابیں اور

عربی میں کافیہ تک پڑھنے کے بعد لکھنؤ گئے اور بہ حیثیت طالب علم

برسوں وہاں قیام پذیر رہے - وہاں سے سندیلے پہنچے اور مولانا حیدر علی

سندیلوی کی خدمت میں 'جو مشہور علماء میں سے تھے' علوم

معقول و منقول حاصل کئے پھر بلگرام میں سات سال تک مقیم رہ کر

مولوی محمد ابراہیم ملیباری سے باقی کتابیں پڑھیں - فارغ التحصیل

ہونے کے بعد جناب مولوی شاہ غلام نصیر الدین سعدی بلگرامی

رحمہ اللہ سے بیعت کا شرف اور خرقہ خلافت پایا -

سنہ ۱۲۲۵ ہجری کے شروع میں اپنے والد سے ملنے کے لئے مدراس

آئے - پانچ سال بعد نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۶ تا

آید بسائل از لب ممسک جواب خشک
 از جیب خشک سال بر آید سحاب خشک *
 عشق فایز کند آخر بحقیقت ز مجاز
 میز سد شبنم افتاده بمهر از بر گل *

والا نے صفر سنہ ۱۲۶۴ ہجری کو بعارضۃ فالج انتقال کیا۔ مسجد
 معمور واقع متیال پیٹ کے صحن میں اپنے چچا کے پہلو میں سپرد خاک
 ہوئے۔ جناب خوشنود نے تاریخ رحلت ”العاقبۃ للمتقین“ کہی۔
 ۱۲ ۶۴ھ

عاشق

عاشق تخلص - (مولوی) سید عبد الدود نقوی نام - چوکھریہ
 (من قصبات ضلع بردوان، بنگالہ) مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہوا۔

ان کے اجداد قصبہ کڑہ ضلع الہ آباد کے رہنے والے تھے۔ ان میں سے
 ایک صاحب وطن سے بردوان گئے اور وہیں مقیم ہو کر تعلیم و تدریس
 دین میں مشغول ہوئے۔ ان کے اکثر اسلاف صاحبان فضل و کمال تھے
 اور اپنے خوان علم سے طلبہ کو نعمت علم عطا کرتے رہے۔ عاشق کے والد
 بھی کلکتہ کے مدرسۂ عالیہ میں مدرس تھے۔

عاشق نے مولوی امین اللہ سے تمام درسی کتابیں پڑھیں۔
 فارغ التعلیم ہو کر سنہ ۱۲۲۲ ہجری میں مدراس آئے اور ضلع گنتور کے
 مفتی مقرر ہوئے۔ پھر ترچنپالی کے علاقے میں قاضی کے عہدے پر مامور
 ہوئے۔ اس کے بعد صدر عدالت کے مفتی بنائے گئے۔ پچیس برس تک
 اس عہدۂ عالیہ کے فرائض انجام دینے کے بعد ضلع چنگل پیٹ میں
 صدر امین کئے گئے۔

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

آتش انتظار سوخت مرا
 چہ بلای است آشنائی ہا *

ان کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

الہی ساز روشن چوں ید بیضا بیانم را
 کلیم طور سینے تجلی کن زبانم را *
 سید پوش است یارب در غم تو حرف حرف من
 کرامت کن اثر چوں بیت خود ہر بیت دیواں را *
 اسیر عشق مژگانش شدم از شوق زلف او
 بلے ہر خار صیاد است مرغ رشقہ بر پارا *
 نرم خوئی سبب امن بود از ظالم
 نہ شود زخم نمایاں چو زنی تیر در آب *
 عالمے را می توان از خلق خود تسخیر کرد
 بے گل زنجیر می گردد بہ پائے عندلیب *
 دلم ز راحت یاراں ہمیشہ خورسند است
 کہ ربط من بہ عزیزاں چو شاخ پیوند است *
 اہل بصیرت از سخنے رنج می برند
 مو در میان دیدہ کم از نوک خار نیست *
 اشکم از شوق لبش قطرہ زناں می آید
 ہمچو طفلے کہ پئے قند دواں می آید *
 گشت حسن از پردہ ظاہر صورت جانا نہ شد
 عشق در جوش و خروش آمد دل دیوانہ شد *
 کامل شود چو مرد نگرند بخانہ بند
 آرد چو باز پر نشود آشیانہ بند *
 از بازی دغائے سپہر کینہ دوست
 ہستم بسانِ مہرۂ ششدر بخانہ بند *
 جز سیاست نبود کار ریاست جاری
 نشود خامہ رواں تانزنی آنرا قط *

والا

والا تخلص - سیّد ابو سعید نام - سید ابو طیب خاں خطاب -
فرزند سید ابو طیب خاں - رحمت آباد مولد - سنہ ۱۱۹۰ ہجری
سال ولادت -

والا کے دادا سید زین العابدین امامی نواب والاجاہ کے دیوان
محمد عاصم خاں بہادر مبارز جنگ کے حقیقی چچا تھے -

والا عربی کی ابتدائی کتابیں اور فارسی کی درسی کتابیں اساتذہ
عصر سے پڑھ کر مدراس پہنچے اور فن شاعری میں مولانا آگاہ کے شاگرد
ہوئے - حضرت آگاہ ہی نے آپ کا تخلص والا مقرر کیا اور از راہ عنایت
یہ شعر بھی موزوں فرمایا :-

حظ وافر ببر از سیر چو بلبل والا

اولیں جوش بہار است گلستان ترا *

استاد کے انتقال کے بعد آپ اپنے قریے کو گئے جو رحمت آباد کے
قریب ہے - ایک مدت وہاں ٹھہرے اور جناب مولوی شہاء رفیع الدین
قندھاری دکنی رحمۃ اللہ کے دست مبارک پر بیعت کی - سنہ ۱۲۵۲ ہجری
میں آپ کے چھوٹے فرزند نے انتقال کیا اور آپ کو اتنا صدمہ ہوا کہ وطن
کا قیام دوبہر ہو گیا - آخر سفر کی تھانی اور دوبارہ مدراس آئے -
حافظ یار جنگ کی وساطت سے سرکاری ملازم ہو کر
نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا
سنہ ۱۲۷۶ ہجری) کے استاد مقرر ہوئے اور سید ابو طیب خاں
خطاب ملا -

آپ نے خطاطی اور تاریخ دانی میں کمال حاصل کیا - قادر الکلام اور
پُرگو شعرا میں آپ کا شمار تھا - دو مثنویاں 'بحر غم اور آیۂ رحمت
اور ایک دیوان (مشمول برقصائد و غزلیات وغیرہ) آپ کے افکار آبدار کا
نتیجہ ہے - نثار بھی اعلیٰ درجے کے تھے - چنانچہ حضرت خواجہ
رحمت اللہ قدس سرہ کے حالات میں ایک رسالہ بنام 'بحر رحمت' لکھا -

حزب سے پڑھیں۔ پچیس برس کے سن میں علوم عقلیہ و نقلیہ سے فارغ ہو کر ملاک بنگالہ چلے گئے۔ وہاں چندے درس دیتے رہے۔ سنہ ۱۲۳۲ ہجری میں ارباب حکومت کی طلب پر مدراس آئے اور سرکار کمپنی کے مدرسے میں مدرس مقرر ہوئے۔ چند سال کے بعد صدر مفتی کے عہدے پر ترقی پائی۔

آپ حلیم الطبع۔ کریم الاخلاق اور متواضع تھے۔ فارسی کی تمام کتابیں پڑھانے میں کامل دسترس رکھتے تھے۔ علم ریاضی میں آپ کی قابلیت بہت بڑھی ہوئی تھی۔ یہ چند کتابیں آپ کی تالیفات میں سے ہیں:-

(۱) تبصرة الحکمت (طبیعیات و آہیات میں)۔

(۲) منتخب التحریر (علم ریاضی میں)۔

علم تکسیر و جفر و رمل میں بھی چند رسالے ہیں۔

ان کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے:-

از بسکہ وحشی است دل بیقرار ما

رم می کند ز سایہ مردم غبار ما *

در بر نہال قامت او تا نشاندہ ایم

گل کرد صد بہار ز باغ کنار ما *

بر روی زرد ماست عیاں اشک لالہ گوں

یک جا بہم شد است خزان و بہار ما *

دوش چوں بے رحمی ظالم دل من یاد کرد

من جدا فریاد کردم دل جدا فریاد کرد *

چشم تو دوست دارم اگر می طیم بجاست

بیمار دار از غم بیمار می طید *

سنہ ۱۲۵۸ ہجری میں اس دار فانی سے ہمیشہ کے لئے روپوش ہو گئے۔

صد روضۂ بہشت بود فرش راہ او
 مجرم مروز کوچۂ این گل عذار ما *
 ساغر صہبائے وحدت میدہد از شوق دل
 مست ساقی مجرم سر کردۂ رندان ما *
 پیرو روشن دلاں یا بد طمانیت مدام
 در پس آئینہ آرامے بود سیماب را *
 چون بامید قدومت زندۂ در گوریم ما
 زینہار از مشہد ما دامن خود را مکش *
 ناز و کرشمۂ تو دل قدسیاں ربود
 از ما بہ بُرد صبر و تحمل علی الخصوص *
 سنہ ۱۲۵۰ ہجری میں وصال ہوا - کسی نے ”نیا حسین کا غم“
 تاریخ کہی - ۱۲۵۰ ہجری

حسن

حسن تخلص - محمد علی حسن نام - فرزند شیخ نوازش علی -
 جونپور مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہوا - ان کے جد اعلیٰ شاہ فتح اللہ
 انصاری ولد عبد اللہ انصاری تغلق شاہ بادشاہ دہلی کے عہد حکومت میں
 اپنے وطن سے فایز دہلی ہوئے - کچھ دن وہاں ٹھہر کر بہ طریق سیاحت
 جون پور گئے ، جو اُس زمانے میں شاہان شہرقیہ کا دارالحکومت تھا -
 اُن کے اوصاف حمیدۂ کی شہرت ہوئی تو وہاں کے بادشاہ نے اُن سے
 جامع مسجد میں ملاقات کی اور جون پور کے پرگنۂ ماہل میں چند
 مواضع بطور جاگیر عطا کئے - اُن ہی کی اولاد اس جاگیر میں سکونت
 پذیر ہو گئی - بعضوں نے معلّٰی اختیار کی اور بعض شاہان دہلی کے یہاں
 علی عہدوں پر فایز ہوئے -

حسن نے کم سنی میں وطن سے بنارس پہنچ کر فارسی درسی کتابیں
 ملا محمد عمر (شاگرد سراج الدین علی خاں آرزو) اور شیخ علی

سنہ ۱۱۸۰ ہجری - ”ذی عشق“ تاریخ ولادت - آپ کا سلسلہ نسب والد ماجد کی طرف سے حضرت امام جعفر صادق رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ تک اور والدہ ماجدہ کی جانب سے حضرت سلطان الاولیا محبوب سبحانی غوث اعظم سیدنا سید عبد القادر الحسینی الحسینی جعفری الجیلانی رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ تک پہنچتا ہے۔ آپ کے جد امجد حضرت الحاج سید حبیب اللہ قادری بیجاپور چھوڑ کر مدت تک حیدر آباد میں اور چندے مچھلی بندر میں سکونت پذیر ہوئے۔ پھر کرناٹک تشریف لا کر نلور میں مقیم ہوئے۔

حضرت معجم قدس سرہ جب سنّ شعور کو پہنچے تو عربی نحو میں کافیہ تک مطالعہ کیا اور فارسی کتابیں اپنے چچا حضرت سید میراں قادری مرحوم قدس سرہ مدرس مدرسہ نلور سے پڑھیں۔ اپنے بڑے بھائی حضرت مولوی سید محمد قادری قدس سرہ سے بھی علمی استفادہ فرمایا۔ والد ماجد کے دست حق پرست پر بیعت کی اور خرقہ خلافت بھی آپ ہی سے پایا۔

سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری میں تشریف فرما مدرس ہوئے۔ مسجد جامع میلاپور کے قریب ایک مکان لیکر قیام فرمایا۔ سنہ ۱۲۲۵ ہجری میں بالکل گوشہ نشینی اختیار فرمائی۔ بقیۃ العمر کبھی مسجد کے دروازے سے باہر قدم نہیں نکالا۔ ہمیشہ طالب علموں کی تعلیم اور مریدوں کی ہدایت فرماتے رہے۔ آپ کے مریدین و معتقدین کا حلقہ نہایت وسیع تھا۔

آپ عاجز راقم (گوھر) کے پیر، و مرشد حضرت زبدۃ العارفین سراج السالکین مولانا الحاج مولوی سید شاہ حسین قادری الشطاری قدس سرہ العزیز کے حقیقی دادا اور دادا پیر تھے۔ آپ مدراس کے ممتاز مشائخ میں شمار ہوتے تھے۔ آپ کا کچھ کلام تہذیباً ذیل میں درج ہے :-

روید ہزار لالہ زسنگ مزار ما
تا سرزند نشان ز دل داغ دار ما *

اُن کے چند اشعار یہ ہیں :-

الہی رنگ روی گل رخان دہ داستانم را
 بہ رنگ کاکل مشکین مسلسل کن بیانم را *
 وقت پیری دل ز آہ سرد آخر وا شود
 می کند فیض نسیم صبح خنداں غنچہ را *
 عشق عاشق در دل معشوق آخر جا کند
 گل گریبان چاک دارد از ولایٰ اندلیب *
 طالعہ برگشتہ از سوداء زلف طبر است
 سطرہا کے راست آید چون کجی در مسطر است *
 مگر ز خاک نشان سوار میجوید
 وگر نہ چہیست زمین کردن فرس بدو دست *
 احسان غنیمت است دریں باغ برستم
 حرفے کہ در شروع گلستان است منت است *
 قاتلم کاش رخ طفل سر شکم می دید
 تاکہ در کشتن من پاس یقیمان می کرد *
 در حیرتم ز خال رخ دلستان او
 یا رب چساں بہ شعلہ قرار سپند شد *

سنہ ۱۲۴۹ ہجری میں اس دار فنا کو خیر باد کہا۔ آپ کے

چھوٹے بھائی مولوی واقف نے یہ قطعہ تاریخ لکھا :-

بیدل عصر حضرت شایق * قدس اللہ سرہ السامی
 کام دل جست چوں بقرب الہ * کہ جہان است جائے نا کامی
 ہاتقم سال رحلتش فرمود * ”رفقہ ہیہات ہمدم جامی“

۱۲۴۹ھ

معجزہ

معجزہ تخلص - حضرت سید شاہ حسین قادری نام - فرزند حضرت

سید شاہ عبد القادر قادری - بیجاپور وطن آبائی - نلور مولد - سال ولادت،

جد امجد نے اُدگیر میں سکونت اختیار کر لی تھی۔ چنانچہ آپ سنہ ۱۲۰۳ ہجری میں اُدگیر ہی میں پیدا ہوئے۔ آپ کے اجداد عالی خاندان تھے۔ ان کے نسب کا سلسلہ تین واسطوں سے جناب قدوة العلما زبدة الاولیا مولوی محمد حسین شہید المعروف بہ امام صاحب (قدس سرہ) تک منتهی ہوتا ہے۔

اس خاندان کے اکثر حضرات شراب معرفت کے متوالے تھے۔ چنانچہ حضرت قاضی محمود اور جناب مولانا حبیب اللہ کے فضائل و کرامات مشہور آفاق ہیں۔

شایق کم سنی میں اپنے والد کے ہمراہ کچھ دنوں کالستری میں مقیم رہے۔ پھر مدراس پہنچے اور یہیں کے ہو رہے۔ عربی و فارسی درسی کتابیں اس زمانے کے مشہور اساتذہ سے پڑھیں۔ اپنے حقیقی ماموں سید شاہ منصور قادری سے بیعت کی۔

سنہ ۱۲۲۰ ہجری میں اپنی شادی کی تقریب سے اُدگیر گئے اور نواب اعظم جاہ نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۲۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری) کی ریاست کے اخیر زمانے میں مدراس واپس آ گئے، نواب موصوف کی سرکار میں ملازم ہوئے اور شایق علی خاں خطاب پایا۔ پھر سرکاری مدرسے میں فارسی کے مدرس ہو گئے۔

فارسی اشعار کی اصلاح فایق اور والا سے لیتے تھے۔ ریختہ گوئی میں اظفری اور میر شاہ حسین حقیقت سے تلمذ تھا۔ نظم اس قدر جلد کہتے تھے کہ جس کو بدیہہ گوئی کہنا چاہئے۔ چنانچہ نواب اعظم جاہ بہادر کی فرمائش پر صرف تیرہ دن میں ۳۷ نعتیہ اور منقبتیہ غزلیں کہہ کر پیش کیں۔ نظم سے زیادہ نثر پر قدرت تھی۔ حسب ذیل کتابیں تصنیف کیں:—

- (۱) مرج البحرين نعتیہ اور منقبتیہ غزلوں کا مجموعہ (۲) روضۂ قدسیاں در احوال بندگان دیں (۳) مثنوی ہندی مسٹھی بہ رشک بہشت (۴) دیوان فارسی و ہندی۔

مدرس ہو کر مدراس آئے۔ بہت سے طالب علم آپ کے فیض تعلیم سے فارغ التحصیل ہوئے۔ ان میں سے بعضوں کو اضلاع میں مفتی اور قاضی کی خدمتیں ملیں۔

آپ نے کئی تالیفات اپنی یادگار چھوڑیں، چنانچہ منطق میں درالمنظوم اور نحو میں وسیط النحو۔ ان کے علاوہ منطق کی بعض کتابوں پر حواشی بھی لکھے ہیں۔

آپ کے اشعار کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

بادل بسمل چو دیدم ربط چسپاں آہ را
 ساختم عنوان دیواں لفظ بسم اللہ را *
 بسکہ می ترسم از جدائی ہا
 توبہ کردم ز آشنائی ہا *
 ہر کس کہ سر زلف شما داشته باشد
 بس سلسلہ ہا بر سرپا داشته باشد *
 از من ای گل رو چہ پر سی باعث تاخیر اشک
 خار مژگان می شود ہر لحظہ دامنگیر اشک *
 من بہ دل جلے بت حور سرشتے دارم
 بخدا طرفہ بہشتے و کنشتے دارم *
 از بخت سہیہ شکوہ ندارم کہ رسانید
 زلف سہیہ یار بدیں روز سیام *
 سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری میں حرمین شریفین زاد ہما اللہ شرفاً
 و تعظیماً کی زیارت کے لئے روانہ ہوئے۔ واپسی کے وقت راستے میں
 پیچش ہو گئی۔ مرض بڑھتا گیا جوں جوں دوا کی۔ سری رنگ پٹن میں
 بتاريخ ۱۷ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۴۴ ہجری وفات پائی۔ قیدو سلطان شہید
 کے گنبد کے چہوتے پر دفن ہوئے۔

مشایق

مشایق تجلّص - غلام محی الدین نام - شایق علی خاں خطاب -
 فرزند شاہ احمد ابوتراب - شایق کے اسلاف کا وطن بیدرتھا، لیکن آپ کے

فوج طفلان سرشک است روان از ره چشم
 مگر از سینه برون شد دل دیوانہ ما *
 موسم پیری من صبح امید است مرا
 پنبہ داغ گندہ موی سفید است مرا *
 سیاه رو شود آن کس کہ عیب بین گردن
 چو خامہ بر سخن ہیچ کس مدار انگشت *
 سرخی چشم من از گریہ نباشد فایق
 آفتابے ز نظر رفت و شفق باقی ماند *
 ماجراے ابر دل زارم گذشت از آب اشک
 مشّت خاکے بود آن ہم رفت در سیلاب اشک *
 من بے چارہ دریں راہ نیازے دارم
 گر تو اے زاهد خود پس بہ نماز آمدہ *
 مرحبا باد صبا بوی خوشے آوردی
 مگر از ساحت گلزار حجاز آمدہ *
 سنہ ۱۲۴۲ ہجری میں دار فنا چھوڑ کر دار بقا کا راستہ لیا۔

نامی

نامی تخلص - مولوی تراب علی نام - شیخ نصرت اللہ عباسی
 کے فرزند - خیر آباد (اودہ) مولد - سنہ ۱۱۹۱ ہجری سال ولادت -
 اپنے زمانے کے اساتذہ سے فارسی اور عربی علوم کی تحصیل کی -
 تعلیم سے فارغ ہونے کے بعد شاعری کی طرف توجہ کی اور مرزا قتیل سے
 تلمذ اختیار کیا - آخر تلاش معاش میں کلکتے گئے اور بہ تقریب
 ملازمت اہل فرنگ چند سال وہیں مقیم رہے - حسن اتفاق کہ
 سنہ ۱۲۲۵ ہجری میں ایک یورپین افسر کی معیت میں ایران گئے اور
 اصفہان ، شیراز و عراق عرب کی سیر کر کے دو سال کے بعد کلکتے واپس
 آگئے - سفر ایران کے بعض حالات فارسی زبان میں بہ محاورۂ ایرانیوں
 لکھے - سنہ ۱۲۲۱۰ ہجری میں ایست انڈیا کمپنی کے مدرسے میں

کردہ از خون جگر ناوک او را سیراب
 اہل دل شہاد نمایند دل مہماں را *
 پردہ عالم دریدی تا نمودی جلوہ
 حیرتہ دارم ہنوز از شرم مستوری چرا *
 کشتی صبر عجب نیست کہ روگر شکند
 دیدہ زار چو دریا بہ خروش است امشب *
 دلم ز جور تو ترسان و دیدہ محو جمال
 میان دیدہ و دل طرفہ ماجرا ہست *
 خاکے شدم و گوشہ دامان نگرفتم
 ز اوارگیم گرد بیاباں گلہ دارد *

سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری میں اس دارنا پیدار سے رخت اقامت اٹھا لیا۔
 مسجد متیال پیٹ کے صحن میں سپرد خاک کئے گئے۔ آپ کے فرزند
 افضل العلماء مولوی ارتضا علی خاں بہادر نے والد ماجد کے انتقال کی
 تاریخ کہی ”خوشدل مرحوم“
 ۱۲۳۴ھ

فایق

فایق تخلص - سید خیر الدین نام - فرزند سید معصوم خاں امامی -
 اُدگیر مولد - سال ولادت سنہ ۱۱۸۸ ہجری ”محمد خیر الدین خان
 فایق“ تاریخ ولادت ہے - فارسی کتابیں اُدگیر میں پڑھنے کے بعد مدراس
 ۸۸ھ ۱۱
 آئے - ملک العلماء مولوی علاء الدین اور دوسرے عالموں سے عربی پڑھی -
 سنہ ۱۲۳۲ ہجری میں حیدر آباد گئے - راجہ چندو لعل کے یہاں
 پانچ سو ماہوار پر مدرسہ کی خدمت ملی - شاعری میں مولانا باقر
 آگاہ سے تلمذ تھا - کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

الہی نغمہ سنجی بخش چوں بلبل زبانم را
 برنگ گل بہار آراے محفل کن بیانم را *
 عجب نبود اگر فرزند بہتر از پدر باشد
 کہ عطر صندل افزوں تر ز صندل می دہد بو را *

خوشدل

خوشدل تخلص - احمد مجتبیٰ نام - مصطفیٰ علی خان بہادر خطاب - گویامو مولد - سنہ ۱۱۷۳ ہجری سال ولادت - آپ کا نسب اٹھائیس واسطوں سے حضرت ناصر الدین عبد اللہ بن خلیفہ ثانی امیر المؤمنین حضرت سیدنا عمر فاروق رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہما تک پہنچتا ہے - حضرت ناصر الدین عبد اللہ حضرت امام حسن علی جدہ و علیہ التحیۃ والثناء کے نواسے تھے -

خوشدل نے فارسی درسی کتابیں پڑھنے کے بعد مولوی رحیم الدین گویاموی، مولوی غلام طیب بہاری اور مولانا حیدر علی سندیلوی سے علوم عربی پڑھے - قرآن مجید بھی حفظ کیا - سید شاہ غلام پیر ابن سید شاہ بیس بلگرامی قدس اسرار ہما سے بیعت کی اور آپ کے فرزند مولوی سید شاہ غلام نصیر الدین سعدی قدس سرہ سے خرقة خلافت پایا -

سنہ ۱۲۰۰ ہجری میں فایز مدراس ہوئے اور نواب والاجاہ فرماں رولے کرناٹک کی سرکار میں ملازم ہو گئے - نواب ممدوح نے مصطفیٰ علی خان بہادر خطاب دیا اور سرکاری مدرسہ واقع گویامو میں مدرسہ کی خدمت عطا فرما کر وہاں بھیج دیا - نواب موصوف کی زندگی تک خوشدل اسی عہدے پر مامور رہے - نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر فرماں رولے کرناٹک کی مسند نشینی کے بعد سنہ ۱۲۱۴ ہجری میں دوبارہ مدراس آئے - چند روز یہاں قیام کر کے گویامو واپس چلے گئے - سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری میں نواب موصوف کی رحلت کے بعد تیسری مرتبہ وارد مدراس ہوئے اور سال بھر یہاں مقیم رہے - اس اثنا میں اہل حکومت نے آپ کو ترچناپلی کے اطراف کا قاضی مقرر کر دیا - چند سال کے بعد ممالک محروسہ صوبہ مدراس کے قاضی القضاۃ مقرر ہوئے -

اُن کے اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

بوسم من بے برگ و نوا برگ حنا را
قا بوسہ بہ پیغام دہم آن کف پا را *

يارو هه اظفري اردو كي زباں کا وارث
 اهل دہلي هے وه باشندہ مدراس نہيں *
 اُس كي صورت کو ديکھکر بھولے
 هائے ہم بھولے سر بسر بھولے *
 منہم کا ميٹھا تھا پيت کا کھوتا
 جھوٹی ميٹھي سي بات پر بھولے *
 اس کے عشاق هو گئے وحشي
 سب يہ خانہ خراب گھر بھولے *
 ديکھو اس ميرے يار کو اور وه
 مہجہ پہ کرتا نہيں نظر بھولے *
 سوز شمع مہجر سے شب جل گئے
 ڈھلتے ڈھلتے آنسو ہم خود ڈھل گئے *
 کل کا وعدہ کیا رقيبوں سے کیا
 کرتے آج آپس ميں کچھ کل کل گئے *
 شرط تھي مانوں گا جو مانگو گے تم
 نام بوسہ سنتے هي کچھ تل گئے *
 غنچہ دل اظفري تقريب سير
 گلر خاں پامال کر مل دل گئے *
 آئي ياد اور نقد اشک امتدے چلے
 ايسي ور خرچي نے گھر چوپت کیا *
 کون کہتا هے کہ تو نے ہمیں ہت کر مارا
 دل جھپت آنکھ لڑا نظروں سے دت کر مارا *
 فن کشتي ميں تو کچھ تم سے ہم اگلے نکلے
 يار جي ہم نے هي آخر تمہيں پت کر مارا *
 اظفري نے سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجري ميں ملک بقا كي راہ لي -

اظفري علاوه فارسي و ريخته کے ترکی خوب جانتے تھے۔ فارسي اور ريخته دونوں ميں شعر کہتے تھے۔

(۱) لغات ترکی چغتائي (۲) محبوب القلوب اور تنگري تاري (ترکی اور ہندی لغت کا مجموعہ) (۳) ساحات اظفري (۴) واقعات اظفري (۵) رسالہ عروض و قافیہ (۶) دیوان اشعار ہندی۔ آپ کی یادگار ہیں۔

اُن کے فارسي اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

اظفري نيست داغ سينہ ما

اين چراغ است بر دفينہ ما *

گرہ عزم سفر آں يار ز جا بر خيزد

لشکر دل شد گان ہم بہ قفا بر خيزد *

برقع از ماہ رخ خويش مي فگن چندے

نيک داني کہ دران فتنہ چہا بر خيزد *

شود خورشيد چوں طالع من ازروي تو انديشم

ہلالم گر نظر آيد ز ابروي تو انديشم *

اردو اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

شکر و حمد ايزدي آرايش عناں ہوا

نعت و وصف احمدي ديباچہ ديوان ہوا *

یہ شاعر راست شاگرد خدا ميں

کہا ہے شعر ميں راز نہاں کو *

تمہارا اظفري ہے شعر کچھ بہي

زیادہ لن تراني اب نہ ہانکو *

باغ کیا جس ميں کہ برگ و ثمر و تاک نہيں

جس زمين ميں نہيں یہ چھاؤں وہاں خاک نہيں *

مار کر قہر سے، کر لطف جلا ليتا ہے

ہے مسيحہا بہي سرا يار وہ سفاک نہيں *

۱ واقعات اظفري، اور ديوان اظفري مدراس يونيورسٹی کے ذریعہ زیر طبع ہيں۔

بارہ برس تک یہیں قیام کرنا پڑا۔ پھر کہیں جا کر یہ سفر مبارک پیش آیا۔ حج و زیارت سے مشرف ہو کر ترجناپالی پہنچے۔ چند روز وہاں ٹھہر کر دوبارہ حجاز گئے اور وہیں سکونت گزیں ہوئے۔ نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۶ تا سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری) نے آپ کو واپس بلا کر اپنے فرزند ارجمند نواب اعظم جاہ بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۳۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری) کی تعلیم کے لئے مقرر فرمایا۔ آپ عالی فکر شاعر تھے جیسا کہ ذیل کے اشعار سے معلوم ہوتا ہے :-

بیہودہ بہ سیر گل و گلزار مگر دید
در گلشن دل باغ و بہار است بہ بینید *
بے فائدہ در گلشن گیتی نبود هیچ
ہر سبزه دریں باغ بکار است بہ بینید *
دست از حنا مساز نگاریں نگار من !
آتش مزین بجان و دل بیقرار من *
بے اختیار می کشدم دل بسوی تو
در عشق تو کجاست بہ کف اختیار من *
طالب نے سنہ ۱۲۲۹ ہجری میں انتقال کیا۔

اظفري

اظفري تخلص - محمد ظہیر الدین میرزا علی بخت نام - فرزند میرزا محمد ولی بیگ - دہلی مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہوا۔ آپ کے والد شہنشاہ عالم گیر (سنہ ۱۰۶۹ تا سنہ ۱۱۱۸ ہجری) کی پوتی عفت آرا بیگم کے پوتے تھے۔

سنہ ۱۲۱۲ ہجری میں دہلی سے فائز مدراس ہوئے اور یہیں سکونت اختیار کی۔ نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر اور نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر، اظفري کی بڑی تعظیم کرتے تھے۔ جب کبھی دارالامارہ میں آتے تو دروازے تک استقبال کرتے تھے اور اپنی مسند پر بٹھا کر خود ان کے پہلو میں بیٹھتے تھے۔

کم سنی ہی میں اپنے والد کے ہمراہ مدراس آگئے۔ یہاں کے اساتذہ سے درسی کتابیں پڑھیں۔ قسمت کی یاروی سے نواب والا جاہ جنت آرام گاہ فرماں رواے کرناٹک کی سرکار میں ملازم ہو گئے اور خان بہادر خطاب پایا۔ نواب عمدۃ الامرا بہادر فرماں رواے کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۱۰ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری) کے عہد میں بہرام جنگ کا خطاب اور جاگیر مرحمت ہوئی۔

چونکہ طبیعت کو شاعری سے مناسبت تھی، شعر خوب کہتے تھے۔
نمونہ کلام یہ ہے :-

من شفیغۃ جذبۃ مستانۃ خویشم
چوں آئینہ حیران پری خانۂ خویشم *
دل باختگاں را خبر از ہر دو جہاں نیست
از بسکہ شدم محو تو دیوانۂ خویشم *
کے وارہم از قید محبت کہ چو مجنوں
خود جلوۂ لیلایم و دیوانۂ خویشم *
واعظ چہ دہی درد سرم این ہمہ از وعظ
خاموش کہ من گوش بر افسانۂ خویشم *
تالعمۃ حسنش ز دلم نور فشان است
شمع شب یلدا یم و پروانۂ خویشم *
سنہ ۱۲۱۱ ہجری میں راہی ملک بقا ہوئے۔

طالب

طالب تخلص - شہادۃ اللہ نام - فرزند محمد حبیب اللہ -
عظیم آباد مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہوا - ان کے والد بڑے تاجروں
میں سے تھے - ان ہی سے علم حاصل کیا - اس سے فارغ ہو کر حضرت
شہادۃ منعم دہلوی قدس سرہ کے دست مبارک پر بیعت کی - والد کے
انتقال کے بعد اپنا مال و اسباب اللہ کی راہ میں صرف کر کے حرمین
شریفین جانے کے قصد سے مدراس آئے - کچھ ایسے اتفاقات پیش آئے کہ

حشر شورے است کہ از سینۂ نالان برخاست
 بحر موجے است کہ از دیدۂ گریاں برخاست *
 گر سحر مست بگلشن گزری از سر ناز
 گل ز حسرت بزمیں بر فگند ساغر ناز *
 علم تعریف شد از گردش چشمت پیدا
 فتنۂ دہر بود مشتق ازین مصدر ناز *
 خال ابروے تو در اوج بکیواں ماند
 طرفہ جاکرد بہ بیت شرف این اختر ناز *
 زلف و ابرو و نگہ تیر و کفند است و کماں
 می سزد مملکت حسن ترا قیصر ناز *

فن تاریخ گوئی میں مہارت تامہ رکھتے تھے۔ چنانچہ مسجد والاجاہی
 واقع ترمسکھڑی مدراس کی بنا کی یہ بے نظیر تاریخیں کہیں :-
 امیر الہند والاجاہ فرمود * بنا این مسجد فرخندۂ منظر
 ز دل از بہر تاریخ بنایش * ندا آمد کہ ”ذکر اللہ اکبر“
 ۱۲۰۹ ہجری

ساخت طاعت گاہ اسلام شدہ دیں پرور
 آنکہ فرماں براو ہست زمہ تا ماہی *
 سال تاریخ بنایش بخرد ہاتف گفت
 نام فرخندۂ وی مسجد والاجاہی *

۱۰ ہجری ۱۲

خرد کے انتقال کا سال معلوم نہوا۔ اتنا تو یقین ہے کہ آپ
 سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری تک زندہ تھے، کیونکہ اسی سال نواب عظیم الدولہ بہادر
 مسند نشین ہوئے تھے اور ان کے عہد میں ”خرد“ کو راجہ بہادر کا
 خطاب ملا ہے۔

آشکار

آشکار تخلص - محمد عبد اللہ خاں نام - قادر نواز خاں بہادر
 بہرام جنگ خطاب - فرزند قاضی شیخ محمد تلمسانی - نجیب آباد
 ضلع بجنور واقع صوبۂ متحدہ آگرہ و اودھ مولد - سال تولد معلوم نہوا۔

نمودي ذبح و شد سنجاف تو رنگين ز خون من
 ہمیں بود آرزوي دل کہ دامن تو نگذارم *
 غمزہ ات با دل پر خون سروکارے دارد
 کے ہراساں است بلے مرد سپاہي از خون *
 آخر از سفلہ شود ہمت دوني ظاہر
 خشک چوں گشت نمایاں است سیاہي از خون *
 'خلوص' ملک جہاں خاں (عرف دھونڈیہ) کے ہم عصر ہیں۔
 انہوں نے محض اسلام کی حمایت کے خیال سے اپنے بڑے بھائی کے
 ساتھ سنہ ۱۲۱۵ ہجری میں شہادت نوش کیا۔

خرد

خرد تخلص - مکھن لال نام - راجہ مکھن لال بہادر خطاب - فرزند
 راء دولت رام منشي - وفات گري مولد - سنہ ۱۱۷۷ھ سال ولادت -
 سن شعور کو پہنچنے کے بعد اپنی شادي کی تقریب سے
 حیدر آباد گئے اور وہاں کے اساتذہ سے فارسي کی درسي کتابیں پڑھیں -
 سیاق، ہیئت، نجوم اور ہندسہ میں بھی لیاقت پیدا کی - وہیں
 خوش نویسی اور شاعری کی مشق کی - پھر حسب الطلب نواب
 امیر الامرا (فرزند دوم نواب والاجہ جنت آرام گاہ) مدراس آئے اور
 نواب والاجہ کے ملازمین کے زمرے میں داخل ہوئے - شدہ شدہ راء کا
 خطاب اور منشي گري کی خدمت پر فایز ہوئے - نواب عظیم الدولہ
 بہادر نواب کرناتک (سنہ ۱۲۱۲ تا سنہ ۱۲۳۴ ہجری) کے عہد میں
 راجہ بہادر کا خطاب ملا -

خرد نے ملک العلما مولانا عبد العلي اور مولوي شرف الملک بہادر
 رحمہما اللہ سے شرح ملا جامي تک پڑھی -

اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

دو نیم کرد دل عاشقان حیران را
 نمود معجزہ حسن آشکار انگشت *

یکدل نے اپنے قصائد و غزلیات کا دیوان مرتب کیا۔ اُن کے کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

کے بہ مہد چشم آساید ز بے قابی ہجر
 طفل اشکم از ازل با دامنم خو کرده است *
 گر خضر قصہ از سر زلف تو سر کند
 تا روز حشر نیز بہ پایاں نمی رسد *
 کے تواں دید بسوے دگرے کز ہجرش
 موج اشکم تشدہ زنجیر بہ پائے نگہم *
 یکدل نے سنہ ۱۲۰۶ ہجری میں وفات پائی۔

خلوص

خلوص تخلص - سید محمد چشتی نام - فرزند خواجہ حسن چشتی - اودگیر مولد - سنہ ۱۱۸۶ ہجری سال ولادت - وطن میں اپنے والد ہی سے چند درسی کتابیں پڑھ کر مدراس پہنچے - باقی کتابیں جناب مولوی سید شاہ عبدالقادر مہربان و فخری قدس سرہ کی خدمت میں ختم کیں - فن شعر میں بھی آپ ہی سے تلمذ تھا - عربی میں چونکہ کافی استعداد نہ تھی، میر آزاد بلگرامی کے چند قصائد پڑھ کر اُس زبان میں بھی نظم و نثر لکھنے کی قدرت پیدا کر لی - نہایت ذہین تھے - طبیعت میں بلا کی تیزی تھی -

ان کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

من و صد آہ و افغان و نہ و صد بوسہ لعاش
 ہزاراں پیچ و تابم داد این قلیاں کشید نہا *
 بے لخت دل نگشت رواں سیل اشک من
 افگندہ ام خلوص بہ دریا سفینہ *
 خواہم ہمہ تن محو سرا پائے تو باشم
 چشمے شوم و وقف تماشاے تو باشم *

معالم دل بیمار نرگس یار است
 کجا امید شفا خود طبیب بیمار است *
 قاصد از تفصیل پیغامش دل ما شاد کن
 خندۀ داری بلب چیزے مگر فرمودہ است *
 باز گشت کفر و دین آخر بسوی وحدت است
 ہر دو دست آید بہم اما ظہور یک صداست *
 مرد را باشد خطر چون عزتش برتر شود
 خالی از سفتن نباشد قطرہ چون گوہر شود *
 سنہ ۱۲۰۳ ہجری میں آپ کا وصال ہوا۔ مولانا آگاہ نے یہ تاریخ
 رحلت کہی :-

فخري کہ در مشايخ دوراں عدیل او
 ہرگز نکرد جلوہ در آئینہ شہود *
 از سرد مہري تن افسردہ گشتہ تنگ
 در سیر اوج جاں پر پرواز وا کشود *
 بودم بفکر رحلت او کز صبر کلک
 خورد این فغان بگوش دلم ”لا نظیر بود“
 ۱۲۰۳ ہجری

یکدل

یکدل تخلص - میر علی مردان نام - فرزند سید محمد موسوی والدہ -
 حیدر آباد مولد۔ سال ولادت معلوم نہوا۔ فارسی اور عربی اپنے والد سے
 پڑھی۔ نواب حیدر علی خاں والی میسور کے عہد میں بالا گھات گئے۔
 وہاں ان کی خوب خاطر داشت ہوئی۔ وہیں ملازم ہو گئے۔ چونکہ
 یکدل نواب والاجہ جنت آرام گاہ کے محل خاص کے عزیز تھے، اس لئے
 نواب موصوف نے ان کو پایاں گھات طلب فرما کر اپنے فرزند سیف الملک
 بہادر مختار کیہ معلمی کی خدمت عطا فرمائی۔

اپنی والدہ محترمہ کے فیض سے سات سال کی عمر میں قرآن مجید ختم کیا اور نو برس کی عمر میں حفظ کر لیا۔ مولوی فخر الدین نایبی اور شیعہ الاسلام خاں سے فارسی اور عربی پڑھی اور حدیث شریف میر غلام علی صاحب آزاد مرحوم سے۔

پہلے اپنے ماموں مولوی فخر الدین کے ہاتھ پر بیعت کی اور خرقہ خلافت پایا۔ اس کے بعد سید شاہ فخر الدین ترمذی اورنگ آبادی کی صحبت میں حقائق و معارف تصوف حاصل کئے۔ چنانچہ تصوف میں سبحات - اصل الاصول - کحل الجواهر اور مفتاح المعارف آپ کی تصنیف ہیں۔ مدت العمر شریعت اور طریقت کی تعلیم دیتے رہے۔ آپ کے سیکڑوں مرید تھے۔ اپنے والد کے انتقال کے بعد روضہ خلد آباد کے قاضی مقرر ہوئے اور تین سال تک اس خدمت کے فرائض خوب ادا کئے۔ نواب والاجاہ فرماں رواے کرناٹک نے آپ کو مدراس بلالیا بڑی قدر و منزلت کی اور جاگیر بھی مرحمت فرمائی۔ دوران قیام مدراس میں آپ میلاپور میں سکونت پذیر رہے۔

فن شعر میں آپ کو میر غلام علی آزاد سے تلمذ تھا۔ اُن ہی نے آپ کا تخلص مہربان قرار دیا۔ مگر اس سے آپ چنداں خوش نہیں تھے۔ آخر فخری تخلص اختیار کیا۔

چند اشعار یہ ہیں :-

خلل در فضل احمد کے ز تقدیم رسل آید
کہ موسم آخر ہنگام باراں است نیساں را *
در و دیوار فیض صبح را مائع نمی گردد
فروغ افتد برون از پردہ نور حسن کامل را *
زیر گردوں گریکے شاد است می سوزد دگر
عید بلبل گشت صبح و مرگ شد پروانہ را *
ہمدم دیرینہ می باشد موافق با مزاج
در سبوی کہنہ طبعی آب می ملاند بجا *

کی استدعا کی۔ قیاض نواب نے ازراہ قدر افزائی کاوری پاک کے علاقے میں ایک موضع عطا فرمایا۔

نواب حیدر علی خاں فرماں رواے میسور کے زمانے میں گوہر نلور کی فوجداری پر مامور تھے۔ تھوڑی مدت بعد معزول ہو کر مدراس آئے۔

اُن کے چند اشعار یہ ہیں :-

آشفته جلوات اداها

سر گشتہ قامتت بلاها *

ہمیشہ زخم دلم لب بہ خندہ وادارد

کہ ناوک توبہ دل الفت رسا دارد *

چہ طرفہ رسم در اقلیم بے نیازی هاست

کہ شاعہ بر در درویش القبا دارد *

آوارۂ عروج و نزولم براہ دوست

چوں گرد باد سر بہ ہوا سینہ بر زمیں *

معزولی کے بعد مدراس آنے کے چند ماہ کے اندر بقول ’تذکرۂ

محبوب الزمن‘ سنہ ۱۲۰۰ ہجری میں انتقال کیا اور آقا مقیم کی مسجد واقع میلاپور کے احاطے میں دفن ہوئے۔

مہربان

مہربان تخلص - سید عبد القادر نام - فرزند مولوی سید محمد

شریف المخاطب بہ شریف الدین خاں - اورنگ آباد مولد - سال

ولادت میں اختلاف ہے - ’گلزار اعظم‘ میں سنہ ۱۱۴۳ ہجری لکھا ہے -

مؤلف ’محبوب الزمن‘ لکھتے ہیں کہ ”مہربان کی ولادت سنہ ۱۱۵۱ ہجری

میں ہوئی - تاریخ ولادت ’ولادت عبد القادر مہربان‘ ہے - بعض اصحاب نے

جو سنہ ۱۱۴۳ ہجری لکھا ہے لا اصل ہے، کیونکہ خود مہربان نے اپنی تالیف

میں سنہ ۱۱۵۱ ہجری بیان کیا ہے -“

ہمارے نزدیک ’محبوب الزمن‘ کا قول معتبر معلوم ہوتا ہے، کیونکہ

ان کے مندرجہ بالا دلائل بہت قوی ہیں -

فصل ششم

فارسی گوہندوستانی شعرا جو دوسرے شہروں سے مدراس آئے۔

حاجی

حاجی تخلص - عبد الہادی نام - فرزند حکیم عبد الکریم خان نقوی - وطن اور سال ولادت معلوم نہوا۔
حج سے مشرف ہونے کے بعد اپنا تخلص 'حاجی' رکھا۔ اس مبارک سفر سے واپس ہو کر مدراس پہنچے اور یہیں توطن اختیار کیا۔
اس سے زیادہ ان کے حالات کا پتا نہیں چلتا اور یہ بھی نہ معلوم ہو سکا کہ حج سے پہلے کیا تخلص تھا۔

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

لآلہ ساں ہر دو بہم دوختہ خیاط ازل

کسوت ماتمی و پیرہن شادی ما *

گرہ کار فنا بود سر مستی ما

حلّ این عقدہ بجز ناخن شمشیر نہ شد *

نہ پنداری بہ غفلت ہم ز کار خویش بیکارم

کہ من در عین مستی ہمچو چشم یار ہشیارم *

'نتایج الافکار' سے حاجی کی وفات کا سنہ ۱۲۰۰ ہجری معلوم

ہوتا ہے۔

گوہر

گوہر تخلص - محمد باقر خان نام - فرزند نور الدین علی خان -
وطن اور سال پیدائش معلوم نہوا۔ عمائد اہل نوائٹ میں سے تھے۔
نواب والاجہ فرماں رواے کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۱۶۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری) کے
دربار میں ان کی بڑی آؤبہگت ہوتی تھی۔ ایک دفعہ گوہر نے نواب
موصوف کی خدمت میں ایک قصیدہ پیش کیا اور اُس میں جاگیر

انوار

انوار تخلص - حافظ شاہ انوار الحق نقشبندی نام - فرزند نور الحق
گوپاموی - گوپامو مولد - سال ولادت سنہ ۱۲۰۱ ہجری -

نواب والاجہ، 'جنت آرام گاہ' فرماں رواے کرناتک (سنہ ۱۱۶۴ تا
سنہ ۱۲۱۰ ہجری) کے بنی اعمام کی اولاد سے ہیں -

سین شعور کو پہنچنے کے بعد انوار علم سے منور ہوئے اور مولوی شاہ
عبد الرحمن خلیفہ حضرت مرزا جان جاناں قدس اسرار ہما سے خلافت
پائی - ہمیشہ ذکر و شغل میں مصروف رہتے تھے - بارہا اپنے وطن سے
مدرس تشریف لائے اور ہر مرتبہ عرصہ دراز تک مقیم رہے -

طبیعت بہت موزوں تھی - شعر اچھے نکالتے تھے - یوں ہی ایک
چھوٹا سا دیوان مرتب ہو گیا -

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

رفتم از خود بدوست پیوستم
مرگ یا بد کجا نشان مرا *
در شوق تو گہ نالہ کند گاہ خموشد
چوں ساعت مصنوع فرنگ است دل ما
بہ پیویم چو زلیخا رسانده بود فراق
بہ مژدہاے وصال تو نو جوان کردند *
چو خورشید ہر چند باشی بہ پیشم
چہ سازم کہ من تاب دیدن ندارم *

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

بسکہ از نازک مزاجی بے دماغم کردہ اند
می برد از خویش موج چین پیشانی مرا *
گریہ ام از دلم کدورت برد
آب پاشیدم و غبار نشست *
نالہ ام فاختہ سر و قبا پوش کسے
داغ دل آذینہ حسرت آغوش کسے *
جودت از شوخی تقریر خجالت دارم
نکتہ یافتہ ام از لب خاموش کسے *

سنہ ۱۲۳۳ ہجری میں وفات پائی -

امین

امین تخلص - شیع محمد امین نام - وطن اور سال ولادت
معلوم نہوے -

مرزا بیدل کے شاگرد تھے - سنہ ۱۱۲۱ ہجری میں ہندوستان سے
ارکات پہنچے - رای دکنی رام دیوان کی وساطت سے نواب سعادت اللہ
خان بہادر کی خدمت میں عزت باریابی حاصل ہوئی - نواب موصوف نے
بڑے مشاہیر پر دارالانشا میں خدمت عطا فرمائی اور اپنی مصاحبت کی
بھی عزت بخشی - امین کو رائے دکنی رام اور ان کے فرزند رائے بدھ چند
سے زیادہ خلوص تھا - حقیقت یہ ہے کہ امین نظم سے نثر اچھی لکھتے
تھے - چنانچہ فن انشا میں دو کتابیں ایک 'گلشن سعادت' اور دوسری
'مجمع الانشا' تالیف کیں - ایک دیوان بھی اپنی یادگار چھوڑا -

چند اشعار یہ ہیں :-

ای امین بسکہ گنہ دوست برد رحمت دوست
گر ز عصیاں گری عین گناہست این جا *
نجات ہر کرا چوں مہر با رفعت قرین باشد
اگر بر چرخ چارم رفت چشمش بر زمیں باشد *

تجمل

تجمل تخلص - عظیم الدین خاں نام - لکھنو مولد - والد کا نام اور سال ولادت معلوم نہوے -

اپنے وطن میں علم حاصل کیا - سنہ ۱۲۱۲ ہجری میں مدراس آئے اور علوم تفسیر و اصول فقہ و حدیث جناب ملک العلماء بحر العلوم علامہ عبد العلی قدس سرہ سے حاصل کئے - علم طب میں بھی اچھی دسترس رکھتے تھے - کچھ دنوں حکومت کی طرف سے ترچناپلی کے علاقے میں مفتی بھی رہے -

کلام کا نمونہ ملاحظہ ہو:-

بسکہ لبریز انا الحق بود اندیشہ ما

خون منصور تراود ز رگ ریشہ ما

دل تہ خاک می تند ہم نفساں خدای را

تا بہ مزارم آورید آن مہ دلربای را *

بہ سبزہ نقش رفتہ دل خدا حافظ

شب است تیرہ و رہ تنگ و چاہ درپیش است *

خواہم کہ ساقی پیش من جام می ناب آورد

ز آن پیش کین صبح اجل در دیدہ ام خواب آورد *

سنہ ۱۲۳۰ ہجری میں انتقال کیا - مصطفیٰ علی خاں خوشدل نے

(جن کا ذکر اس تذکرے میں ہے) 'تجمل از جہاں رفت' تاریخ

رحلت کہی - ۱۲۳۰ ہجری

جودت

جودت تخلص - غلام حسین نام - فرزند محمد یار خاں نایبی -

مولد اور سال ولادت معلوم نہوا - ترچناپلی میں سکونت پذیر تھے -

اکثر اساتذہ سے تحصیل علم کیا -

اخیر عمر میں اہل دنیا کے لباس کو ترک کر کے جاہ پرستوں کی

صحبت سے کنارہ کش ہو گئے تھے - ذہن و ذکاوت میں مشہور تھے -

سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری میں نواب انور الدین بھان بہادر شہید ہوئے تو آپ کے فرزند سویم نواب والا جاہ کو نواب ناصر جنگ والی دکن (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری) خلف نواب آصف جاہ کی سرکار سے آبائی منصب، جاگیر، خطاب اور اراکات کی حکومت ملی۔ محفوظ اپنے بھائی نواب والا جاہ کے ہمراہ کرناٹک آئے اور مدراس میں سکونت اختیار کی۔ نواب موصوف نے آپ کو ترناولی کا ناظم مقرر فرمایا۔ برسوں اس خدمت پر مامور رہے۔

نثر میں آپ کی یادگار ایک کتاب موسومہ 'قرة العیذین فی فضائل رسول الثقلین' ہے۔

آپ کے اشعار میں سلاست اور لطافت ہوتی تھی، جیسا کہ کلام ذیل سے معلوم ہوگا:-

کرد عکس رخ ملیح کسے
نمکے در شراب من امشب *
زینت ما از گذار دل بود مانند شمع
کز سر شک خویشتن عقد گہر پوشیم ما *
خسرو اقلیم عشقم، افسرم از گل کنید
گوهر تا جم ز اشک دیدہ بلبل کنید *
بر نقا بد دوش جانم خلعت زیبائے زہد
تار و پود کسوت عشقم، ز موج مل کنید *
ہزار شکر کہ در دل نشست ہمچو خدنگ
اگرچہ تیر نگاہ تو آسمانی بود *
کنارہ گیر بہ پیری ز وصل مہ رویاں
کہ پردہ دار حریفان شب جوانی بود *

سنہ ۱۱۶۳ ہجری میں دارالبقا کا راستہ لیا۔ نواب والا جاہ نے آپ کی وصیت کے موافق آپ کی نعش حیدر آباد بھیج دی اور وہاں اپنے والد نواب انور الدین خاں شہید کے پہلو میں سپرد خاک کر دیے گئے۔

فکر تاریخِ رحلتش کردم
 ’غاب قطب البلاد‘ ہاتف گفت *
 ۱۱۸۲ ہجری

محفوظ

محفوظ تخلص - محمد محفوظ خاں نام - شہامت جنگ بہادر
 خطاب - فرزند دویم نواب سراج الدولہ انور الدین خاں بہادر شہید -
 گویامٹو (اودہ) مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہ ہوا -

اپنے زمانے کے مشہور علما و فضلا سے فارسی اور عربی پڑھی - علوم
 عقلیہ و نقلیہ میں خاصی مہارت تھی - طالب علموں کو ہمیشہ
 اپنے خوان علم سے فیض یاب فرمایا کرتے تھے - برے متقی اور متشرع
 تھے - آپ کے وفور علم کا ایک قصہ مشہور ہے کہ ایک روز اورنگ آباد
 میں نواب آصف جاہ والی حیدر آباد (سنہ ۱۱۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری)
 کے دربار میں علما حاضر تھے - مولوی قمر الدین المختاطب بہ سلطان العلماء
 صدر بھی موجود تھے - محمد محفوظ خاں بہادر مع اپنے والد کے حاضر تھے -
 اتفاقاً کسی مشکل فقہی مسئلے کے متعلق استفسار کیا گیا - تمام علما
 جواب شافی دینے سے قاصر رہے - آپ کے والد نے اپنے فرزند کے اصرار پر
 بندگان عالی کے حضور میں عرض کیا کہ اگر اجازت ہو تو فدوی زادہ
 اس مسئلے پر کچھ عرض کرے - سب کو حیرت ہوئی کہ جب سب کے
 سب علما اس مسئلے میں عاجز رہے تو ایک طالب علم کیا کہہ سکے گا؟
 اجازت مل گئی تو محفوظ خاں نے بڑی صراحت کے ساتھ تقریر کر کے مسئلے
 کو حل کر دیا - علما نے تعریف کی - نواب آصف جاہ نے محفوظ کو
 فرمایا کہ ’اس وقت جو مانگو عطا کیا جائیگا‘ - محفوظ نے برجستہ
 عرض کیا کہ ’دینی خدمت کے مقابلے میں فدوی کو دنیوی فائدہ مد نظر
 نہیں ہے - مگر فرمان والا کی تعمیل بھی فدوی پر فرض ہے‘ لہذا استدعا ہے
 کہ فدوی کو سرکاری کتب خانے سے جو پسند کروں کتابیں عطا فرمادی
 جائیں‘ فوراً داروغہ کتب خانہ کو حکم دیا گیا کہ محفوظ کو دو ہزار
 کتابیں ان کے پسند کی دے دی جائیں -

طبیعت خوب موزوں تھی - کبھی کبھی فارسی غزل ، قصیدہ اور
مثنوی کہتے تھے اور اُن میں حقائق و معارف کے مضامین باندھتے تھے -
ذیل کے اشعار تبرکاً درج ہیں :-

ای آہ برق سیرم بگذر زہرزہ گردی
از حالِ دل خبر دہ یک بار جان مارا *
ز زلف او پس از چندیں شب تار
بدست خویش تارے دارم امشب *
قربی حشم آہ تو با نالہ رواں شد
رسم است کہ ہر قافلہ بے جرسے نیست *
نیست فتّواری ای پری پیکر
آب بر خاست بہر تفتیمت *

آپ سنہ ۱۱۸۳ ہجری میں بمقام ویلور واصل معبود ہوئے اور وہیں
سپرِ خاک کئے گئے - آپ کے مرید مولانا آگاہ نے ذیل کا قطعہ تاریخ کہا :-

بوالحسن آنکہ از نم فیضش
چمن دیں 'چو باغِ خلد شگفت *
قرطہ گوش عرشیاں گردید
آن گہرہا کہ در معارف رفت *
با نہانش عیاں نکردہ ظہور
با عیانش نہاں نہاند نہفت *
از پئے واردان مشہد غیب
خس و خامشاک غیر از دل رفت *
کرد زین طاق تنگ عزم رحیل
تا شود پا جہاں مطلق جفت *
در حریم بقا بہ شاہد قدس
دوش بردوش شاد و خنداں خفت *
بود جان جہاں 'ازین معنی
از سفر کردنش جہاں آشفٹ *

فصل پنجم

فارسی گو ہندوستانی شعرا جو دوسرے شہروں سے کوناٹک آئے ۔

قربی

قربی تخلص ۔ سید شاہ ابوالحسن نام ۔ فرزند حضرت سید عبد اللطیف نقوی قدس سرہما ۔ بیجاپور مولد ۔ سال ولادت سنہ ۱۱۱۶ ھ ۔

قربی چار سال کی عمر میں اپنے والد ماجد کے ہمراہ سفر کے لئے نکلے ۔ شانور میں دو سال اور اراکات میں چھ سال قیام رہا ۔ پھر رونق افروز ویلور ہوئے اور وہیں سکونت اختیار فرمائی ۔

فارسی کتابیں محمد حسین صاحب بیجاپوری سے ، کتب تصوف مثلاً مخزن اسرار و مثنوی شریف محمد فخر الدین نایطی سے اور عربی صرف و نحو محمد ساقی صاحب سے پڑھیں ۔ ذہن کی رسائی اور کثرت مطالعہ کی برکت سے تصوف کی معتبر کتب ، مثلاً فتوح الغیب ، فتوحات مکیہ اور فصوص الحکم وغیرہ پر قادر ہو گئے ۔ عربی نثر نہایت فصاحت و بلاغت کے ساتھ لکھتے تھے ۔ اس پر آپ کے چند خطبات جمعہ شاہد ہیں ۔ جناب مولانا باقر آگاہ نے اپنی کتاب ’تحفۃ الاحسن فی مذاقب السید ابی الحسن‘ میں ان خطبوں کا ذکر آپ کے حالات و کرامات کے ضمن میں کیا ہے ۔ اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ آپ نے پہلے محمد فخر الدین نایطی کے ہاتھ پر بیعت کی اور طریقہ قادریہ میں اُن ہی سے خرقہ خلافت حاصل کیا ۔ اس کے بعد تمام سلسلوں میں سید علی محمد قدس سرہ سے اجازت بیعت پائی ۔ اس کے بعد جناب خواجہ رحمت اللہ رحمہ اللہ سے سلسلہ ہائے قادریہ و نقشبندیہ و چشتیہ و رفاعیہ کی اجازت بھی ملی ۔ شیخ محمد مخدوم ساوی قدس سرہ سے بھی انکار و اشغال کی اجازت تھی ۔ مختصر یہ ہے کہ آپ مرشد اور عارف کامل تھے ۔ ہزاروں طالبان حق آپ کی ہدایت سے راہ مستقیم پر پہنچ گئے ۔

چو مرغے کز قفس بپند بحسرت آشیان خود
ز چاک سینه دارد دل نظر بر زلف جانانش *

ز وصل یار جدا اوفتاده می گریم
سر نیاز به هر در نهاده می گویم *

هر نکته که بود نهان در دلم ز عشق
یک یک سر شک بر رخ من جسته جسته گفت *

وفا کا سال انتقال معلوم نہوا - البتہ 'گزار اعظم' کی تالیف کے وقت
یعنی سنہ ۱۲۶۹ ہجری تک زندہ تھے -

وفا

وفا تخلص - مرزا حکیم عبد الباقي الشریف الرضوي نام - فرزند مرزا محمد شفیع خاں - اسلاف کا وطن عراق و خراسان و اصفہان - بغداد شریف مولد - سال ولادت سنہ ۱۲۰۴ ہجری ہے -

بتیس سال کی عمر تک اپنے والد سے تعلیم پاتے رہے - اُن کے انتقال کے بعد علم معقول اور طب حاصل کرنے کی غرض سے اصفہان پہنچے - وہاں جا کے ان علوم کو حاصل کیا - نو برس کے بعد ایران کے بعض شہروں کی سیاحت کرتے ہوئے ہندوستان آئے اور حیدر آباد میں سکونت اختیار کی - عرصہ دراز تک منیر الملک بہادر دیوان دکن کی صحبت میں عزت اور احترام کے ساتھ رہے - رفتہ رفتہ نواب ناصر الدولہ بہادر والی دکن (سنہ ۱۲۴۴ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۳ ھ) کے دربار میں باریاب ہو کر مصاحب اور طبیب سرکار مقرر ہوئے - سنہ ۱۲۴۷ ہجری میں مدراس پہنچے اور یہاں مقیم ہو گئے - پھر سرکار انگریزی کے ایجنٹ کے میر منشی ہوئے اور خوب شہرت پائی - ایک مرتبہ اپنے محکمے کے لوگوں سے اُن بن ہو گئی تو استعفاء دیا - مگر ان کی کردانی اور حسن خدمات کی وجہ سے منظور نہ ہوا -

فن خطاطی میں وفا کو ید طولیٰ حاصل تھا - خوشنویس ہفت قلم کہلاتے تھے -

جب ایران میں تھے تو محمد کاظم والہ اور فتح علی خان صبا ملک الشعراء ایران سے شاعری خصوصاً قصیدہ گوئی میں اصلاح لی - نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر اعظم نواب کرفاٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) نے بزم مشاعرہ بنام ”مشاعرۃ اعظم“ ترتیب دی تو اُس کے رکن بھی رہے اور طرحی و غیر طرحی غزل خوب کہتے تھے - اُن کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

خورشید را بہ حسن تو سنجیدہ ایم صبح
دیدیم چون ستارۃ مقرون آفتاب *

فصل چہارم

وہ فارسی گو ایرانی شعرا جو دوسرے شہروں سے مدراس آئے

سخن

سخن تخلص - سید محمد نام - سید محمد خاں بہادر خطاب -
اصفہان وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہ ہوا - سن شعور کو پہنچنے کے بعد
وطن سے مچھلی بندر اور وہاں سے مدراس آئے - مدتوں یہاں تجارت کرتے
رہے - پھر نواب امیر الامراء بہادر، فرزند دوم نواب والاجاہ فرمانرواے
کرناٹک کے ملازم ہوئے اور خان کا خطاب پایا - نواب امیر الامراء کا
جب انتقال ہو گیا تو اُن کے بعد نواب والاجاہ کی سرکار سے بہادر کا
خطاب اور دیوان خانے کی داروغگی مرحمت ہوئی -

شاعری میں دستگاہ کامل رکھتے تھے - ایک چھوٹا سا دیوان
جس میں قصائد اور غزلیں ہیں، اپنی یادگار چھوڑا -

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

بہ دل خارے ز عشق گلزارے کردہ ام پیدا
ازیں خواری بہ عالم اعتبارے کردہ ام پیدا *
فصل بہار گل مرا بوے زیار می دہد
غنچہ نشانے از لب لعل نگار می دہد *
شکوہ از دست تو ہر جانہ توانم کردن
زاری من بہ سر کوے تو دیدن دارد *
آنچہ خوں از غم ہجران تو خوردم عمرے
ایں زماں از مژہ آہنگ چکیدن دارد *
دست بر چاک گریباں زدی و دانستم
صبح امید من امروز دمیدن دارد *

سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری میں وفات پائی -

سنہ ۱۲۶۸ ہجری میں سیاحت کی غرض سے مدراس آئے اور چونکہ نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) کی والدہ محترمہ کے عزیزوں میں سے تھے، لہذا نواب موصوف کی سرکار میں بھی باریاب ہوئے۔ ذکی الطبع اور روشن دماغ تھے۔ کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے:—

بہ جانان از تب و تاب دلم بنوشته ام نامہ
 بجا باشد شود گر نامہ بر مرغ کباب این جا *
 دلم از ہر خم گیسوش بہ بند دگر است
 یک اسیر است گرفتار بہ زندانے چند *
 ماتم ای دل کہ برفت از کف من دامن یار
 ای جنوں مژدہ کہ دستم بہ گریباں آمد *
 نالہ بر داشت صد علم آنجا
 سپر انداخت ہر کجا محشر *
 ای چشم پُر آب در چہ فکری
 شد خانہ خراب در چہ فکری *

رباعی

افسوس کہ از وطن جدا افتادم
 زان سنا کہ ز فردوس جدا شد آدم *
 آدم جو خوردہ ترک فردوس نمود
 من ترک وطن در طلب جو دادم *
 جذب کی تاریخ وفات معلوم نہوی -

ایک لڑکا پیدا ہوگا۔ اس کو میرے نام سے موسوم کرنا۔ چنانچہ میں پیدا ہوا تو میرا نام والد نے غلام رفاعی رکھا اور عرف محمد رفیع الدین۔ غرض جناب رفیع نے اورنگ آباد میں حضرت قمر الدین رحمہ اللہ مذکور الصدر کی خدمت میں تمام علوم عقلی و نقلی حاصل کئے۔ حضرت خواجہ رحمۃ اللہ قدس سرہ کے مرید ہوئے اور آپ ہی سے خرقہ خلافت پایا۔ چند بار مرشد کی زیارت کے لئے نلور گئے اور آپ ہی کے حکم سے حرمین شریفین حاضر ہوئے اور متعدد حج کر کے قندھار واپس آگئے۔ اچھے شاعر تھے۔ یہ دو شعر آپ کے کلام کا نمونہ ہیں:-

ز روی لطف بکس بوسہ دادہ شاید

کہ ہمچو شبنم گل نقش بر دہن باقی است *

یار در بر دارم و مشتاق دیدارم ہنوز

محو از خود گشتہ ام محتاج تکرارم ہنوز *

سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری میں بمقام قندھار وصال ہوا۔ آپ کے شاگرد ’والا‘ نے

(جن کا حال اسی تذکرے میں ملے گا) تاریخ رحلت کہی:-

پیوستہ برحمت حق

۱۲۴۱ھ

جذب

جذب تخلص۔ میر اکرام علی نام۔ فرزند میر لطف اللہ خاں

بہادر۔ حیدر آباد مولد۔ سال ولادت سنہ ۱۲۵۰ھ ہے۔

جذب، سید فتح اللہ بہادر عالم گیوی کی اولاد میں سے تھے۔

سات ہی سال کے تھے کہ والد کا سایہ سر سے اٹھ گیا۔ اپنے

حقیقی ماموں محمد فخر الدین حیدر خاں کے زیر نگرانی پرورش پائی۔

عربی صرف و نحو اور فارسی کی چند درسی کتابیں میر تفضل حسین عطا

سے پڑھیں۔ فارسی اور ہندی اشعار کی اصلاح بھی اُن ہی سے لیتے رہے۔

جناب شمس الدین فیض رحمہ اللہ سے اس فن میں فیض حاصل کیا۔

چشم او بر ما نگاہ گر ندارد عیب نیست
 مي شود پرهيز لازم مردم بیمار را *
 گرچه اي دوست ندیدم چمن روء ترا
 دایم از باد صبا مي شنوم بوء ترا *
 ہر کہ آن جا ہرود باز نکرد ہرگز
 ہست خاصیت گلزار ارم کوے ترا *
 بر زمین آمدہ از دور زمین بوس کند
 ماہ نوگر نگرد گوشہٴ ابروے ترا *
 سنبل تازہ و تردودہ شود در چشمم
 گر نہ بینم بہ چمن سنبل گیسوے ترا *
 خواهد از گوشہٴ چشمت نگہ لطف شفیق
 آرزوے بہ ازیں نیست دعا گوے ترا *
 شکست توبہٴ ما را بہار شد باعث
 ہزار بار نوے ہزار شد باعث *
 خدا گواہ کہ مي را بہ لب نیا لودم
 برای مستي من چشم یار شد باعث *
 شفیق نے ۱۲۰۱ ہجری میں انتقال کیا۔

رفیع

رفیع تخلص، غلام رفاعی نام - محمد رفیع الدین عرف -
 فرزند محمد شمس الدین قادری دکنی - قندھار علاقہ دکن مولد -
 ۱۹ جمادی الاخری سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری تاریخ ولادت ہے -

جناب رفیع نے ایک تذکرہ بنام ”انوار القندھار“ لکھا ہے - اس میں
 اپنے متعلق لکھتے ہیں کہ :- ”فقیر کے والد بزرگوار جو مرد صالح تھے
 ایک موقع پر حضرت حاجی ستیاح سرور سعید الرفاعی قدس سرہ العزیز
 کی خانقاہ کی مسجد میں معتکف تھے - حضرت حاجی صاحب نے
 خواب میں ایک صحنک کھانے کی بھری ہوئی دی اور فرمایا کہ تمہارے

شفیق کے والد منسارام اپنے والد کے انتقال کے وقت دو برس کے تھے۔ ان کے ہم قوم لالہ جسونت رای ان کی پرورش اور تعلیم کے متکفل ہوئے۔ انہوں نے بڑی قابلیت پیدا کی۔ نواب آصف جاہ والی حیدر آباد کے عہد میں دکن کے چھ صوبوں کی صدارت کی پیشکاری پائی اور قریباً چالیس سال اس خدمت کے فرائض نہایت خوبی سے انجام دیے۔ نواب صہام الدولہ شہنواز خاں وزیر دکن نے انہیں بڑا منصب عطا فرمایا۔

شفیق کو ہوش سنبھالتے ہی علم کا شوق پیدا ہوا۔ شروع سے آخر تک میر آزاد بلگرامی کے فیض جاری سے مستفیض ہوتے رہے۔ بہت اچھے شاعر تھے۔ کلام میں چستی و فصاحت تھی۔ فارسی اور ریختہ دونوں میں شعر کہتے تھے۔ دونوں زبانوں کے دو ضخیم دیوان غیر مطبوعہ موجود ہیں۔ تاریخ نویسی میں مہارت تامہ تھی۔ مآثر آصفی۔ مآثر حیدری وغیرہ ان کے تصانیف ہیں۔ شاعروں کے دو تذکرے لکھے۔ ایک ’گل رعنا‘ جس میں شعراء ہند کے حالات ہیں اور دوسرا ’شام غریباں‘ جس میں ان شعراء ولایت کا ذکر ہے، جو ہند میں وارد ہوئے۔

شفیق نواب عالی جاہ فرزند نواب نظام علی خاں آصف جاہ ثانی (سنہ ۱۱۷۵ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۸ ھ) کی سرکار میں ملازم تھے۔ منصب اور خطاب دولی چند سے بھی سرفراز تھے۔

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

مصرع ابروے او بسم اللہ دیوان ما
مصحف رخسارۂ او دین ما ایمان ما *
بسکہ از گفتار ماریزند یاراں رنگ ها
گردۂ صورت گراں شد صفحۂ دیوان ما *
بر دل ما التفاتے هست چشم یار را
الفت بسیار با مینا بود می خوار را *

بر خاطر تو راز دو عالم شود عیاں
 پیش نگاہ تست اگر دور بین دل *
 بہ گلشنے کہ تو سر منشأ طرب باشی
 چہ لازم است کہ چوں غنچہ بستہ لب باشی *
 بہ انتظار تو آراستیم خانہ چشم
 چہ میشود اگر آئی و چند شب باشی *

ہندی اشعار ملاحظہ ہوں :-

فلک گرتا ' زمین پھٹتی ' چمن سے رنگ اتر جاتا
 اگر میں اپنے دل کا حال ای ظالم بیاں کرتا *
 سجن ! تجھ زلف میں ہل میل رہا ہے
 ہمارے ہاتھ میں کب دل رہا ہے *
 نہیں کھلتا بہار و باغ سوں دل
 یہی عقدہ مجھے مشکل رہا ہے *

سنہ ۱۱۹۶ ہجری میں قلعہ کولاس کے اطراف میں انتقال کیا۔
 چند روز وہیں سپرد خاک کئے گئے۔ بعد کو حیدر آباد دکن لے جا کر
 یاقوت پورہ کے باہر دفن کیا گیا۔ میر غلام علی آزاد نے رحلت کی
 تاریخ کہی :-

افسوس کہ رفت امیر عالی گوہر
 دیوان رکن و صاحب فضل و ہنر *
 تاریخ وفات این امیر دانا
 'صمصام الملک عقل گُل کرد سفر' *
 سنہ ۱۱۹۶ ہجری

شفیق

شفیق تخلص - لچھمی ناراین نام - فرزند منسارام کہتری -
 اورنگ آباد مولد - سنہ ۱۱۵۸ھ سال ولادت - آپ کے دادا بھوانی داس
 عالمگیری لشکر کے ہمراہ دکن آئے اور اورنگ آباد میں قیام کر کے بذریعہ
 ملازمت عزت و آبرو کے ساتھ زندگی بسر کی -

آپ کی رحلت کا سال معلوم نہوا۔ چونکہ حج سے فارغ ہو کر آپ سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ہجری میں اورنگ آباد واپس ہوئے، اس سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ آپ اس (سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ہجری) تک زندہ تھے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ ہم نے ان کا ذکر جرأت (المتوفی سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ھ) کے بعد کیا ہے۔

صارم

صارم تخلص - میر عبد الحی نام - صمصام الدولہ، صمصام الملک خطاب - فرزند نواب صمصام الدولہ شہنواز خاں شہید - اورنگ آباد مولد - سنہ ۱۱۴۲ ہجری سال تولد ہے۔

ان کے والد نواب نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ والی حیدر آباد دکن (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ھ) کے دیوان تھے اور سنہ ۱۱۷۱ ہجری میں شہید ہوئے۔

صارم نے فضائل عصر سے عربی اور فارسی تحصیل کی۔ پھر ملازم ہو گئے۔ سنہ ۱۱۶۲ ھ میں خطاب خانی اور منصب نیز صوبہ برار کی دیوانی عطا ہوئی۔ رفتہ رفتہ اورنگ آباد کی نظامت اور دولت آباد کی قلعہ داری پر سرفراز ہوئے اور صمصام الدولہ کا خطاب مرحمت ہوا۔ نواب میر نظام علی خاں والی دکن (سنہ ۱۱۷۵ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۸ ھ) کے عہد میں خطاب صمصام الملک اور دکن کی دیوانی پائی۔

صارم زبردست شاعر تھے۔ طبیعت میں مضمون آفرینی تھی۔ پہلے وقار تخلص کرتے تھے، بعد کو 'صارم' اختیار کیا۔ فارسی اور ہندی دونوں میں شعر کہتے تھے۔

ان کے چند فارسی اشعار یہ ہیں :-

بہ سیر باغ چو آں می پرست برخیزد

گل از چمن کدہ ساغر بدست برخیزد *

سخن بقدر ضرورت بود بزرگان را

کہ جز جواب نگرند صدا ز کوه بلند *

زیادہ ہی تھے۔ طریقہ نقشبندیہ میں اپنے والد ماجد سے بیعت رکھتے تھے۔

سنہ ۱۱۵۵ ہجری میں دہلی گئے اور وہاں کے علما و مشائخ سے ملاقات کی۔ چودہ مہینوں کے بعد حضرت مجدد الف ثانی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کے مزار کی زیارت کے لئے سرہند گئے اور وہاں سے لاہور۔ ہر جگہ مشائخ و علما سے مل کر پھر دہلی آئے اور کچھ روز وہاں مقیم رہ کر اورنگ آباد واپس آ گئے۔ ۱۱۷۴ ہجری میں حرمین شریفین روانہ ہوئے۔ پہلے مدینہ طیبہ میں حاضر ہوئے۔ پھر بیت اللہ شریف گئے اور حج سے مشرف ہوئے۔ مدینہ طیبہ اور مکہ معظمہ کے سربر آوردہ لوگوں نے آپ کی بڑی تعظیم و تکریم کی۔ سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ھ میں اورنگ آباد مراجعت فرمائی۔

صاحب 'خزانہ عامرہ' نے لکھا ہے کہ آپ کی طبیعت موزوں تھی۔ اس لئے کبھی کبھی شعر کہ لیا کرتے تھے۔ لیکن آپ کی شان شاعری سے بہت ارفع تھی۔

کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

لقمہٗ دوناں رساند در گلوے خویشتن
شست اول ہر کہ دست از آبروے خویشتن *
مشت خاکم دست و دامن تو شد
گر نیفشانی فتد بر پائے تو *
دنیا زن است و طالب آن ہم مؤنت است
زین وجہ روز مرد خدا در قفا کند *

آپ نے اپنے حج کی یہ تاریخ کہی :-

احرام حرم زہند بستم * گشتم زطواف کعبہ مسرور
بخشید بمن ہزار نعمت * این خانہ ہمیشہ باد معمور
از دولت روضہ مقدس * دل یافت سرور و دیدہ ہا نور
حج مبرور سعی مشکور * وارن شدہ در دعالے ماثور
گیرند اگر دوجیم تشدید * تاریخ شود دعالے مذکور

مولانا سید قمر الدین

سید قمر الدین نام - تخلص معلوم نہ ہوا - غالباً تخلص رکھا ہی نہیں -
فرزند سید منیب اللہ - اورنگ آباد مولد - سنہ ۱۱۲۳ ہجری میں
پیدا ہوئے -

آپ کے آباے کرام خجد کے سادات سے تھے - ان میں سے ایک
صاحب ' سید ظہیر الدین نام سب سے پہلے خجد سے ہندوستان
وارد ہوئے اور امین آباد مضافات لاہور میں سکونت اختیار کی - ان کے
پوتے سید محمد فرزند سید عنایت اللہ امین آباد سے دکن آئے اور
شیخ مظفر برہانپوری کے ہاتھ پر بیعت کی (شیخ مظفر شیخ محمد
معصوم بن حضرت مجدد الف ثانی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کے مریدوں میں سے
تھے اور طریقہ نقشبندیہ رکھتے تھے) اس طریقے میں آپ نے اتنی ترقی
کی کہ آپ کا شمار اولیاء اللہ میں ہوتا ہے - اس نواح میں آکر آپ
بالاپور علاقہ ہزار میں مقیم ہوئے اور طالبان حق کی رہ نمائی فرمائی -
آپ نے سنہ ۱۱۱۷ ہجری میں وفات پائی - تاریخ وصال 'شمع
بہشت' ہے -

۱۷ھ ۱۱

سید محمد صاحب کے فرزند سید منیب اللہ صاحب ہیں -
آپ اپنے والد ماجد کے سجادہ نشین ہوئے اور بالاپور سے اورنگ آباد
منتقل ہو آئے اور وہیں سنہ ۱۱۶۱ھ میں انتقال فرمایا - تاریخ وفات
'مقوجہ بہشت' ہے -

۶۱ھ ۱۱

مولانا سید قمر الدین صاحب نے کم سنی ہی میں قرآن مجید
حفظ کیا اور علمائے اورنگ آباد کی خدمت میں درسی کتابیں پڑھیں -
اپنی خدا داد ذکاوت سے مختلف علوم خصوصاً حکمت و تصوف
میں بڑا کمال پیدا کیا - آپ کی تصنیف 'مظہر النور' جو مسئلہ
واجب الوجود پر سنہ ۱۱۶۴ھ میں لکھی تھی 'آپ کے علم و کمال کی
شہادہ ہے - زہد و تقویٰ اور معرفت الہی میں اپنے فضل و کمال سے کچھ

تھے۔ جب طبقہ سادات کا زوال ہوا تو جرأت کی عمر ۴۵ برس کی تھی۔ اس کے بعد سے آخر عمر تک وہ نواب آصف جاہ اور آپ کے جانشینوں کی سرکار میں دارالانشا کی میزمنشی گری اور دیگر معزز عہدوں پر ممتاز رہے۔ اسی اثنا میں معز الدولہ کا خطاب بھی پایا۔

نظم و نثر میں ان کا پایہ اتنا بلند تھا کہ جب وہ آصف جاہ کے ہمراہ محمد شاہی دربار میں باریاب ہوئے تو نواب ممدوح نے ان الفاظ کے ساتھ اُن کی تقریب کی کہ ”موسوی خاں اس زمانے کے ابوالفضل ہیں۔“

زمانہ قیام دہلی میں جرأت وہاں کے علما سے ملے اور اُن سے استفادہ کیا۔ ان کے کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

جاں از خیال حسن تو ہمدوش آفتاب
یادت بدل چو نور در آغوش آفتاب *
دریاد خدا باش کہ کارے بہ ازیں نیست
ستیاہی دل کن کہ دیارے بہ ازیں نیست *
بے بہار خلق شہرت با ہنر دمساز نیست
نگہت گل بے شگفتی قابل پرواز نیست *
شب کہ در بزم چمن ساز طرب آمادہ بود
دانہ انگور قندیل چراغ بادہ برد *
فارغ از ہر دو جہاں بندہ احسان توام
سر و آزادم و پابند گلستان توام *
خط دمید است ز لعل نمکینش عجب است
کز نمک زار نہ رست است گیاہے گاہے *

سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ہجری میں بمقام اورنگ آباد انتقال کیا اور وہیں مدفون ہوئے۔ آزاد بلگرامی نے تاریخ رحلت کہی :-

موسوی خاں زکاک گوہر بار * آبرو داد شعر و انشا را
گفت تاریخ رحلتش آزاد * کرد جرأت وداع دنیا را

رحم کن ای باغبان گلدستہ پیش من میار
 مجمع یاراں رنگیں یاد می آید مرا *
 در سرا پردہ دل ہر نفس آوازے ہست
 کہ درین خانہ نہاں خانہ ہر اندازے ہست *
 خود راز تنگی قفس آزاد می کنم
 این مشقت پر تواضع صیاد می کنم *
 نہ رسم اگر بہ بزمش ز ہجوم نارسائی
 بہ خیال آستانش من و مشق جہم سائی *
 کہ برد پیام مارا بحریم خوش نگاہاں
 رقمی نمودہ آہم دوسہ مصرع ہوائی *
 سنہ ۱۱۷۴ ہجری میں بمقام حیدر آباد وفات پائی آزاد بلگرامی نے
 تاریخ کہی :-

شیرازہ نظم میرزا خاں * ہم نثر بہ فکر او مباہمی
 تاریخ وفات او خرد گفت * پیوست برحمت الہی
 ۱۱۷۴ ھ

جرات

جرات تخلص - میر محمد ہاشم نام - موسوی خاں اور معز الدولہ
 خطاب - فرزند میر محمد شفیع - اورنگ آباد مولد - سال ولادت
 سنہ ۱۰۸۸ ہجری ہے -

ان کے والد اور دادا شہنشاہ عالم گیر کے عہد میں ہندوستان آئے -
 دونوں کو شاہی ملازمتیں مل گئیں - کچھ دنوں کے بعد بسلسلہ ملازمت
 اورنگ آباد تبدیل ہوئے - یہیں توطن اختیار کر لیا - اسی شہر میں
 جرات پیدا ہوئے ، اپنے والد ہی سے تحصیل علم کی -

امیر الامرا سید حسین علی خاں کا عروج ہوا تو ان تک رسائی
 ہوئی اور انہوں نے دھارور ضلع اورنگ آباد کا قلعہ دار مقرر کر دیا -
 سنہ ۱۱۳۱ ہجری میں امیر الامرا دہلی گئے تو جرات بھی ہم رکاب

در ہفدہم ز ماہ محرم شہید شد
تاریخ گفت نوحہ گرے ”آفتاب رفت“ *
۱۱۶۴ ہجری

رسا

رسا تخلص - جان مرزا نام - مرزا خاں خطاب - فرزند سید
میر جان - حیدر آباد مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہیں - رسا کے اجداد
ہمدان کے رہنے والے اور سادات حسینی میں سے تھے - ان کے اجداد
میں سے ایک صاحب میر شاہ طاہر نام شہنشاہ اکبر (سنہ ۹۶۳ تا
سنہ ۱۰۱۴ھ) کے عہد میں ہندوستان آئے - بادشاہ نے بڑی عزت و توقیر
کی اور چند مواضع بطور جاگیر عطا کئے - پھر وہ دکن آئے - سلاطین
دکن نے ان کی ایسی خاطر داشت کی کہ وہ یہیں کے ہو رہے -

رسا کے والد میر جان بھی زیور علم و فن سے آراستہ تھے - شہنشاہ
عالم گیر کے زمانے میں انہیں اچھے اچھے مناصب پر سرفراز کیا گیا اور
انہوں نے بھی شایستہ خدمتیں کیں -

رسا کی ولادت بلدہ حیدر آباد میں واقع ہوئی - نواب آصف جاہ
(سنہ ۱۱۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۱ھ) کے لشکر میں تعلیم پائی - اپنے والد ہی سے
درسی کتابیں پڑھیں اور ایسی قابلیت حاصل کی کہ قلیل مدت میں
نواب موصوف کے مصاحب ہو گئے اور آخر عہد میں دارالانشا کے میر منشی
بھی مقرر کئے گئے -

بہت خوش خلق تھے اس لئے شہر بھر کے محبوب تھے - نواب کے
ہم رکاب دہائی ہو آئے تھے اور وہاں کے مشہور شعرا سے خوب ملاقاتیں
رہی تھیں - خود اچھے سخن سنج اور سخن فہم تھے - ان کے کلام
کا انداز یہ ہے :-

از غم ہر کس بہ دل فریاد می آید مرا
شیشہ ہر جا بشکند دل یاد می آید مرا *

ملک و مال کی حرص سے خفیہ طور پر فرانسیسوں کی حمایت کی اور
نواب کو شہید کر دالا۔ لاش اورنگ آباد بھیجی گئی اور حضرت شاہ
برہان الدین غریب قدس سرہ العزیز کے مزار مبارک کے پاس اپنے والد
کی قبر کے پہلو میں مدفون ہوئے۔

نواب ناصر جنگ اچھے شاعر تھے۔ فن شعر میں آزاد بلگرامی سے
تلمذ تھا۔ ایک ضخیم دیوان آپ نے یاد گار چھوڑا۔ اشعار ذیل بطور نمونہ
ملاحظہ ہوں :-

گر خضر کرد صرفہ ز اسکندر آب خویش
خضر خط تو آب بقا می دہد مرا *
دل بہ دست خال او دادن خطاست
سازم از زنگی نہاں آئینہ را *
می کند سحر در علاج دلم
نرگس یار گرچہ بیمار است *
موسم پیری است می باید عصا
دست ما در گردن مینا خوش است *
در محفل سپہر ندیدیم امتیاز
بر آفتاب و ماہ زحل را تقدم است *
اگر بوی آن گل صبا می رساند
بہ زخم دل ما دوا می رساند *
فلک گرچہ دارد تلاش جدائی
بہم دوستان را خدا می رساند *
ابر دریا دل بدست گوہر افشاں می رسد
ای صدف دامن کشا کارت بہ سامان می رسد *
نواب ناصر جنگ کی تاریخ شہادت میر آزاد بلگرامی نے
یہ لکھی ہے :-

نواب عدل گستر عالی جناب رفت
فرصت نہ داد تیغ حوادث شتاب رفت *

آفتاب

آفتاب تخلص - میر احمد خاں نام - نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ
خطاب - نواب آصف جاہ نظام الملک والی حیدر آباد کے دوسرے فرزند -
سال ولادت معلوم نہیں -

سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری میں اپنے والد کے انتقال کے بعد مسند نشین ہو کر
برہان پور سے اورنگ آباد تشریف فرما ہوئے - یکایک احمد شاہ بادشاہ
دہلی نے کسی امر سلطنت کے انتظام کے لئے آپ کو طلب فرمایا -
اگرچہ ملک میں بعض باغیوں نے بے طرح سرائیا تھا مگر حکم شاہی کے
موافق آپ مع خدم و حشم روانہ ہوئے - دریائے نرپداہی تک پہنچنے
پلے تھے کہ فرمان شاہی ملا کہ ”آپ کے آنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے“ -
اس لئے اورنگ آباد واپس ہو گئے -

ہدایت محی الدین خاں المخاطب بہ مظفر جنگ (دختر زادہ
نواب آصف جاہ) ناظم رائچور کی شورش کی خبریں آنے لگیں -
حسین دوست خاں نایبی عرف چندا صاحب نے ہدایت
محی الدین خاں کے ساتھ ساز باز کر کے ارکات پر قبضہ کر لینے کا ارادہ کیا
اور فراسیسوں کی مدد سے نواب سراج الدولہ انور الدین خاں بہادر
شہامت جنگ پر جو ناظم ارکات تھے ، حملہ آور ہوا - میدان
جنگ میں نواب انور الدین خاں جوہر شجاعت دکھا کر شہید
ہو گئے - اس واقعے کی اطلاع نواب ناصر جنگ کو ملی تو ان کے اور
فراسیسوں کے درمیان جنگ چھڑ گئی ، نواب صاحب نے فتح پائی -
ہدایت محی الدین خاں گرفتار ہوئے - چونکہ فراسیسی خیرگی اور
شورش پر اترے ہوئے تھے ، ان بد کیشوں کی تنبیہ کے لئے فوج کا ایک دستہ
معین کر کے نواب ناصر جنگ ارکات کی طرف روانہ ہوئے - اسی اثنا میں
فراسیسوں نے چنچنی کا قلعہ فتح کر لیا - اس واقعے سے نواب ناصر جنگ
کو سخت ملال ہوا اور باوجود کثرت بارش آپ نے چنچنی کا رخ کیا -
کرناتک کے علاقے کے افغان سرداروں نے نمک خواری کا پاس نہ کر کے

از ہجران تو بیقرار است دلم
یک لحظہ کنار خاطرم گیر قرار*

ایک نمک حرام مرزا خاں نامی نے بد خواہی اور خود غرضی سے میرا حسین نظام شاہ ثانی کو سنہ ۹۹۶ ہجری میں قتل کروایا۔ حبشیوں اور دکنیوں نے بسر کردگی جمال خاں اس کو نمک کا کام تمام کر دیا اور قلعے میں گھس کر اہل قلعہ کو تلوار کے گھاٹ اتارا۔ بے گناہ مقتولوں میں مرزا صادق بھی تھے۔

فہیمی

فہیمی تخلص۔ ان کا نام و سال ولادت وغیرہ معلوم نہوسکا۔

ابراہیم عادل شاہ والی بیجاپور کے عہد کے شاعر ہیں۔ خواجہ سعد الدین شیرازی، المختاطب بہ شہنواز خاں بادشاہ کے مقرب اور وکیل تھے۔ فہیمی پر ان کی بڑی عنایت تھی۔ فہیمی بھی ہمیشہ ان کی خیر مناتے رہتے تھے۔ سنہ ۱۰۱۰ ہجری میں شہنواز خاں کے بیٹا ہوا۔ علاو الدولہ اس کا نام رکھا گیا۔ فہیمی نے اس موقع پر ایک طولانی قصیدہ لکھا جس کے چند اشعار یہ ہیں:—

شگفتہ روئی این نو گل جہاں افروز

چمن چمن گل عشرت ببوستان آورد *

ہزارو دہ ہونہ از سال ہجرت نبوی

چنین شمار حکیم حساب داں آورد *

مسافر ز دیار جلال و جاہ رسید

کہ بخت و دولتش از بہر ارمغان آورد *

ز بہر زائچہ طالع ہما یونش

مہندس فلکی کلک درمیاں آورد *

اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ فہیمی سنہ ۱۰۱۰ ہجری تک زندہ تھے۔

سال وفات معلوم نہیں۔

سنہ ۹۵۰ ہجری میں جمشید نے میر محمود ہمدانی کے ہاتھ سے اپنے باپ کو قتل کر دیا۔ واقعہ یوں ہے کہ ایک روز قطب الملک سلطان قلی قطب شاہ (سنہ ۹۱۸ تا سنہ ۹۵۰ ہجری) قلعہ گولکنڈہ کی جامع مسجد میں عصر کی نماز پڑھ رہا تھا۔ میر محمود نے عین حالت نماز میں قتل کر ڈالا۔ جمشید خاں اسیر تھا۔ اس کو فوراً رہا کر دیا۔ اس کے بعد بعض مفسدوں سے ساز باز کر کے قطب الملک کے برے بیٹے ملک زادہ قطب الدین کو اندھا کر دیا اور جمشید خاں تخت نشین ہوا۔ یہ بادشاہ صاحب عام و فضل اور شاعر تھا۔ یہ دو شعر جمشید کے ہیں:-

کاکل و چین زلف و خال لببت

ہر یکے در کمال رعنائی *

جا سر زلف تو سوداے سیاہے دارم

ابن چہ سود است کہ با زلف چو شام است مرا *

سنہ ۹۵۷ ہجری میں سات سال اور چند ماہ کی حکومت کے بعد مرض سرطان سے انتقال کیا اور اپنے ہی مقتول باپ کے مقبرے کے پاس سپرد خاک کیا گیا۔

صادق

صادق تخلص۔ مرزا صادق نام۔ والد کا نام اور سال ولادت معلوم نہیں۔ سلطنت نظام شاہی میں منجملہ اور فضلا کے مرزا صادق بھی تھے۔ بہ لحاظ علم و دانش برگزیدہ اور فن انشا و شاعری میں چیدہ تھے۔ کلام کا نمونہ ان رباعیوں سے معلوم ہوگا:-

رباعی

من مصحف اقدس مقدس کیشم

من ہیکل علوی قضا اندیشم *

خواہی ز زمانہ چشم زخمت نہ رسد

تعویذ تو ام، جدا مکن از خویشم *

ای روشنی چشم ز ہجران بیدار

ای وصل تو مرہم درون افکار *

موسیقی اور شاعری میں ید طولی رکھتا تھا - جیسا کہ اُس کے مندرجہ ذیل اشعار سے ظاہر ہے :-

دل خوبان ز قید مهر آزاد است پنداری
مدار دلبری بر جور و بیداد است پنداری *
مرا صد محنت از عشق تو بر دل میروہ مردم
دل ویران عاشق محنت آباد است پنداری *
ز ہجرت آتشی دارم بہ دل کز بہر تسکینش
نصیحت ہای سرد زامدادان باد است پنداری *
ز عشق قامتت سرو سہی را ماند پادر گل
دلش صد پارہ و زبار دل آزاد است پنداری *
دل ریش و فائی آنچنان خو کردہ با تیرش
کہ پیکانش بجائے مرہم افتاد است پنداری *
شب ہجر جز گریہ کارے ندارم * بجز دیدۂ اشکبارے ندارم
شبے نگزرد کز فراق تو چوں شمع * پر از اشک حسرت کنارے نہ دارم
من و عشق ورنہی و کوی ملامت * براہ سلامت گزارے ندارم
ازاں باغمش خو گرفتم وفائی * کہ غیر از غمش غمگسارے ندارم
دل بہ زلفش حکایتے دارد * از شب غم شکایتے دارد
تا کہ آزار اہل دل طلبی * بے وفائی نہایتے دارد
غم دل میخورم ز غصہ کہ یار * با رقیبان عنایتے دارد
دل سختش ز آہ من شد نرم * آہ عاشق سرایتے دارد
ای وفائی منال از ستمش * کہ ستم نیز غایتے دارد

پچیس سال حکومت کرنے کے بعد سنہ ۹۴۱ ہجری میں
احکم الحاکمین کا حکم آپہنچا اور انہوں نے حیات مستعار واپس
سپرد کر دی -

جمشید

جمشید تخاص - جمشید خان نام - جمشید قطب شاہ
خطاب شاہی - فرزند قطب الملک سلطان قلی قطب شاہ -

دل به سينه لب لب ز دوستي دارم
 كه پيش اهل جهان به بها قرارز سنگ است *
 دماغ طبع عروجي چه دلکشا چمني است
 چمن نگوي که آن آسمان فرهنگ است *
 کرشمه جنبش آموز است مژگان درازش را
 ستم کرد است واجب هر زمان تعليم نازش را *
 محبت چاک بر دل مي زند هر گه که در بندي
 بخود مخصوص مي بينم تغافل هاء نازش را *
 مباد آسيب نقصان يا بد از سوز دلم تارے
 بدل چو ره دهم اندیشه زلف درازش را *

رباعي

در آتش هرزه فکر زائل نکني * اندیشه بهر خيال مائل نکني
 اين نقد خزينه دماغ است بگوش * تا صرف بجنس هائے باطل نکني
 آخر سنه ۱۲۵ هجري ميں ملک بقا کي راه لي -

وفائي

وفائي تخلص - اسمعيل عادل شاه نام - فرزند يوسف عادل شاه -
 کم سني ميں باپ کے انتقال کے بعد تخت نشين هوءے - باپ کي
 وصيت کے موافق امور سلطنت کي نگراني کمال خان دکني کے تفويض
 کي گئي - ابتدا ميں اُس نے رياست کي خير خواهي کي - مگر کچھ
 دنوں کے بعد کمال نمک حرامي سے خود بادشاه بننے کي تدبيرين
 کرنے لگا - کم سن فرمان روا کي والده پونجي خاتون نے يہ حال
 دیکھ کر اس کو يوسف ترک کے هاتھ سے قتل کرا ديا - اس کے بعد
 اسمعيل عادل شاه نے طمانيت کے ساتھ حکمراني کي -

يہ بادشاه بڑا حلیم و کریم و سخي تھا - علما، فضلا اور شعرا کو
 هميشه اپني صحبت ميں بلاتا اور اُن کے ساتھ اچھا سلوک کرتا -

جانشین بنادیا اور دس دن کے بعد جان بحق تسلیم ہوئے۔ آخر خان خاناں ہی بادشاہ بنے۔

فیروز شاہ بڑے عالم و فاضل، علم پرور، عادل، عاقل، مدبر، فیاض اور متشرع بادشاہ تھے۔ دن بھر میں جب فرصت پاتے، ایک ربع جزو کلام مجید لکھتے اور اُس کو فروخت کر کے بسر اوقات کرتے۔ ہر شب دو پہر رات تک علما، مشائخ، شعرا، قصہ خواں، افسانہ گو اور خوش طبع لوگوں سے ہمکلام رہتے اور ان سے مساویانہ اور برادرانہ سلوک کرتے تھے۔ اکثر ممالک کے اہل کمال ان کے یہاں جمع تھے اور ان کے خوان فیض سے بہرہ اندوز ہوا کرتے تھے۔ خود سلطان بہت سی زبانوں کے ماہر تھے۔ ہر ملک کے باشندوں سے ان ہی کی زبان میں گفتگو کرتے تھے۔ قوت حافظہ اس بلا کی تھی کہ جو بات ایک یا دو دفعہ سن لیتے پھر کبھی نہیں بھولتے تھے۔ اکثر علوم بالخصوص تفسیر، اصول، حکمت طبعی و نظری میں دستگاہ کامل حاصل تھی۔ ہر ہفتے میں تین دن سنیچر، پیر اور بدھ طلبا کو پڑھانے کے لئے مخصوص تھے۔ اگر دن میں فرصت نہ ملتی تو رات کو وقت نکالتے۔ حضرات صوفیہ صافیہ کے اصطلاحات و مقامات و حالات سے خوب واقف تھے۔ بہت اچھے شاعر تھے۔ کبھی عروجی اور کبھی فیروزی تخلص کرتے تھے۔ طبیعت میں دقت پسندی اور مضمون آفرینی تھی، جیسا کہ ذیل کے چند اشعار سے معلوم ہوتا ہے :-

بداں مثابہ ز غم دہر بردلم تنگ است

کہ دل بہ لذت سوداے عشق در جنگ است *

گل امید شگفت از نسیم وعدہ ولے

ز آفتاب غم انتظار بیرنگ است *

بہ قطع راہ محبت مخور فریب امید

کہ غایت ابدش ابتداء فرسنگ است *

بجز سرود محبت نکرد زمزمہ نے

کہ ہرچہ خارج این پردہ ننگ آہنگ است *

خضر بد سوداست در بیع متاع عافیت

می روم این جنس را از جلے دیگر می خرم *

اس بادشاہ عادل و باذل نے بتاریخ ۲۱ رجب سنہ ۷۹۹ ہجری بعارضۃ تپ محرقہ قضا کی۔

فیروزی

فیروزی تخلص۔ فیروز خان نام۔ خطاب فیروز شاہ بہمنی، فرزند داؤد شاہ بہمنی۔ سال ولادت سنہ ۷۷۳ ہجری۔ اپنے نامور باپ کی شہادت کے وقت جو سنہ ۷۸۰ ہجری میں واقع ہوی، سات سال کے تھے۔ سنہ ۸۰۰ ہجری میں تاج و تخت دکن کے مالک ہوئے۔ خاندان بہمنیہ میں شان و شوکت، رعایا پروری، غربا نوازی کے لحاظ سے سب بادشاہوں سے ممتاز تھے۔

تخت نشین ہو کر اپنے بھائی احمد خان کو خان خاناں کا خطاب دے کر امیر الامرا بنایا۔ ان ہی کے عہد میں حضرت خواجہ بندہ نواز سید محمد حسینی گیسو دراز قدس سرہ العریز دہلی سے تشریف فرمائے گلبرگہ ہوئے تھے۔ احمد خان خان خاناں نے آپ کے لئے ایک خانقاہ بنوادی تھی۔ اسی میں آپ فروکش ہوئے تھے۔ خان خاناں اکثر آپکی خدمت مبارک میں حاضر ہوا کرتے اور فیض ظاہری و باطنی حاصل کرتے تھے۔ سنہ ۸۱۸ ہجری میں سلطان فیروز شاہ نے اپنے فرزند حسن خان کو ولی عہد بنا کر حضرت کی خدمت میں دعالے خیر کے لئے بھیجا۔ آپ نے کہلا بھیجا کہ ”جب تم نے اس کو بادشاہی دے دی تو پھر فقیر کی دعا کی کیا حاجت ہے“ سلطان کی طرف سے اصرار ہوا تو آپ نے ارشاد فرمایا کہ ”عالم بالا سے یہ فیصلہ ہو چکا ہے کہ تمہارے بعد تمہارا بھائی تخت نشین ہو۔ اس صورت میں کسی اور کے حق میں دعا کرنی بیکار ہے“۔ چنانچہ حضرت کی پیشین گوئی صادق آئی، اور وہ اس طرح کہ فیروز شاہ سخت علیل ہوئے اور اپنے بھائی کو اپنا

انہوں نے خواجہ کو سفر خرچ بھیجا۔ وطن سے نکلے تو معلوم ہوا کہ ان کے ایک دوست کا مال لت گیا اور وہ مفلوک الحال ہیں۔ خواجہ کے پاس جو کچھ تھا وہ ان کو دے دیا اور خود خواجہ زین العابدین ہمدانی اور خواجہ محمود گازرونی (جو بڑے تاجر تھے) کے ہمراہ دکن آنے کا قصد کیا۔ دونوں نے ان کے اخراجات کا بار اپنے ذمے لیا۔ یوں وہ بندر ہر موز پہنچے، جہاں سلطان محمود کی کشتیاں خواجہ حافظ کو لانے کے لئے آئی ہوئی تھیں۔ کشتی تھوڑی ہی دور دریا میں گئی تھی کہ باد مخالف چلنے لگی۔ خواجہ سخت پریشان ہوئے اور یہ بہانہ کر کے کہ ”میں ہر موز کے چند دوستوں سے رخصت نہیں ہوا“ ان سے مل لوں تو چلوں“ کشتی کو کنارے لگایا اور اتر کر پھر شیراز واپس چلے گئے اور ایک غزل لکھ کر اپنے کسی دوست کی معرفت میر انجو کو بھیج دی۔ جس کا مطلع یہ ہے :-

دے باغم بسر بردن جہاں یکسر نمی ارزد

بہ مے بفروش دلق خود کریں بہتر نمی ارزد *

میر فیض اللہ نے یہ غزل بادشاہ کی خدمت میں پیش کر کے تمام کیفیت عرض کر دی۔ اب سلطان کی قدردانی اور قدر افزائی قابل دید ہے کہ انہوں نے فرمایا ”جب خواجہ ہمارے پاس آنے کی غرض سے چل پڑے تھے تو ہم پر ان کی امداد واجب ہوگئی“ ملا محمد قاسم مشہدی کو حکم دیا کہ ایک ہزار تنگہ طلائی لے کر ہمدوستان کی فادر چیزیں خریدیں اور شیراز جاکر ہماری طرف سے خواجہ کو دے آئیں۔

سلطان محمود شاہ کے کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

آنجا کہ لطف دوست دہد منصب مراد

بخت سیاه و طالع میمون برابر است *

عافیت در سینہ کار خون فاسد می کند

رخصتے ای دل کہ از الماس نشتر می خورم *

فصل سوم

فارسی گو شعرا جو دکن میں پیدا ہوئے

سلطان محمود شاہ بہمنی

تخلص معلوم نہیں، شاید محمود ہی ہوگا۔ سال ولادت کا بھی پتہ نہیں چلا۔ (سلطان) محمود شاہ بہمنی نام۔ فرزند سلطان علاء الدین بہمنی۔ اپنے بھائی داؤد شاہ بہمنی (سنہ ۷۷۹ تا سنہ ۷۸۰ ہجری) کی شہادت کے بعد مسند آراء سلطنت دکن ہوئے۔ یہ بادشاہ نہایت عادل۔ نیک نفس۔ خوش خلق۔ پابند شرع۔ متقی تھا۔ انہوں نے گلبرگہ شریف، بیدر، قندھار، ایلچپور، دولت آباد، جنیروابل اور شہروں میں، یہاں تک کہ قصبات میں بھی اپنے خرچ سے یقیموں کے لئے استاد مقرر فرمائے۔ حدیث شریف سے ذوق تھا، محدثین کے لئے وظائف جاری کئے۔ نابیناؤں کی ماہواری تنخواہیں مقرر کیں اور اس میں ایسی فیاضی سے کام لیا کہ اکثر لوگ اندھے بنکر تنخواہ لے جاتے تھے اور چشم پوشی کی جاتی تھی۔

خود صاحب علم تھے۔ فارسی اور عربی میں فصاحت کیساتھ گفتگو کرتے تھے۔ قرآن مجید خوش الحانی سے پڑھتے تھے۔ خوش نویس تھے، اچھے شاعر تھے اور شعرا کے ایسے قدردان کہ عجم و عرب کے شعرا آتے اور اُن کے خوان فیض سے سیر ہوکر جاتے تھے۔ چنانچہ ایک عجمی شاعر میر فیض اللہ انجو، صدر دولت بہمنیہ کی وساطت سے آستان بوس شاہی ہوا۔ اُس نے ایک قصیدہ پیش کیا۔ جس کے صلے میں اُس کو ایک ہزار تنگہ (تنگہ = ایک تولہ طلا) عطا فرمائے گئے۔ یہی عطیات تھے جن کی شہرت دور و نزدیک پھیلی ہوئی تھی۔ غالباً ان ہی کو سن کر خواجہ حافظ شیرازی علیہ الرحمہ نے بھی دکن آنے کا قصد کیا، مگر بعض موانع ایسے پیش آئے کہ نہ آسکے۔ میر فیض اللہ انجو کو جب یہ کیفیت معلوم ہوئی تو

ذکا کی رحلت کے متعلق بھی مختلف روایتیں ہیں - مؤلف
 'محبوب الزمن' نے لکھا ہے کہ ”آپ کی رحلت تیرھویں صدی ہجری کے
 اوائل میں بہ اختلاف روایات سنہ ۱۲۰۵ ہجری یا سنہ ۱۲۰۸ ہجری میں
 ہوئی“ - ’نتایج الافکار‘ کے مؤلف کہتے ہیں کہ ذکا تیرھویں صدی کے اوائل
 میں فوت ہوئے -

اُن کے فارسی اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

نام عالم آفریں سر حلقہٴ عنوان ما

مد بسم اللہ خط پیشانی دیوان ما *

تمنا خاطر مجنون ہندوستان ہمیں دارد

کہ لیلایے عرب آباد سازد محمل مارا *

معلوم شد کہ حسن بود مہربان عشق

ہر ذرّہ را بزور کشد در بر آفتاب *

پنچہ از شوخی بد امانت زدن دستور نیست

ورنہ دست ما ضعیفاں این قدر کمزور نیست *

ہر شمع کہ آمد بنظر چشم ترے داشت

سوز دل پروانہ قیامت اثرے داشت *

ہمیں خیال بہ دل بار بار می آید

کہ بے تو زندگی من چہ کار می آید *

ہزار مرتبہ کفارۂ گناہ دہد

بہ سہو گر گزرش بر مقام ما افتد *

گرفت آن تند خو مانند ناوک از کنار من

تہی گردید آخر چون کمان حلقہٴ آغوشم *

ہندی اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

فغاں سے ایک دم تو باغ میں خاموش رہ بلبَل

نہیں سنتی کہا - کیا روز آیا ہے خرابی کا *

غم اب مختار ہے دل چھوڑ دیوے خواہ لے جاوے

پر اتنا چاہتا ہوں پھر خدا یہ دن نہ دکھلاوے *

رہا گر آستان پر آکے میں حسن عقیدت سے

تکلف برطرف سرکار کا کیا اس میں نقصان ہے *

لگے کیونکر نہ دل کنج قفس میں عندلیبوں کا

جہاں میں آج کل آباد گر کچھ ہے تو زنداں ہے *

رسید یار و گریبان من درید و گزشت
 بداد کوتہی دست من رسید و گزشت *
 نے جیب من درید و نہ دامن من کشید
 مارا دریں بہار نیامد بہ کار دست *
 من نمی گویم کہ مجنوں باش در صحرا نشین
 شہر ہم بد نیست لیکن فارغ از دنیا نشین
 جان من از خودی جدائی گُن
 بندگی کردہٗ خدائی گُن *
 تلاش وصل این سیمیں براں آخر گدایم کرد
 شدم مفلس ز فکر کیمیا آہستہ آہستہ *
 واقف نے سنہ ۱۱۱۵ ہجری میں انتقال کیا۔

ذکا

ذکا تخلص - میر اولاد محمد نام - فرزند میر غلام امام - بلگرام وطن -
 سال پیدائش سنہ ۱۱۵۱ ہجری - اُن کے والد اور میر غلام علی آزاد
 حقیقی بھائی تھے - یوں ذکا آزاد کے سگے بھتیجے ہیں - اِن ہی کی
 خواہش پر آزاد نے تذکرہٗ 'خزانۃ عامرہ' لکھا تھا۔

ضروری تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد اپنے محترم چچا کی طلب پر وطن سے
 اورنگ آباد گئے - پانچ سال ان کے زیر پرورش رہ کر تعلیم کی تکمیل کی -
 پھر وطن گئے اور دو سال کے بعد دکن لوٹ آئے - نواب میر نظام علی
 خاں بہادر آصف جاہ ثانی والی دکن (سنہ ۱۱۷۵ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۸ ہجری)
 کی خدمت میں باریاب ہوئے اور منصب اور خطاب خانی پایا - بڑی
 عزت و آبرو سے زندگی بسر کی -

ذکا بڑے خوش گو شاعر تھے اور بڑے ذہین و سخن فہم بھی - آزاد
 سے تلمذ تھا - تاریخ گوئی میں اچھی مہارت تھی - فارسی اور ہندی
 دونوں میں شعر لکھتے تھے -

حاکم اور واقف دکن کی سیر کے لئے پنجاب سے ہم رفیق ہو کر نکلے۔
 ۲۹ رجب سنہ ۱۱۷۴ ہجری کو اورنگ آباد پہنچے اور میر غلام علی آزاد
 کے یہاں ایک ہفتہ مہمان رہ کر دونوں بندر سورت کو روانہ ہوئے۔ حاکم تو
 بذریعہ جہاز حرمین شریفین چلے گئے لیکن واقف امراض جسمانی اور
 ناتوانی کے باعث سورت ہی میں پڑے رہے۔ جب حاکم حج سے فارغ ہو کر
 لوٹے تو دونوں صاحب سورت سے پھر اورنگ آباد آئے۔ چندے حیدر آباد
 میں بھی قیام کیا۔ وہاں سے وطن کی طرف واپس ہوئے۔ راستے میں
 اورنگ آباد اور بالاپور کے درمیان راہ زنون نے دونوں کو لوٹ لیا۔ بڑی مشکل
 سے بالاپور برار پہنچے اور اس واقعہ کی اطلاع میر غلام علی آزاد کو دی۔
 اسی ضمن میں واقف نے یہ رباعی بھی لکھی :-

کردند غریب غارتے راہ زناں

سرمائد و نہ ماند هیچ چیز از ساماں *

بردند ہر آنچہ بود الا عینک

واماندہ بجای ہمیں دو چشم حیراں *

آزاد نے کچھ روپیہ بھیج دیا مگر کافی نہوا۔ کولہاپور پہنچ کر پھر آزاد
 کو لکھا، انہوں نے کافی رقم بھیج دی۔ جب کہیں جاکر دونوں صاحب
 اپنے وطن پہنچے۔

من کلامہ :-

نہ کشد یار از غرور مرا

کشتن خویش شد ضرور مرا *

در نظر چوں سایۂ شمشاد می آید مرا

سر بہ پای یار سودن یاد می آید مرا *

نو آمدم بہ دام تو زودم چہ می گشتی

بگذار یک دو روز بہ کنج قفس مرا *

تا نمودی از مسی رنگیں دہان تنگ را

ساختی تاریک در چشمم جہان تنگ را *

خل ز انجمن شرمسار از چمنم

نہ عندلیب نہ پروانہ کردہ اند مرا *

نفس در کش گر از بحر حقیقت گوهرے خواہی
 بہ دریا چوں رود غواص دم در خویشتن دزد *
 چالاکی نگاہ تو نازم کہ سوی من
 دیدی چنان کہ چشم ترا ہم خبر نہ شد *
 ز کس چیزے گرفتن ہمتم بس ننگ می داند
 کف دستم ز استغنا کجا رنگ حنا گیرد *

ایجاد کے سال وفات میں اختلاف ہے۔ مولف تذکرۂ نقایج الافکار نے
 اُن کی رحلت سنہ ۱۱۸۹ھ بتائی ہے۔ مولف تذکرۂ محبوب الزمن نے
 لکھا ہے کہ ”آپ کا سنہ رحلت کسی تذکرہ نویس نے نہیں لکھا مگر قرائن
 سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سنہ ۱۱۸۵ ہجری کے قریب فوت ہوئے۔“
 نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر المتخلص بہ اعظم نواب کرناٹک نے
 ”گلزار اعظم“ میں یہ ارشاد فرمایا ہے کہ ”تذکرۂ مسمیٰ بہ نقایج الافکار
 بہ نہایت فصاحت و بلاغت و درستی عبارت و صحت احوال و صداقت
 اقوال نگاشتن و مدت برناظران گماشتہ چنانچہ دریں سرکار بہ قالب طبع
 در آمدہ“ اس بنا پر اور نیز دیگر قرائن سے ہمیں بھی نقایج الافکار سے
 اتفاق ہے۔

واقف

واقف تخلص - شیخ نورالدین نام - قاضی امانت اللہ کے فرزند -
 قصبہ بٹالہ ۱ وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہیں -

واقف کے اجداد قصبہ بٹالہ کے قاضی تھے - انہوں نے فارسی، عربی
 سے فارغ ہو کر سخن سنجی کی طرف توجہ کی اور شیریں زبان شاعر
 ہو گئے - ان کے کلام میں بڑی سلاست اور فصاحت تھی - جیسا کہ ان کے
 اشعار سے معلوم ہوگا -

۱ بٹالہ (فتح باہ موحدہ و قاع فوقانی ہندی) بروزن حلالہ قصبہ ایست از توابع
 دار السلطنت لاہور بہ فاصلہ سی کروہ (خزانہ عامرہ) -

ایجاد

ایجاد تخلص مرزا علی نقی خاں نام - برہان پور مولد - فرزند احمد علی خاں المخاطب بہ نقد علی خاں - سال ولادت معلوم نہیں - ایجاد کے والد شہادہ سلیمان صفوی کے وزیر شہین علی خاں کے عزیزوں میں سے تھے، جو شہادہ سلیمان صفوی کا وزیر تھا۔ وہ نواب آصف جاہ کے عہد میں ہمدان سے دکن آئے اور نواب موصوف کے مصاحبوں کے زمرے میں داخل ہوئے، حیدر آباد میں قیام کیا۔ آخر کار دیوانی پر مامور ہوئے۔

ایجاد برہانپور میں پیدا ہوئے۔ اپنے والد اور دیگر علماء سے درسی کتابیں پڑھیں۔ پھر اپنے والد کی وساطت سے نواب آصف جاہ کی خدمت میں باریاب ہوئے اور سرکاری ملازمت میں داخل کر لئے گئے، مصاحبت کا بھی شرف بخشا گیا۔ سنہ ۱۱۶۴ھ میں ان کے والد کا انتقال ہو گیا تو ان کا خطاب 'نقد علی خاں' اور عہدہ دیوانی ایجاد پر بحال ہوا۔

ایجاد تحصیل علم کے بعد ہی شاعری کی طرف مائل ہو گئے۔ طبیعت بھی موزوں پائی تھی، اس پر باب جیسے شفیق استاد کی ترجمہ، عرصہ قلیل ہی میں اس فن میں اتنا عبور حاصل کیا کہ دکن کے مستقل اور نامی شعرا میں شمار ہونے لگا۔

ایجاد کے اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

در ہر جگرے ہست خراش سخن ما

الماس تراش است تراش سخن ما *

بروی مشہد پروانہ شمع را دیدم

کہ چادرے ز گل داغ می کشید امشب *

طالعہ برگشت و بخت انتظارم برگشت

نامہ بر برگشت و خط برگشت و یارم برگشت *

جمع کئے تو ایک عدد بڑھ گیا۔ کہا کہ اگر اگلے برس مروں تو بھی تاریخ کام آجائے اتفاق دیکھئے کہ انہیں صحت ہوگئی۔ اس کے بعد نانڈیڑ گئے اور دوسرے سال یعنی سنہ ۱۱۷۸ ہجری میں وہیں انتقال ہوا اور وہیں دفن ہوئے۔

تاریخ وفات یہ ہے 'عارف الدین خان عاجز'
سنہ ۱۱۷۸ ہجری

عاشق

عاشق تخلص - میر قاسم خان نام - خواجہ عبید اللہ خاں کے فرزند - اکبر آباد وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہیں - ان کے والد 'محمد شاہ بادشاہ کے عہد میں صوبہ مالوہ کے دیوان تھے - اس خدمت سے معزول ہو کر نواب آصف جاہ والی دکن (سنہ ۱۱۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری) کی خدمت میں پہنچے اور منصب جلیلہ پر سرفراز ہوئے - عاشق اپنے والد کی رحلت کے بعد نواب موصوف کے مورد عنایات بنے - میر سامانی کی خدمت پائی - ایک دن غصے میں اپنے کسی ملازم کو اتنا مارا کہ وہ مر گیا - اس لئے آقا کے معتوب ہو کر معزول کر دئے گئے - آصف جاہ کے انتقال کے بعد نواب نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ شہید (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۳ ہجری) نے رحم کر کے اُن کو اپنی مصاحبت میں لے لیا - مگر نواب امیر الممالک صلابت جنگ (سنہ ۱۱۶۴ تا سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ہجری) کے عہد کے دوسرے ہی سال یعنی سنہ ۱۱۶۵ ہجری میں اورنگ آباد سے دہلی چلے آئے اور گوشہ نشینی اختیار کی -

اُن کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

ہر سال در بہار بہ کسب شرف جنوں

آید برہنہ پا بہ طواف دماغ ما *

پیش من چوں مے نباشد میرم از درد خمار

شیشہ چوں خالی شود پُر می شود پیمانہ ام *

بقول صاحب 'تذکرۃ محبوب الزمن' سنہ ۱۱۸۱ ہجری اور بقول

مولف 'نتایج الافکار' بارہویں صدی ہجری کے اخیر میں انتقال کیا۔

ریختہ کا یہ انداز ہے :-

ارے ناصح عبث کرتا نصیحت ترش رو ہو کر
 کہنائی کا مجھے پرہیز ہے مت بیچ اچار اپنا *
 نو بہار آنے سے گل آیا ہے ای صیاد یاد
 اب کریگا کیوں اسپیروں کا دل ناشاد شاد *
 گردن اپنی کر کے خم آیا ہوں ای قاتل شتاب
 سر اٹھا کر آج بار خنجر فولاد لاد *
 آئی بہار رنگ سے خوش ہے دماغ باغ
 لیکر کھڑی ہے نرگس مخمور ایام باغ *
 عاجز بھی شمع آہ جلاتا ہے دشت میں
 روشن اگر گلوں سے ہوا ہے چراغ باغ *

عاجز نے ریختہ میں ایک مثنوی بنام لعل و گوہر لکھی ہے - اس کے چند اشعار یہ ہیں :-

الہی دے مجھے رنگیں بیانی * عطا کر مجھکو یاقوت معانی
 سخن کے در کا مجھکو جوہری کر * سخن سنجوں کو میرا مشتري کر
 سخن کا لال دے میری زباں کو * در معنی سے بھر میرے بیاں کو
 جنوں کے دشت کا بنکر بگولا * خرد کی راہ کو وحشت سے بھولا
 غزالوں کی طرح سرگرم رہا تھا * بیابان اس کو گزارا رہا تھا
 وہاں کی ریت میرے کی کنی تھی * وہاں کے کانٹے بھالوں کی آنی تھی
 وہاں کی باد تھی شوریدہ صرصر * وہاں کی کنکری تھی مثل اخگر

سنہ ۱۱۷۷ ہجری میں عاجز ایسے سخت علیل ہوئے کہ امید زیست منقطع ہو گئی - اپنے دوست مرزا معزالدین اصفہانی کو جو حیدر آباد میں مقیم تھے کہلا بھیجا کہ ”اگر میں مرجاؤں تو میری تاریخ وفات کھدینا“ مرزا نے ازراہ ظرافت جواب دے بھیجا کہ ”تم خود تاریخ کہنے میں اچھا ملکہ رکھتے ہو - دنیا چھوڑنے سے پہلے اپنی تاریخ خود کیوں نہیں کہہ جاتے؟“ یہ سنکر عاجز مسکرا اور وہیں اپنے نام اور تخلص کے اعداد

کم سن ہی تھے کہ باپ کا سایہ سر سے اُٹھ گیا۔ سایہ پدری گیا تو کوئی سہارا نہ رہا۔ خوش قسمتی کہ نواب سید لشکر خاں المخاطب بہ رکن الدولہ نصیر جنگ نے، جو امرائے آصفیہ سے تھے، ان کی پرورش اور تعلیم کا بیڑا اُٹھایا۔ فضائے عصر سے درسی کتابیں پڑھیں۔ فارغ التحصیل ہونے کے بعد نواب موصوف کی رفاقت میں رہے۔ ان ہی کے ہم رکاب ہندوستان سے اورنگ آباد آکر ان کے توسل سے نواب آصف جاہ (سنہ ۱۱۳۷ تا ۱۱۶۱ ہجری) کی خدمت میں باریاب اور منصب و خطاب خانی و جاگیر سے سرفراز ہوئے۔ ایک قول یہ بھی ہے کہ نواب ناصر جنگ شہید (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری) کے عہد میں خطاب و جاگیر مرحمت ہوئی اور رسالے کی بخشی گری پر ہی سرفراز ہوئے۔

عاجز قناعت پسند اور غیور تھے۔ اپنی ترقی کے لئے کبھی کسی سے استدعا نہیں کی۔ ان کی طبیعت کو شعر و شاعری سے قدرتی مناسبت تھی۔ مدتِ قلیل کی مشق سے اچھے شاعر بن گئے۔ تاریخ گوئی میں بھی اچھی مہارت تھی۔ ریختہ اور فارسی میں شعر کہتے تھے۔ دونوں زبانوں میں کلام شستہ اور صاف ہوتا تھا۔ ان کے فارسی اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

سوخت یاد آن لب می گوں دل بیتاب را

کشت آخر آتش یاقوت این سیماب را *

برق حسنت افکند در دل شرار آئینہ را

سایہ خال تو سازد داغدار آئینہ را *

شور صور صبح محشر می رسد عاجز بگوش

بے لب میگوں یار از قلقل مینا مرا *

بزہد خشک نتوان یافت فیض عارفان ہرگز

کجا کار شراب از نشہ تریاک می آید *

پس از ناصر علی عاجز گھر ریز سخن آمد

نکوے گر رود از دہر نیکوتر شود پیدا *

تا حویر خندہ اش از نکہت گل بافتند

طیلساں گویہ ام از آہ بلبل بافتند *

حاکم نے شاعروں کا ایک تذکرہ بنام 'مردم دیدہ' لکھا ہے۔ فصیح اللسان شاعر تھے۔ فن شعر میں شاہ آفریں لاهوری سے تلمذ تھا۔ چنانچہ وہ خود کہتے ہیں:-

حاکم نہ داشتم سرو سامان فکر شعر
از فیض 'آفریں' بہ سخن آشنا شدم *
من اشعار:-

گر شدم پیر ہمہ عیش شباب است مرا
چوں شود خم قد من جام شراب است مرا *
در موسم خط حاکم از و چشم بدوشم
در شب چہ کنم گر نکم تخته دکان را *
نیست مارا بر امیران جہاں حاکم نظر
از امیر المؤمنین چشم کرم داریم ما *
حاکم ہرنگ غنچہ بگلزار روزگار
تنگی ز دل بخندہ بروں کردہ ایم ما *
ز ابلہی مکن اشعار را وسیلہ رزق
ببین زمین سخن قابل زراعت نیست *
کشیدم ذلت ہر نیک و بد پابوس او کردم
برای این نماز از آبروی خود وضو کردم *
مہرم از گردش ایام بتنگ آمدہ ام
صبح گروا شدہ ام شام بتنگ آمدہ ام *
سنہ ۱۱۷۸ھ میں بمقام تہذہ (واقع سندھ) انتقال کیا

عاجز

عاجز تخلص - عارف الدین خاں نام - اجداد کا وطن بلخ تھا - ان کی ولادت ہندوستان میں ہوئی - سال تولد معلوم نہوا - شہنشاہ عالم گیر کے عہد میں ان کے والد بلخ سے ہند میں آئے - نواب آصف جاہ کے والد نواب فیروز جنگ کی سفارش سے بادشاہی منصب دار ہوئے - عاجز

من اشعاره :-

گرفت شور جنونم چناں گریباں را
 کہ بر میاں زدہ ام دامن بیاباں را *
 تعجب نیست بد طینت اگر حاجت روا گردد
 کہ زخم کهنہ را خاکستر عقرب دوا گردد *
 زد و ناں کے بخود در ماندگانرا کار بکشاید
 گروہ امکان ندارد باز از انگشت پا گردد *
 تسکین دل ز صحبت روشن دلاں طلب
 آئینہ بے قراری سیماب می برد *
 چرا بسر نرود زود دفتر ایام
 کہ خود بخود ورقِ این کتاب می گردد *
 می فریبد نازنیناں را بہر صورت کہ هست
 کاش چوں آئینہ من ہم جوہرے می داشتم *
 سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری میں بمقام اورنگ آباد سفر آخرت پیش آیا ۔

حاکم

حاکم تخلص - حکیم بیگ خاں نام - فرزند شادمان خاں اوزبک -
 سال ولادت معلوم نہیں - ان کے والد عالم گیر (سنہ ۱۰۶۹ تا سنہ ۱۱۱۸ھ)
 کے عہد میں بلخ سے ہندوستان آکر ہفت صدی منصب شاہی سے
 سرفراز ہوئے - محمد شاہ کے زمانے تک منصب پنج ہزاری اور نوبت
 و نقارہ تک ترقی پائی - لاہور میں سکونت اختیار کی - باپ کے انتقال
 کے بعد حاکم کو بھی محمد شاہی دربار سے منصب و خطاب خانی
 مرحمت ہوا - آخر میں فقر کی دولت پر قناعت کی اور شاہ عبد الحکیم
 اپنا نام رکھا - اسی حالت میں دہلی اور کشمیر کی سیر کی -

حاکم واقف کے ساتھ تقریباً سنہ ۱۱۷۴ھ میں دکن کی سیر کے لئے
 پنجاب سے نکلے - اورنگ آباد پہنچے - میر غلام علی آزاد کے یہاں
 ایک ہفتہ مہمان رہنے کے بعد دونوں سورت چلے گئے -

حسرت اي تازه اسيران قفس آتي هـ
 دھوم سے فصل بہار اب کے برس آتي هـ *
 حشر هو جائیگا بے تابي دل سے لیکن
 راہ پھر بھی تري اے عہد شکن دیکھینگے *

زکي کي وفات کا سال معلوم نہوسکا۔ چونکہ وہ نواب آصف جاہ کے عہد میں موجود تھے اور نواب موصوف کي خدمت میں ایک مدحیہ قصیدہ پیش کیا تھا اور نواب کي رحلت سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری میں ہوي، اس سے پتہ چلتا هے کہ وہ سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری تک زندہ تھے۔ اسی بنا پر ہم نے ان کا نام امید (المتوفي سنہ ۱۱۵۹ ہجری) کے بعد سپرد قلم کیا هے۔

مخمور

مخمور تخلص - مرزا لطف اللہ نام - مرشد قلی خاں خطاب - حاجي شکر اللہ تبریزی کے فرزند - سورت مولد - سال ولادت سنہ ۱۰۹۵ هـ - 'بر سپہر سعادت آمد ماہ' تاریخ ولادت هے - ان کے والد ولایت سے ہندوستان ۱۰۹۵ هـ آئے اور سورت میں قیام کیا - یہیں مخمور پیدا هوے - آقا حبیب اللہ اصفہانی سورت میں مقیم تھے - انہي سے مخمور نے عربی اور فارسی کي درسي کتابیں پڑھیں - فن شعر میں بھی ان ہی کے شاگرد هوے -

باپ کے انتقال کے بعد بہ حیثیت تاجر بنگالہ پہنچے - نواب سرفراز الدولہ بہادر ناظم بنگالہ نے ان کي شرافت ذاتي و نسبتي اور علم و فضل کو دیکھکر انہیں اپنی دختر سے منسوب کر دیا اور سفارش کر کے شاہ دہلی سے اعلیٰ منصب اور مرشد قلی خاں کا خطاب دلوايا - مدتوں اُریسہ کي نظامت پر مامور رہے - آخر اپنے ماتحتوں کے مکر و فریب سے تنگ آکر اس عہدے کو خیر باد کہا اور نواب آصف جاہ کي خدمت میں پہنچے - برسوں حیدر آباد میں نواب کي بدولت خوش حالی سے زندگی بسر کي -

مخمور سلیم الطبع، خوش مزاج تھے - فاضل اور فصیح اللسان شاعر تھے - زمین کي پیمائش اور کار بند و بست میں کافی مہارت رکھتے تھے -

سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری میں آپ نے بمقام برہان پور انتقال فرمایا۔
جسد مبارک برہان پور سے اورنگ آباد لایا گیا اور حضرت شاہ برہان
رحمہ اللہ کے مزار شریف کے پاؤں سپرد خاک کر دیا گیا۔

زکی

زکی تخلص - شیخ مہدی علی نام - مراد آباد مولد -
سال ولادت معلوم نہیں ہوا - مدتوں لکھنؤ میں مقیم رہے - فرنگی محل
(لکھنؤ کا ایک محلہ) کے علما سے تحصیل کی - کچھ دنوں ضلع
سہارنپور میں نائب تحصیلدار رہے -

دوران قیام لکھنؤ میں اچھے اچھے شعراء سے صحبتیں رہیں -
خود بھی اچھے شاعر تھے - فن تاریخ میں بھی خوب مہارت رکھتے تھے -
نواب آصف جاہ والی حیدر آباد (سنہ ۱۱۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ہجری) کی
مدح میں ایک قصیدہ کہا جو شاعری کی مختلف صنعتوں پر مشتمل تھا -
اُن کے دیوان سے چند شعر بطور نمونہ لکھے جاتے ہیں :-

جمال یار پہ ہم نے یہ ٹکٹکی باندھی
کہ اپنی آنکھ کا تل اُس کے منہ کا خال ہوا *
یہ جگر دل کا ہے ای سوز محبت ورنہ
پھینک دیتے ہیں شرر سینے سے پتھر باہر *
شب آنے میں قاتل کے جو دیر گزاری
تجھے ای اجل یاد کرتے رہے ہم *
اتھائے بہت سے مزے زندگی کے
بہت تجھ پر ای شوخ مرتے رہے ہم *
ماہتابی پر جو وہ خورشید روہے بے حجاب
اپنے جامے سے ہوی جاتی ہے باہر چاندنی *
دل ہم سے رہا جدا ہمیشہ
گویا وہ ضمیر منفصل ہے *

فن شاعری میں آپ جناب مرزا عبدالقادر بیدل سے اصلاح لیتے تھے۔ پہلے شاکر تخلص کرتے تھے پھر آصف۔ آپ کے دو ضخیم فارسی دیوان ہیں، جو مطبع سرکار آصفیہ میں طبع ہو چکے ہیں۔ آپ کا کلام ذیل میں درج ہے :-

تا مقابل کرد با خود حسن یار آئینہ را
آمد آب تازه بر روی کار آئینہ را *
می کنم روی طلب هر جا که می خوانی مرا
مائلم همچون ورق هر سو که گردانی مرا *
مژگان سرمه دار تو چون تیغ بر کشد
گر سر رود بلند نه گردد صدای ما *
در خیابان باغ نظاره
آصف خسته را نهال کنید *
تا شهید خنجر مژگان یارم کرده اند
سرمه در چشم قیامت از غبارم کرده اند *
از رنگ توای یافت که در سینه چه دارم
درد دل من حاجت تقریر ندارد *
از حال دل گم شده دیگر چه توان گفت
خوابیست فراموش که تعبیر ندارد *
بویسته نگرود ز گره بستن عنبر
سودا زده را فائده زنجیر ندارد *
از کوشش بیهوده میسر سید ز شاکر
عمریست که می نالد و تاثیر ندارد *
ندارم تاب خجالت های فردا
بشوید کاش اشکم دفتر امروز *
قطره بودم و دریا شدنم بود امید
عقده درکار من افتاد و گهر گردیدم *
سخت دشوار است تاثیر سخن در غافلان
بشکند صد تیشه تا از سنگ آب آید برون *

امراء دار السلطنت حسد کي آگ سے بهزڪ اٿهه - انهن نه بادشاهه كو آپ کي طرف سے بدظن ڪر ديا - به عقل بادشاهه نه دڪن کي صوبه داري سے آپ كو معزول ڪر ڪو وه صوبه مبارز خاں فاظم حيدر آباد ڪو سپرد ڪر ديا - اس سے آپ ڪا دل ٽوٽ ڪيا اور دهلي آگهه - آپ نه دهلي کي آب وهوا کي ناساز ڪاري ڪا بهانه ڪر ڪو مراد آباد ڪانه کي اجازت مانگي - امراء سلطنت تو آپ كو دهلي ميں ديڪهنا هي نه چاهته تهه - اجازت مل ڪئي - فوراً آپ روانه هوگهه اور بجاله مراد آباد ڪو دڪن ڪا رخ ڪيا -

دڪن پهنگهه تو مبارز خاں نه آپ ڪو روڪا - آخر ۳ محرم سنه ۱۱۳۷ هجري ڪو بمقام شڪر كهيڙهه واقع برار اقبال وادبار ڪا مقابله هوا - گهمسان کي لڙائي هوي - مبارز خاں اور اس ڪو دو فرزند اسور خاں اور مسعود خاں ماره گهه اور جناب آصف جاه بهادر اس تمام ملڪ پر (جس کي سرحد نربدا سے بيجاپور تڪ اور حيدر آباد سے دريائے شور تڪ تهه) قابض و متصرف هوگهه -

محمد شاهه نه به ديڪهڪر آپ کي دلجوئي کي اور سنه ۱۱۳۸ هجري ميں خطاب آصف جاه اپني طرف سے عطا فرمايا -

غرض آپ خسروان دڪن ڪو اجداد امجاد ميں سے هيں اور سلطان المعلوم اعلى حضرت قوي شـ وڪمت هر اڪزا لئد هائينس نواب سر مير عثمان علي خاں بهادر جي - سي - يس - ائي فرمان فرمائے حال آپ هي کي اولاد هيں - خلد الله تعالى ملڪه و شوڪته و سلطنته -

جناب آصف ڪو مدت العمر خلافت کي بهبود اور رعايا وبرايا کي عافيت و راحت ڪا خيال رها - عرب و عجم و هندوستان ڪو هزارون حاجت مند آپ ڪو چشمه فيض ڪو زله ربا تهه - آپ ڪو عدل و انصاف اور خير گيري رعايا ڪا ادنيٰ ڪرشمه به تهه ڪه ظلم و ظالم ڪا نام قريباً مت هي ڪيا تهه -

جناب آصف آپ ہی نے فرزند ہیں۔ والد ماجد کے انتقال کے بعد آپ کو دادا کا خطاب اور منصب چار ہزاری عطا ہوا۔ شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ کے عہد دولت میں اودہ کی صوبہ داری اور لکھنؤ کی فوجداری سے سرفراز ہوئے اور 'خان دوران خاں بہادر' خطاب بھی مرحمت ہوا۔ مگر جیسا کہ سب کو معلوم ہے یہ زمانہ بہت ہی پر آشوب تھا۔ عالم گیر بادشاہ کی اولاد میں جدال و قتال کا بازار گرم تھا۔ ہر ایک دعوی دار سلطنت ہو رہا تھا۔ جناب آصف جاہ نے دوراندیشی کر کے اسی میں مصلحت و عافیت دیکھی کہ آپ ان خرخشوں سے دور ہو کر شاہ جاہاں آباد میں خانہ نشین ہو بیٹھے۔ مگر آپ کی ذات گرمی ایسی تھی کہ چین سے نہ بیٹھنے دیا گیا اور شاہ عالم کی وفات کے بعد معزالدین جاہاں دار شاہ نے آپ کو اپنے پرانے خطاب سے کھینچ بلایا۔ فرخ سیر نے آپ کے خطابات عالیہ پر 'نظام الملک بہادر فتح جنگ' کا اضافہ فرمایا اور ہفت ہزاری بنا کر دکن کی صوبہ داری بحال کر دی۔ چند روز کے بعد دکن امیر الامراء حسین علی خاں کے سپرد ہوا تو آصف جاہ دارالخلافہ میں واپس تشریف لے آئے۔ تھوڑے دنوں کے بعد مراد آباد اور پھر مالوہ کی صوبہ داری پر سرفراز ہوئے۔

ہندوستان کے لئے یہ زمانہ نہایت نازک تھا۔ سلطنت داناو داول تھی، اراکین دولت میں سے جو نمک حلال تھے اس حالت سے سخت مخدوش تھے۔ تخت کے گرد خود مطلوبوں اور نمک حراموں کا نرغہ تھا۔ بالخصوص آصف جاہ بہادر سے سخت مخالفت تھی اور اعیان دولت منافقت سے پیش آتے تھے۔ ناچار آپ ملک دکن کو اپنے قبضے میں لانے کے ارادے سے روانہ ہو گئے۔ مگر سنہ ۱۱۴۳ ہجری میں آپ کو دارالسلطنت دہلی میں واپس بلایا گیا۔ یہ محمد شاہ رنگیلے کا زمانہ تھا۔ بادشاہ نے آپ کو خلعت و قلمدان وزارت پیش کیا۔ ان ہی دنوں معزالدولہ حیدر قلی خاں اسفرائینی ناظم گجرات نے علم بغاوت بلند کیا۔ محمد شاہ نے پریشان ہو کر گجرات اور مالوہ کی وزارت اور امارت دکن آپ ہی کو دیدی اور حیدر قلی خاں کی سرکوبی کے لئے بھیجا۔

بہ محفلے کہ بہ یک درد سر دوا بخشند
چہ می شود دل مارا اگر بما بخشند *
شیشہ ساعت بود آئینہ دنیا و دیں
گریکے آباد گردن دیگرے ویراں شود *

آصف

آصف تخلص - میر قمر الدین خاں نام - آصف جاہ - نظام الملک -
خان دوران خاں بہادر - فتح جنگ خطاب - غازی الدین خاں فیروز جنگ
کے فرزند ہیں - سنہ ۱۰۸۲ ہجری میں ہندوستان میں پیدا ہوئے -
'نیک بخت' تاریخ ولادت ہے - اجداد کا وطن ملک سمرقند تھا -
۱۰۸۲

آپ کے دادا عابد خاں حضرت شیخ شہاب الدین سہروردی
قدس سرہ کی اولاد و احفاد میں سے تھے - نواب سعد اللہ خاں مشہور
وزیر شاہ جہاں آپ کے نانا تھے -

آپ کی تعلیم اکابر علماء و فضلاء دہر کے زیر نگرانی ہوئی - علوم
معقول و منقول میں مہارت کاملہ رکھتے تھے - عربی فارسی ترکی اور ہندی
میں استعداد تامہ و نظر بالغہ رکھتے تھے -

آپ کے دادا عابد خاں شاہ جہاں کے عہد میں سمرقند سے
ہندوستان آئے - بادشاہ کی ملازمت اور شاہزادہ اورنگ زیب کی
مصاحبت کا شرف پایا - جب اورنگ زیب عالمگیر ہو کر سریر آراء
سلطنت ہند ہوئے تو عابد خاں کو بڑا منصب ملا اور 'صدارت کل'
کی اعلیٰ خدمت عطا فرمائی گئی اور چین قلیچ خاں کا خطاب بھی
مرحمت ہوا - چین قلیچ خاں کی وفات کے بعد آپ کے فرزند شہاب الدین
کو 'غازی الدین خاں بہادر فیروز جنگ' کا خطاب اور عمدہ منصب
و خدمت دی گئی - اور اس کے ساتھ ہی 'فرزند ارجمند' کا خطاب
بھی ایزاد ہوا - شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ کے عہد میں گجرات کی صوبہ داری
پر متعین ہوئے اور وہیں ملک بقا کی راہ لی -

نصرت

نصرت تخلص - میر محمد نعیم خاں نام دلاور خاں خطاب -
فرزند میر محمد عبد العزیز - مولد سیالکوٹ - سال ولادت معلوم نہیں -

ان کا عقد امرے عالم گیری میں سے ایک امیر عنایت اللہ خاں
کشمیری کی دختر سے ہوا تھا - نصرت کے والد شاہزادہ دارا شکوہ فرزند
اکبر و ولی عہد شاہ جہاں کے ملازم تھے - دارا شکوہ کے ادبار کا زمانہ آیا
اور اورنگ زیب کے اقبال کا ستارہ چمکا تو یہ بھی ملازمین عالمگیری
میں داخل ہو گئے - رفتہ رفتہ منصب دو ہزاری اور دلاور خاں کے خطاب سے
سرفراز ہوئے -

باپ کے انتقال کے بعد شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ کے عہد میں نصرت کو
بھی خطاب دلاور خاں مرحمت ہوا - فرخ سیر کے شروع زمانے میں
نواب آصف جاہ دکن کے صوبہ دار کئے گئے تو نصرت بھی ان کے ہم رکاب
دکن میں آ گئے - جب امیر الامراء سید حسین علی خاں کو دکن کی
صوبہ داری ملی تو انہوں نے نصرت کو رائیچور کا فوجدار بنایا - نواب
آصف جاہ دکن کے مستقل حاکم ہو گئے تو نصرت ان کے مقرب بن گئے -
نصرت اچھے شاعر تھے - اشعار میں شستگی و فصاحت ہوتی تھی -
نمونہ کلام یہ ہے :-

جوش دردش کرد فارغ از غم دنیا مرا
دل طپیدن برد تا ساحل ازیں دریا مرا *
فکر زاہد پئے راحت غم ما بہر رخس
ہر کسے در خور ہمت بتلاش است این جا *
چشم پوشیدہ توان کرد سفر
چہ قدر راہ فنا ہموار است *
بباغ دہر دلیل قبول بے ہنری است
کہ سر بلند ی سر و سہی ز بے ثمری است *

ان کے دادا ارادت خاں ساوہ کے مشہور شریفوں میں سے تھے۔
 مرزا جعفر آصف خاں کی دختر سے ان کا عقد ہوا۔ جہانگیر بادشاہ
 (سنہ ۱۰۱۴ تا سنہ ۱۰۳۶ ہجری) کے عہد میں بخشی کے عہدے پر
 سرفراز ہوئے۔ شاہ جہاں (سنہ ۱۰۳۶ تا سنہ ۱۰۷۷ ہجری) کے
 زمانے میں منصب وزارت پر فائز ہوئے۔ عرصہ قلیل میں دکن کی
 صوبہ داری اور اعظم خاں کا خطاب پایا۔ بارہا یکے بعد دیگرے گجرات،
 بنگالہ، کشمیر اور الہ آباد کی صوبہ داری پر سرفراز ہوتے رہے۔ آخر
 شاہ جہاں نے اختیار دیدیا کہ جس صوبے کو انتخاب کرو وہاں کی
 حکومت لے لو۔ انہوں نے جونپور کی فوجداری مانگ لی اور اُسی کو
 اپنا وطن بنالیا۔

واضح کے والد میر اسحاق کو عالمگیر بادشاہ نے ارادت خاں کا
 خطاب دے کر جاگنہ کی فوجداری مرحمت فرمائی۔ پھر اورنگ آباد
 اور گلبرگہ شریف کی قلعہ داری پر متعین کئے گئے۔ شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ
 کے زمانے میں منصب چار ہزاری عطا ہوا۔

واضح اچھے شاعر تھے اور فن شعر میں راسخ سے تلمذ رکھتے تھے۔
 من اشعار :-

موجم و وحشت کند محروم از ساحل مرا
 در طپیدن رفت از کف دامن قاتل مرا *
 بہ جیب صبح ز خورشید گل فشانی ہاست
 بہ جام پیری ما بادۂ جوانی ہاست *
 واضح بہ ہیچ راہ دلم وا نمی شود
 این قفل زنگ بست شکستن کلید اوست *
 خیال روی او دل راز پا مستانہ اندازد
 نسیم گل شرر در خرمن دیوانہ اندازد *
 پریشانی یک دل می برد جمعیت عالم
 شکست شیشۂ ما سنگ در میخانہ اندازد *
 سنہ ۱۱۲۸ ہجری میں بمقام جونپور اس دار فانی سے چل بسے۔

چو سایہ در قدم سرو سرفراز توام

مرید سلسلہ گیسوی دراز توام *

میسر گر شود آزاد! این مطلب چہ خوش باشد

دمے با گل نشستن در بروی باغبان بستن *

رباعی

ہر چند نہ برگے نہ نوائے دارم * در زاویۂ خمول جائے دارم
اما ز محبت رسول الثقلین * در سینہ بہشت دل کشائے دارم

رباعی

کس را خبرے نیست چہ آید فردا * نیرنگی قدرت چہ نماید فردا
نومید مشو ز مژدۂ عالم غیب * شب حاملہ است تا چہ زاید فردا

آزاد نے سنہ ۱۱۹۵ ہجری میں روضۂ خلد آباد میں حضرت شاہ برہان الدین غریب قدس سرہ العزیز کے مزار شریف کے قریب ایک قطعہ زمین خرید کر اُسکا نام ’عاقبت خانہ‘ رکھا اور وہاں اپنے لئے ایک قبر بنوائی۔ جب یہ سب ہوچکا تو ایک بڑی ضیافت کی اور اس میں مشایخ و شعراء و امراء کو مدعو کیا۔ انواع و اقسام کے کھانے دسترخوان پر رکھے۔ کھانے سے فارغ ہوکر ہر ایک سے نہایت تپاک کے ساتھ مصافحہ کیا اور کہا کہ ”یہ وداعی ضیافت تھی۔ ہذا فراق بینی و بینک“ اس کے بعد بالکل زاویۂ خمول میں بیٹھ گئے اور پانچ سال بعد سنہ ۱۲۰۰ ہجری میں اس دیر فانی سے ملک جاودانی کا سفر کیا۔ کسی شاعر نے تاریخ رحلت کہی:-

آہ غلام علی آزاد

سنہ ۱۲۰۰ ہجری

واضح

واضح تخلص - مرزا مبارک اللہ خاں نام - میر اسحاق بن
میر محمد باقر المخاطب بہ ارادت خاں کے فرزند - وطن اور سال ولادت
معلوم نہیں -

ذکر الہند (۷) سند السعادات فی حسن خاتمة السادات (۸) روضة الاولیاء
 خلد آباد (۹) مآثر الکرام (۱۰) سبعة المرجان فی آثار ہندوستان
 (۱۱) دیوان عربی (۱۲) دیوان فارسی -

آپ کے عربی نعتیہ قصائد، فصاحت و بلاغت کے نمونہ تھے۔
 اہل عرب ان اشعار کو سن کر سر دھنکتے اور تعجب کرتے تھے کہ ایک
 ہندی الوطن اور ایسا فصیح و بلیغ !

من اشعاره :-

الہی نالۂ گرمے دل دیوانۂ مارا
 کرامت کن نہال آتشینے دانۂ مارا *
 با سرمۂ سرو کار ندارد بصر ما
 خاکِ قدم یار بود در نظر ما *
 ہنرز از دامن صحرائی معجون عشق می خیزد
 کہ ہنگام گزر افتادین ما دل طپید آنجا *
 دریں خرابہ نشستم زر ہرواں تنہا
 کہ وا گذاشت مرا پیر کارواں تنہا *
 اگر چہ خاک شدم اضطرابِ من باقی است
 کہ پیچ و تاب رسن بعد سوختن باقی است *
 زدہ ام ہر سرِ جہاں پا پوش
 بے سبب این برہنہ پائی نیست *
 مانی نازک قلم نقشے ز چشم مست بست
 چوں نظر افکند بر محرابِ ابرو دست بست *
 بلبل سوختہ را نیست نشانی پیدا
 این قدر ہست کہ دود از قفسے می آید *
 روز قیامت ہر کسے در دست گیرد نامۂ
 من نیز حاضر می شوم تصویرِ جانان در بغل *

سنہ ۱۱۵۸ ہجری میں نواب نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ شہید والی حیدر آباد (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری) اپنے والد نواب آصفجہا کی طرف سے اورنگ آباد کی صوبہ داری پر مامور ہوئے تو آزاد کو بھی طلب فرمایا، اُن سے تپاک سے ملے، عزت افزائی کی اور مدت العمر اپنا مقرب بنائے رہے۔ اپنے اشعار کی بھی اُن ہی سے اصلاح لیا کرتے تھے۔ نواب کے ساتھ کرناٹک دیکھا اور ارکات بھی ہمراہ رکاب گئے۔ یہیں سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری میں نواب کی شہادت ہوئی۔ اس واقعے کے بعد آزاد اورنگ آباد گئے اور شاہ مسافر قدس سرہ العزیز کے تکیے میں مقیم ہوئے۔

سنہ ۱۱۶۷ ہجری میں نواب امیر الممالک صلابت جنگ والی حیدر آباد (سنہ ۱۱۶۴ تا سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ہجری) نے نواب صمصام الدولہ شاہ نواز خاں کو خدمت وکالت سے سرفراز کر کے حیدر آباد بلایا تو نواب صمصام الدولہ نے آزاد کو بڑی تمنا کے ساتھ طلب کیا۔ آپ حیدر آباد پہنچے۔ نواب نظام علی خاں آصف جاہ ثانی (سنہ ۱۱۷۵ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۸ ہجری) نے آپ کی قدر افزائی کی۔ سنہ ۱۱۷۸ ہجری میں آپ پھر اورنگ آباد چلے آئے اور وہیں شاہ مسافر رحمہ اللہ تعالیٰ کے تکیے میں ایسے فروکش ہوئے کہ تا حیات وہیں رہے۔

آفت زدوں کی ہمدردی، امداد اور احتیاج مندوں کی حاجت روائی آپ کی طبیعت ثانیہ تھی۔ جس زمانے میں نواب شہید کے مقرب تھے تو سیکڑوں اہل غرض کو اپنی کوشش اور سفارش سے فائز المرام کیا۔

عربی اور فارسی کے تمام علوم میں دستگاہ کامل رکھتے تھے۔ تاریخ گوئی میں خاص مہارت تھی۔ بڑے اعلیٰ پائے کے شاعر تھے۔ بہت سی کتابوں کے مصنف تھے۔ اُن میں سے چند کے نام یہ ہیں :-

- (۱) تذکرۂ خزائنہ عامرہ (۲) ید بیضا (۳) تذکرۂ سرو آزاد
- (۴) غزلان ہند (۵) شرح صحیح بخاری تا کتاب الزکوۃ (۶) شمامۃ الہند فی

آزاد ان سے ملنے کے لئے وہاں گئے۔ جب وہ رخصت لیکر بلگرام گئے تو آزاد نے نیابت چار سال دونوں خدمتیں بہ خوبی انجام دیں۔ جب میر صاحب واپس آئے تو آزاد کو بلگرام جانے کی اجازت دی۔ یہ سنہ ۱۱۴۷ھ کا واقعہ ہے۔ اٹلے راہ میں شاہ جہاں آباد پہنچے تو معلوم ہوا کہ آپ کے والد ماجد مع اہل و عیال الہ آباد تشریف لے گئے ہیں۔ آپ نے الہ آباد کا قصد کیا اور تین سال والد کی خدمت میں رہے۔ سنہ ۱۱۵۰ھ میں بیت اللہ شریف روانہ ہوئے۔

اپنی سفر کی کسی کو اطلاع نہیں دی، یہاں تک کہ آپ کے عزیزوں کو بھی تین دن کے بعد روانگی کی خبر معلوم ہوئی۔ ملک مالوہ تک پیادہ پا گئے۔ اتفاقاً نواب آصف جاہ (سنہ ۱۱۱۳ تا سنہ ۱۱۲۱ ہجری) کا لشکر اسی ملک میں خیمہ افکن تھا اور نواب بہ نفس نفیس وہیں تشریف فرما تھے۔ قسمت کی یاوری سے آزاد کی باریابی ہو گئی۔ آپ نے یہ رباعی پیش کی :-

ای حامیِ این محیطِ جود و احسان
حق داد ترا خطابِ آصف شایاں *
او تخت بدرگاہِ سلیمان آورد
تو آلِ نبی را بہ درِ کعبہ رساں *

نواب نے ازراہِ غربا نوازی سفر خرچ مرحمت فرمایا۔ زادِ راہ سے مطمئن ہو کر حرمین شریفین روانہ ہوئے۔ 'سفر خیر' اس سفر کی تاریخ ہے۔ ۱۱۵۰ ہجری

مکہ معظمہ میں شیخ عبد الوہاب طنطاوی سے حدیث پڑھی۔ مدینہ منورہ میں شیخ محمد حیات سندھی سے صحیح بخاری اور باقی صحاح کی سند پائی۔

حج و زیارت سے مشرف ہو کر سنہ ۱۱۵۲ ہجری میں دکن کا رخ کیا اور اورنگ آباد پہنچ کر شاہ مسافر رحمہ اللہ کے تکیے میں گوشہ نشینی اختیار کی۔

ناصر علی نے سنہ ۱۱۰۸ ہجری میں ساآٹھ سال کی عمر پاکر بمقام دہلی انتقال کیا۔ حضرت سلطان المشایخ خواجہ نظام الدین اولیا رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ کی خانقاہ شریف میں دفن ہوئے۔

آزاد

آزاد تخلص۔ میر غلام علی نام۔ میر نوح کے فرزند۔ قصبہ بلغرام واقع صوبہ اودھ وطن۔ سنہ ۱۱۱۶ ہجری سال ولادت۔ آپ کا سلسلہ نسب حضرت فخر الساجدین امام زین العابدین رضی اللہ تعالیٰ تک پہنچتا ہے۔ بلحاظ مذہب حنفی اور بلحاظ طریقت چشتی تھے۔

درسی کتابیں میر طفیل محمد سے پڑھیں، چنانچہ کہتے ہیں :-
شاگرد خاص میر طفیل محمد * او در علوم عقلی و نقلی است رہبرم
اپنے نانا علامہ میر عبد الجلیل بلغرامی سے لغت، حدیث، سیر نبوی اور فن ادب حاصل کیا۔ اپنے ایک شعر میں اس طرف بھی اشارہ کیا ہے، فرماتے ہیں :-

آزاد ما کہ فضل و کمالے بہم رساند * خدمت نمود حضرت عبد الجلیل را
اپنے ماموں میر سید محمد سے عروض و قوافی اور علم ادب میں مستفیض ہوئے۔ پندرہ سال کی عمر میں فارغ التحصیل ہو چکے تھے۔ بڑے ذہین تھے۔ قوتِ حافظہ نہایت قوی تھی۔ جو بات ایک مرتبہ سن لیتے کبھی نہیں بھولتے تھے۔

سنہ ۱۱۳۰ ہجری میں حضرت زبدۃ السالکین سید لطف اللہ بلغرامی قدس سرہ العزیز سے طریقہ چشتیہ میں بیعت کی۔ اسی سال اپنے نانا کی ملاقات کے لئے، جو شاہ جہاں آباد میں مقیم تھے، بلغرام سے دہلی گئے، دو سال وہاں قیام رہا، اس اثنا میں آپ کے خوان علم سے بہرہ اندوز ہوئے۔ پھر وطن کی طرف مراجعت کی۔

آپ کے ماموں میر سید محمد موصوف الذکر سیوستان واقع ملک سندھ میں میر بخشی اور وقائع نگاری کی خدمت پر مامور تھے۔

شاعري ميں ناصر علي کا رتبہ بہت بلند تھا۔ غزل خوب کہتے تھے۔
 مثنوي ميں بھی کمال تھا۔ اہل بغداد شريف سماع کي محفلوں ميں
 ان کي مثنوي کے اشعار پڑھا کرتے تھے۔

من اشعاره :-

نیست غیر از عشق دل سوزے من افسردہ را
 شعلہ جنبش مي دهد نبض چراغِ مردہ را *
 از آبلہ ہائے دل فریاد پرستان
 یک آبلہ در کام زبان است جوس را *
 لبریز شد ز تنگی دل بسکہ سینہ ام
 چوں رشتہ هاي شمع یکے گشت نالہا *
 رواج بے ہنري جز بہند جائے نیست
 کہ این متاع دریں سرزمین بود کباب *
 از بسکہ سنگ تفرقا در سراغ ماست
 چوں شیشہ شکستہ فروغ چراغ ماست *
 جاں میدہیم و درد جگر سوز مي خریم
 چوں رشتہ فقیلہ نفس صرف داغ ماست *
 زخمی شوق تو کے ممنون قاتل مي شود
 همچو ماہي مي طپد چندانکہ بسمل مي شود *
 امتیازِ شہر و صحرا داشت از نقصِ جنوں
 ورنہ مجنوں را خرابي ہلے خود ویرانہ بود *
 سیر از جہاں شدم بہ گداز فناي خویش
 چوں اشتہائے سوختہ گشتم غذاي خویش *
 نمی گنجد بہ خلوت خانہ دل آفتاب من
 برون از شیشہ چوں آید گہر باشد شراب من *
 مراد از ذکر معشوق است ترک ماسوا کردن
 چو دل بر گردد از دنیا چہ حاجت سببہ گردانی *

ساتھ لیا اور دہلی پہنچا کر اُن کی جان بچائی۔ علی آخر میں حضرت شیخ کے بڑے معتقد ہو گئے تھے اور اپنی مثنوی میں اُن کو اپنا مرشد تسلیم کیا ہے۔ غرض سیف خاں کے انتقال کے بعد علی سرہند سے بیجاپور پہنچے۔ سنہ ۱۱۰۰ ہجری میں حضرت عالمگیر کا لشکر بیجاپور کی طرف روانہ ہوا۔ ناصر علی نواب ذوالفقار خاں بن اسد خاں وزیر سے ملے۔ اسی موقع کے لئے آزاد بلگرامی نے کہا ہے :-

بعد سیف آخر علی را ذوالفقار آمد بکار

لافتی الا علی لا سیف الا ذوالفقار *

ناصر علی نواب ذوالفقار خاں سے ملے تو قصیدہ مدحیہ پیش کیا۔ اُس کا مطلع یہ ہے :-

ای شانِ حیدری ز جبینِ تو آشکار

نامِ تو در نبرد کند کارِ ذوالفقار *

مطلع سنتے ہی نواب نے کہا کہ بس کرو! مجھے پورا قصیدہ سننے اور اُس کا صلہ دینے کی ہمت نہیں ہے۔ مطلع کے صلے میں ایک ہاتھی اور تیس ہزار روپیہ اور بقول دیگر ایک ہاتھی اور پانچ ہزار روپیہ عطا فرمایا۔ ناصر علی نے اس عطیہ کو لوگوں میں تقسیم کر دیا اور اپنے لئے کچھ نہ رکھا۔

سنہ ۱۱۰۳ ہجری میں نواب ذوالفقار خاں کرناٹک کی تسخیر کے لئے روانہ ہوئے تو ناصر علی بھی ہمراہ رکاب آئے۔ یہاں حضرت شاہ حمید الدین قدس سرہ سے دلی عقیدت رکھتے تھے۔ یہاں سے دہلی لوٹے تو حضرت شیخ محمد معصوم رحمہ اللہ کے ہاتھ پر طریقہ نقشبندیہ میں بیعت کی اور بقیۃ العمر متوکلانہ زندگی بسر کی، کبھی کسی کے سامنے التجا نہیں لے گئے۔

۱۔ حضرت شاہ صاحب رحمہ اللہ جنوبی ہند کے مشہور اولیاء کرام میں سے ہیں۔ آپ کا مزار مبارک کنچی میں زیارت گاہِ خلیق ہے۔

فصل دوم

وہ فارسی گو شعراء ہندوستان جو شمالی ہند سے دکن میں آئے۔

علی

علی تخلص - ناصر علی نام - فرزندِ رجب علی پنجابی -
سرہند وطن - جو اس وقت ریاست پٹیالہ کے علاقے میں ہے - سال
ولادت سنہ ۱۰۳۸ ہجری -

کم سنی ہی میں دہلی چلے گئے - وہیں تعلیم پائی - پہلے
سیف خان حاکم سرہند کی ملازمت کی - سیف خان کو حضرت
عالمگیر بادشاہ نے الہ آباد میں صوبہ دار بنا کر بھیجا تو علی بھی اُن کے
ساتھ الہ آباد گئے - سیف خان نے انتقال کیا تو سرہند واپس چلے آئے -

ایک دفعہ ماہِ صفر کے آخری چہارشنبہ کو ناصر علی باغ کی
سیر کے لئے گئے ، وقت اچھا تھا ، شیشہ و پیالہ سامنے تھا اور ناصر علی
مست تھے - اتفاقاً شیخ محمد معصوم خلف حضرت مجدد الف ثانی
رحمۃ اللہ بھی اسی باغ میں تشریف لائے - ناصر علی کو اس حالت
میں دیکھ کر غصے سے دریافت فرمایا ”یہ کیا ہے؟“ ناصر علی نے
جواب دیا ”شراب“ مگر وہ شراب جس کو فرشتے پیتے ہیں -
شیخ تو چلے آئے ، مگر علما نے ناصر علی کی تکفیر کے ساتھ قتل کا
فتویٰ لکھ دیا - اُن کے بھی مددگار بہت تھے ، چنانچہ میر محمد
زماں خان راسخ اور اُن کے رشتہ داروں نے مسلم ہو کر ناصر علی کو اپنے

۱ - سیف خان ماہِ جہان کے تیسرے بخشی تھے - سنہ ۱۰۷۱ ہجری میں بھید دولت
اورنگ زیب کشمیر کے صوبہ دار مقرر ہوئے - چند روز بعد مستعفی ہو کر گوشہ نشین رہے -
آخر دوستوں کے اصرار پر گوشہ نشینی کو ترک کیا - سنہ ۱۰۸۱ ہجری میں بھر منصب
و خطاب بحال ہوا اور الہ آباد کے ناظم مقرر ہوئے - وہیں سنہ ۱۰۹۵ ہجری میں وفات
پائی -

اعلیٰ درجے کے شاعر تھے - ہر قسم کی نظم لکھنے پر قدرت رکھتے تھے -
عروض و قافیہ میں ایک رسالہ اور فنِ انشا میں ایک کتاب لکھی ہے
’اور قانونچہ‘ اس کا نام رکھا -

من اشعاره :-

روغن کشیدنم ز دو بادام چشمِ تر
نفعی نکرد خشکی سودایِ خال را *

ز داغِ عشق تو تا گشت شاخ گل دستم
نمود کوچہ باغ است آستینِ مرا *

مبادا تیرِ نازش جانبِ دیگر نشان جوید
نگہ دزدیدنِ چشمش ہر اسان می کند مارا *

ہر کہ ضبطِ نفس کند چو صدف
عقدہاے دلش گہر گردد *

لالہ خونیں دل و گل زخمی و نرگس بیمار
در چمن دل بہ چہ تقریب شود وای تو *

غمزہ بیدباک و نگہ مست و تبسم لبریز
شوخی جادوئی من ! طرفہ بہ ساز آمدہ *

قلم ای قاصد از شوقش رقم سازد چساں حرفے
کہ دل حرفے نویساند، نگہ حرفے، زباں حرفے *

ز بس از خویش رفتم در خیالِ نرگس مستش
مرا ہشیاریم خوابِ فراموش است پنداری *

سنہ ۱۱۸۴ ہجری میں بمقامِ ترچناپلی رحلت کی اور یہیں
دفن ہوئے -

نمونہ کلام یہ ہے :-

در خیالِ تو چو از خوابِ گراں برخیزم
ہمچو آئینہ سراپا نگراں برخیزم *
چشم از نسیم دارم شاید بہ روزگارے
آرد بدیدۂ من از کوی او غبارے *

رباعی

یا راہ بکوی وصل محبوبم دہ
یا بیزاری ز صورتِ خوبم دہ *
یا این دلِ نا صبور از من بستان
یا در غمِ ہجر صبرِ ایوبم دہ *

والہ

والہ تخلص - سید محمد موسوی نام - فرزند ملا سید محمد باقر موسوی - خراسان مولد - سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا - اپنے فاضل باپ سے تمام علوم معقول و منقول پڑھے - فنِ شعر میں بھی اپنے والد ہی سے اصلاح لی - باپ کے انتقال کے بعد ہندوستان پہنچے - کچھ دنوں بعد حیدر آباد آئے اور شاہی منصبدار ہو گئے - برسوں جاہ و ثروت سے ہم کنار رہے - حیدر آباد ہی میں شادی کر لی - اسی وجہ سے بعض تذکرہ نویسوں نے حیدر آباد کو ان کا وطن لکھ دیا - مگر یہ بالکل غلط ہے - فی الحقیقت وہ خراسان کے رہنے والے تھے - نواب غلام محمد غوث خاں بہادر نواب کرناٹک (سنہ ۱۲۴۱ تا سنہ ۱۲۷۲ ہجری) نے اپنے ”تذکرۂ گلزار اعظم“ میں تحریر فرمایا ہے کہ ”ظاہر ہو کہ صبحِ وطنِ اعظم (یہ تذکرہ بھی نواب موصوف نے تذکرۂ گلزار اعظم سے پہلے لکھا تھا) میں فرخندہ بنیاد حیدر آباد کو والہ کا وطن لکھا ہے - یہ غلطی ”گلدستہ کرناٹک“ کی پیروی سے ہوئی ہے“ -

ازدواجی تعلق کی وجہ سے والہ نے حیدر آباد ہی کو اپنا وطن بنالیا - ایک مدت بعد نتھر نگر (ترچناپلی) چلے آئے - کششِ آب و دانہ اور موت نے یہاں سے نہ نکلنے دیا -

صوبہ داری پھر بحال ہونے کو تھی کہ موت کا پیغام آ پہنچا۔ نظام آباد سے لاش اورنگ آباد لائی گئی اور باپ کے مقبرے میں دفن کی گئی۔
'خدایش بیا مرزا' تاریخِ رحلت ہے۔

۸۰ ھ ۱۱

معز

معز تخلص - مرزا معز الدین نام - فرزند مرزا حسن - عباس آباد علاقہ اصفہان وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا۔

ان کے اجداد شاہانِ صفویہ کے دور میں اعلیٰ عہدوں پر مامور تھے اور دربار میں بڑا رسوخ حاصل تھا۔ ان کے والد عالم متبحر اور صاحبِ تصنیف و تالیف تھے۔ باپ کے انتقال کے وقت معز کا سن چھ برس کا تھا۔ بڑے ہوئے تو ابو سعید اصفہانی کے سامنے زانوے شاگردی تہ کیا اور ان سے علومِ نقلی و عقلی حاصل کئے۔ پھر اخوند شفیعیائی کے خانِ تعلیم سے بھرہ اندوز ہو کر میدانِ شاعری میں قدم رکھا۔ فارغ التحصیل ہونے کے بعد نادر شاہ کے بھتیجے ابراہیم شاہ کے ملازم ہوئے۔ رفتہ رفتہ بادشاہ کے مزاج پر ایسے حاوی ہوئے کہ ہر کام ان ہی کے مشورے سے ہونے لگا۔ یہاں تک کہ بڑے بڑے عہدہ داروں کا عزل و نصب بھی ان ہی کے اشاروں پر ہوتا تھا۔ جب ابراہیم شاہ کی سلطنت کا خاتمہ ہوا تو معز اصفہان سے شیراز چلے آئے۔ سیاحت کے بیحد شائق تھے۔ اس لئے وہاں سے نکل کر بہت سے ملکوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے آخر سورت (ہند) پہنچے اور وہاں سے اورنگ آباد ہوتے ہوئے حیدر آباد آ گئے۔ یہاں نواب مصمم الدولہ شہنواز خاں نے جو نواب نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ شہید (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ھ) کے دیوان تھے، ان کو ہاتھوں ہاتھ لیا اور بہت قدر افزائی کی۔ معز نواب کی خوش اخلاقی اور قدر دانی کے ایسے مسخر ہوئے کہ حیدر آباد ہی کے ہو رہے۔ جب نواب شہید ہوئے تو اورنگ آباد میں مقولگانہ پاؤں توڑ کر بیٹھ رہے۔ بڑے خوش فکر آدمی تھے۔

آصف جاہ کے بعد نواب نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ شہید (سنہ ۱۱۶۱ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۴ ہجری) کے عہد میں بھی ترقیات سے وقتاً بوقتاً سرفراز ہوتے رہے۔ نواب امیر الممالک صلابت جنگ (سنہ ۱۱۶۴ تا سنہ ۱۱۷۵ ہجری) نے منصب شش ہزاری اور خطاب مؤتمن الدولہ سے سرفراز فرما کر صوبہ دار مقرر کر دیا۔ نواب نظام علی خاں آصف جاہ ثانی (سنہ ۱۱۷۵ تا سنہ ۱۲۱۸ ہجری) مسند آرا ہوئے تو انہیں منصب ہفت ہزاری، ماہی مراتب اور خطاب مؤتمن الملک عطا فرمایا، اور پھر خان دوراں خاں خطاب دیا۔ مگر سنہ ۱۱۷۹ ہجری میں ان کو اورنگ آباد کی صوبہ داری سے معزول کر دیا۔ اب درگاہ قلی خاں اپنی جاگیر نظام آباد میں آ بیٹھے۔ درگاہ بڑے حاضر جواب اور بذلہ سنج تھے۔ ہر مہینے اپنے باغ موسومہ 'دل کشا' میں دو تین جلسے منعقد کیا کرتے تھے۔ جس میں ذی علم حضرات مدعو ہوتے تھے۔ خوش طبع، خلیق، انصاف پسند، قیاض اور شجاع تھے۔ رعایا پروری اور غربا نوازی کو آپ پر ناز تھا۔ علم دوست اور عالموں کے قدردان تھے۔ انشا پر داز تھے اور علم تاریخ پر عبور رکھتے تھے۔ خود شاعر تھے اور شعرا کے قدر افزا۔

من اشعارہ :-

نگامش دیدہ صہبا آفریدند
قدش دیدند و طوبی آفریدند *
بعالم ریخت رشکم رنگِ طوفان
ز جیب قطرہ دریا آفریدند *
معاشرانہ سوال ز دوستان دارم
برائے ما و شما این ہوا چہ می خواہد *
سوال حیدر کرار مشاہِ مردان کیست
کہ ذوالفقار بہ او داد حق، نبی دختر *

شُرک محض است گمانِ من و تو
من و تو نیست میانِ من و تو *

ان کے خاندان کا مختصر حال یہ ہے کہ ان کے جد اعلیٰ خاندان قلی خاں (اول) قبیلہ بور بور کے ترکمان تھے۔ علی مردان خاں حاکم قندھار کے پاس ملازم تھے۔ علی مردان خاں نے شاہ صفی شاہ ایران کی ناقدر دانیوں سے تنگ آکر استعفا دیدیا۔ خاندان قلی نے ان کی رفاقت کی۔ علی مردان خاں نے ان کو شاہ جہاں بادشاہ (سنہ ۱۰۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۰۷۷ ہجری) کی خدمت میں اپنے عریضے کے ساتھ بھیجا۔ بادشاہ قدران نے ان کو خلعت خاصہ سے سرفراز کیا اور ایک ہزار روپیہ انعام دیا۔ اور ان ہی کے ہمراہ علی مردان خاں کو خلعت اور ہاتھی دانت کی بنی ہوئی پالکی بھیج کر طلب کیا۔ علی مردان خاں آئے تو ان پر مزید مرحمت شاہی مبذول ہوئی اور ان کو کشمیر کا صوبہ دار بنا دیا۔ خاندان قلی خاں نے عمر بھر علی مردان خاں کی خدمت میں رہ کر اپنی خدمات شائستہ سے حق رفاقت ادا کیا۔

خاندان قلی خاں کے انتقال کے بعد علی مردان خاں نے ان کے فرزند درگاہ قلی خاں (اول) کو بادشاہ سے سفارش کر کے منصب اور جاگیر دلائی اور اپنے پاس میر سامان کے عہدے پر رکھ لیا۔ علی مردان خاں شاہزادہ اورنگ زیب کے منصبدار کی حیثیت سے دکن گئے تو درگاہ قلی خاں نے ان کے ہمراہ تھے۔ ہندوستان واپس آکر انتقال کیا۔ درگاہ قلی خاں (اول) کے بیٹے نوروز قلی خاں کو 'دارواز' علاقہ بیجاپور کی قلعہ داری عطا ہوئی۔ وہیں ان کا انتقال ہو گیا۔ ان کے فرزند خاندان قلی خاں (دوم) بھی جاگیردار تھے اور اورنگ زیب کے علاقے میں منصب دار بھی تھے۔ شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ کے عہد میں سنگمیر کی وقائع نگاری اور قرب و جوار کی فوجداری پر سرفراز تھے۔ نواب آصف جاہ غفران پناہ کے عہد میں بھی سرکاری خدمات پر مامور رہے۔ درگاہ ان ہی نامور باپ (خاندان قلی خاں) کے نامور فرزند تھے۔ چودہ سال ہی کے تھے کہ نواب آصف جاہ نے انہیں منصب و جاگیر عطا فرمائی۔ بیس سال کے ہوئے تو نواب نے ازراہ پرورش ان کو اپنے ہم رکاب رکھا اور شاہی عنایتیں مبذول رہیں۔ ان کی فن سپہگری و جاں بازی کے جوہر نادر شاہ کے ہنگامے میں ظاہر ہوئے۔

پھر نواب آصف جاہ صوبہ دار حیدر آباد دکن (سنہ ۱۱۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ھ) کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوئے۔ نواب بھی بڑی عزت سے پیش آئے۔ منصب و خطاب عطا فرمایا اور شہر اورنگ آباد کا داروغہ مقرر کر دیا۔ دکن کے امرا میں اُن کا شمار تھا۔ نواب کی زندگی تک نہایت عزت اور فارغ البالی کے ساتھ زندگی بسر کی۔ نواب کی وفات کے بعد گوشہ نشین ہو گئے۔ چند روز کے بعد سنہ ۱۱۸۰ ہجری میں نواب والاجاہ کے طلب فرمانے پر آرکات کا قصد کیا۔ مچھلی بندر تک پہنچنے پائے تھے کہ موت کی زنجیر پیروں میں پڑ گئی۔ وہیں دم واپس جان آفریں کو سونپا۔ لاش مچھلی بندر سے اورنگ آباد بھیجی گئی۔ راز اپنے ہی باغ میں سپرد خاک کئے گئے۔

راز کی طبیعت موزوں تھی، اس لئے شعر نکال لیتے تھے۔ کسی سے کبھی اصلاح نہیں لی۔ راز کے انتقال کے بعد اُن کی بیاض جناب آزاد کو مل گئی۔ انہوں نے اکثر اشعار کو زیورِ اصلاح سے آراستہ کر دیا۔ بہر حال راز کا یہ رنگ ہے :-

صفحہ آئینہ دارد ہر نفس نیرنگِ ہا
بس کہ می باز رخ او از نرکتِ رنگِ ہا *
غافل اند از ناز کی ہائے دلِ منِ کودکاں
گل بر دیوانہ باشد سخت تر از سنگِ ہا *
اگر از پردہ آں شور قیامت سربروں آرد
ز محشر پیشتر ہنگامہٗ محشر برون آرد *
ز غفلت عمرها باشد کہ با عشرت ہم آغوشم
بیا اے غم کہ گردد بسترِ راحت فراموشم *

درگاہ

درگاہِ تخلص - درگاہِ قلی خاں نام - مؤمن الملک سالار جنگ بہادر خطاب - فرزندِ خاندانِ قلی خاں - ۲۹ رجب سنہ ۱۱۲۲ ہجری کو سنگمیر میں پیدا ہوئے۔ تاریخِ ولادت 'درگاہِ قلی ز خاندانِ والا' ہے۔

برنگِ سرمہ کہ در چشمِ کور بے قدر است
کسے بہ ہیچ نہ گیرد دریں دیار مرا *

ناخدا را خضرِ راہے نیست جز انجمِ امید
کرد اشکِ آخر بکویں رهنمائیِ ہا مرا *

ظلمِ ظالم چو شود پیرِ دو بالا گرد
بیشتر می بُرد آن تیغ کہ خمدار تر است *

بالای کسے بلایِ جاں شد
بالا تر ازین چہ می توان شد *
بودیم بہ دوستیش خرسند
آن نیز نصیبِ دشمنان شد *
دیدہ گریاں میشود از دل چو آہ می کشم
آرے آرے راست باشد بادِ باران آورد *
امید سنہ ۱۱۵۹ ہجری میں اِس جہانِ گزراں سے گزر گئے ۔
میر غلام علی آزاد نے ذیل کی تاریخ کہی :-

خانِ سخن گستر و سحر آفرین
رختِ سفر بست ازین خاکِ داں *
سالِ وفاتش دِلِ نالانِ من
یافتہ ”جاں دادہ قزلباش خاں“
۱۱۵۹ ہجری

راز

رازِ تخلص - میر میراں نام - سید نوازش خاں خطاب - فرزند علی
مردان خاں اصفہانی - سالِ ولادت معلوم نہیں -

سلطان حسین مرزا صفوی کی طرف سے ایران کے سفیر ہو کر
فرخ۔سیر کی خدمت میں ہندوستان آئے - یہاں خوب عزت پائی -

اسیر ہوے - غرض تمام فوج منتشر ہو گئی - امید منجملہ اُن لوگوں کے تھے جو قید ہوئے - اٹلے قید میں ایک غزل نواب آصف جاہ کو لکھ کر بھیجی - نواب نے ازراہِ قدر دانی نہ صرف اُنہیں رہا کیا بلکہ جاگیر و خدمت بھی بحال کر دی - ایک مدت تک مرفہ العالی سے بسر کی - اِس کے بعد حرمین شریفین (زاد ہما اللہ تعالیٰ شرفاً و تعظیماً) گئے اور حج و زیارت سے مشرف ہو کر ایک برس بعد دکن واپس آ گئے -

سنہ ۱۱۵۰ ہجری میں نواب آصف جاہ حسب الطلب شاہی دہلی جانے لگے تو امید بھی ساتھ ہو گئے - بھوپال کے سفر میں بھی نواب کا دامن نہ چھوڑا - جب نواب دہلی سے دکن واپس ہوئے تو امید دہلی ہی میں رہ گئے - ’محبوب الزمن‘ میں بہ حوالہ ’تحفۃ الشعرا‘ لکھا ہے کہ دہلی میں نواب آصف جاہ کسی وجہ سے امید سے کشیدہ ہو گئے تھے، اِسی لئے امید اِن کی رفاقت چھوڑ کر دہلی میں رہ گئے -

امید خوش خلق، رنگین مزاج، ظریف الطبع، بڑے ذکی و طباع تھے - فن انشا و شاعری میں یدِ طولی رکھتے تھے - ہندی موسیقی سے بھی خوب واقف تھے - راگ رنگ کا بڑا شوق تھا - اُن کے مکان پر ہر روز کبھی مشاعرہ ہوتا تھا اور کبھی رقص و سرود کی محفل جمتی تھی -

لطیفہ :- ’محبوب الزمن‘ میں لکھا ہے کہ امید نے کسی سے بیان کیا کہ ”میں ایک روز نواب ذوالفقار خاں بن اسد خاں وزیر کی خدمت میں گیا اور زمانے کی شکایت کی - نواب نے فرمایا کہ دنیا کو امید کے ساتھ کھاتے ہیں“ میں نے عرض کیا کہ ”تو آپ کیوں میرے بغیر کھاتے ہیں“ نواب ہنس پڑے اور اُس روز سے روزانہ میرے یہاں کھانا بھیجنا مقرر کر لیا - نواب کے دستِ خوان سے انواع و اقسام کے کھانوں سے بھرے ہوئے خوان آتے تھے - میں خود کھاتا تھا اور فراغت سے احباب کو کھلاتا تھا“ -

من اشعاره :-

خندۂ مستان بود از گریۂ مینا بلند

شاد گردد گر کسی غم ناک می سازد مرا *

ندارد آفتے چون غنچہ از صرصر چراغ من
برنگی لاله در آغوش ناخن خفته داغ من *

مرد حق در عین دنیا داری از دنیا بری است
ملک در دست سلیمان نیست در انگشتی است *
عشق در مصر جنوں لاف خدائی می زند
حسن اگر یوسف شود در کسوت پیغمبری است *

ذوقِ عشق آئینہ دارِ راز دلہا میشود
چون بخود مالد خموشی نالہ پیدا میشود *
سنہ ۱۱۰۱ ہجری میں دارالبقا کی طرف روانہ ہو گئے۔

امید

امید تخلص - میر محمد رضا نام - قزلباش خاں خطاب -
ہمدان وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا۔
شباب ہی میں وطن چھوڑ کر اصفہان چلے گئے اور یہاں مرزا طاہر وحید
کے سامنے زانوے شاگردی تہ کیا۔

اورنگ زیب (سنہ ۱۰۶۹ تا سنہ ۱۱۱۸ ہجری) کے عہد
دولت میں ہندوستان پہنچے اور شاہی منصب دار ہو گئے۔ شاہ عالم
بہادر شاہ کا زمانہ آیا تو قزلباش خاں کا خطاب اور جاگیر پائی۔
محمد معز الدین جہاندار شاہ کے عہد میں برہانپور کے دیوان مقرر ہوئے۔
چندے اس خدمت کو انجام دیکر، امیر الامرا حسین علی خاں کے ہمراہ
اورنگ آباد گئے۔ کچھ دن یہاں رہ کر مبارز خاں ناظم حیدر آباد کے
ہم رکاب حیدر آباد پہنچے اور اُن کی مصاحبت میں رہے۔ مبارز خاں
جب نواب آصفجاہ کے مقابلے کے لئے تیار ہوئے تو امید بھی ہم رکاب
ہو گئے اور میدان جنگ میں دادِ شجاعت دی۔ مبارز خاں مارے گئے۔
اُن کے سپاہی کچھ مارے گئے، کچھ بھاگ گئے اور کچھ آصف جاہ کے

سنہ ۱۰۸۲ ہجری میں بعدِ شہنشاہِ اورنگ زیب (سنہ ۱۰۶۵ تا سنہ ۱۱۱۸ ہجری) ہندوستان آئے ۔ دربارِ شاہی میں رسائی ہوئی ۔ جوہر شناس بادشاہ نے خوب قدر افزائی کی اور شاہ نواز خاں صفوی کی دوسری بیٹی سے میرزا کی شادی کر کے اپنی ہم زلفی کا شرف بخشا ۔ اس کے بعد عظیم آباد پٹنہ کی دیوانی پر مامور فرمایا ۔ چند ہی روز میں وہاں کے ناظم بزرگ امیر خاں ، فرزند امیر الامرا شایستہ خاں ، سے میرزا کی شکر رنجی ہو گئی ۔ ایک طرف ناظم صاحب اپنی خاندانی عظمت پر نازاں تھے ، دوسری طرف میرزا صاحب کو اپنے فضل و کمال اور بادشاہ کی ہم زلفی پر غرّہ تھا ۔ اس کشاکش کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ انتظام میں خلل پیدا ہو گیا ۔ بادشاہ کو اطلاع ہوئی تو میرزا کو واپس بلا لیا ۔

انشا پردازِ اور شاعری میں بڑا بلند پایہ رکھتے تھے ۔ معقولات میں تو ” انا ولا غیر ” کا دم مارتے تھے ۔ چنانچہ اس شعر میں اپنی فصیلت کو جتایا ہے :-

من مرغِ خوش ترانہ باغِ فضیلت

طبع مرا بہ زمزمہ شاعری چہ کار *

مگر پھر بھی شاعری کرتے تھے اور واقعی خوب کہتے تھے ۔ اشعارِ ذیل سے اس کا اندازہ ہوگا :-

سدّ راہِ معصیت ہا شد پریشانی مرا

داشت عریانی نگہ ز آلوہ دامانی مرا *

عیبِ صاحبِ نظراں جوشِ تنکِ ظریفی ہاست

آبِ یاقوت چو زد موجِ رگِ یاقوت است *

چو سوزِ عشق را کامل کنی عیبت ہنر گردد

شود یاقوت ہر سنگی کہ لبریزِ شرر گردد *

بحر و کاں را نارسا افتادہ استعدادِ فیض

گوہرِ آبِ دیدہ و یاقوتِ خونِ دل نشد *

آبروي دودمانِ تاک ہم برباد وفت
دخترِ رز را عسس صد بار با مستان گرفت

ماؤ بلبل عرضِ چاکِ سینہ می کردیم دوش
ناز پروردِ گلستانِ زخمِ خارے ہم نداشت *

وصلِ یاران چون دہد رو اشکِ ریزی بد نما ست
گریہ شادی کم از بارانِ روزِ عید نیست *

ای ہما از سر ما خاک نشینان بگزر
سایہٴ بالِ تو بد نامیِ دولت دارد *

چساں از قیدِ این صیادِ آزادی ہوس باشد
کہ پروازِ بلندم قالبِ بامِ قفس باشد *

دانش سنہ ۱۰۷۶ ہجری میں اس جہانِ فانی سے چل بسے۔

فطرت

فطرت تخلص - میرزا معز الدین محمد نام - موسوی خاں
خطاب - قم وطن - سال ولادت سنہ ۱۰۵۰ ہجری - ”افضل اہل زمانہ“
تاریخ پیدائش - ۱۰۵۰ ہجری

حضرت امام علی موسوی رضا رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ کی اولاد سے
صحیح النسب سید ہیں۔ ذی علم خاندان سے تعلق رکھتے تھے،
چنانچہ ان کے نانا میر محمد زمان مشہد مقدس میں اپنے ہم عصر
علما کے سرگروہ مانے جاتے تھے۔

ابتدائی تعلیم وطن میں حاصل کی۔ عنفوانِ جوانی میں اپنے
والد سے کبیدہ خاطر ہو کر اصفہان چلے آئے اور وہاں آقا حسین خوانساری
کے تلامذہ میں شریک رہ کر تمام علوم معقول و منقول ان ہی سے
حاصل کئے۔

اثر ایک لاکھ روپے انعام مرحمت فرمائے۔
 پھر دارا شکوہ کی رفاقت چھوڑ کر بنگالے گئے اور اُن کے بھائی
 شاہزادہ شجاع کے مصاحب ہوئے۔

اُن کو بھی چھوڑ کر حیدرآباد کی راہ لی۔ اِس زمانے میں
 سلطان عبد اللہ قطب شاہ (سنہ ۱۰۳۵ تا سنہ ۱۰۷۳ ہجری) مالکِ تاج
 و تختِ حیدرآباد تھے۔ اُن کی سرکار میں بہت رسوخ پیدا کیا۔

سنہ ۱۰۶۰ ہجری میں دانش کے والد نے انتقال کیا اور میر کے
 دائرے میں دفن ہوئے۔ دانش کو اپنے باپ کے مرنے کا سخت صدمہ ہوا۔
 اِسی غم میں یہ رباعی کہی :-

دانش مکن اعتماد بر عمرِ دراز * کاید بہ زمانِ کم بسرِ عمرِ دراز
 گیرم کہ چو عیسیٰ بہ فلکِ بر شدہ * آید بچہ کار بے پدرِ عمرِ دراز
 قطب شاہ کی طرف سے سنہ ۱۰۷۲ ہجری میں نائبِ کر کے
 مشہدِ مقدس کی زیارت کے لئے بھیجے گئے۔ بادشاہ کی طرف سے لوازمِ
 زیارت ادا کر کے وہیں مقیم ہو گئے۔ قطب شاہ کے دربار سے وہیں انہیں
 پیشِ قرار مالی امداد ملتی رہی۔
 من اشعار :-

فصلِ گل است جوشِ بہارِ سخنِ مرا
 گلِ کرد ہمچو غنچہ زباںِ دردینِ مرا *

نہ شد کہ بوسہ بہ پایِ ہدفِ چو تیرِ دہم
 گذشتِ عمر بہ خمیازہٗ کہاںِ مارا *

شمعِ درِ آتشِ ز تابِ رویِ نور افشانِ کیست
 درمیانِ انجمنِ پروانہ سرگردانِ کیست *

کعبہ را دیدم دلم از دردِ تنہائیِ گداخت
 مجلسِ آراے کہ مارا خواند خودِ مہمانِ کیست *

بدِ بیضے وصل کو کہ فراق * گشتہ ثعبانِ آتشِ دمِ ما

صرف ای ہم نشیں مگو با ما * روز وصل از زبانِ ابکم ما

غمگساریِ مجبور ازو مؤمن * غمِ ما از کینا و مرهمِ ما

میر مؤمن نے عمر طویل پائی - سنہ ۱۰۲۴ ہجری میں سلطان محمد قطب شاہ (سنہ ۱۰۲۰ تا سنہ ۱۰۳۵ ہجری) کے زمانے میں بمقام حیدر آباد انتقال ہوا اور اپنے ہی دائرے (میر کا دائرہ) میں مدفون ہوئے - قبر پر بادشاہ کی طرف سے گنبد بنایا گیا، جو آب تک موجود ہے، اُن کے ایک شاگرد نے یہ تاریخِ رحلت کہی :-

تاریخِ رفتنِ طلبیدم ز عاملے

گفتا بہ جوز ”رفتنِ عیسیٰ بہ آسمان“ *

۱۰۳۴ ہجری

دانش

دانشِ تخلص - میررضی الدین نام - فرزندِ میر ابو تراب المتخلص

بہ فطرت - مشہدِ وطن - سالِ ولادت معلوم نہوسکا -

ابتدائی کتب اپنے والد سے اور انتہائی کتابیں مختلف اساتذہ سے پڑھیں - تحصیلِ علم کے بعد وطن سے حرمین شریفین کی زیارت کے لئے روانہ ہوئے اور حج و زیارت سے مشرف ہوکر اپنے والد کی خدمت میں ہندوستان آئے، جو پہلے ہی سے یہاں مقیم تھے -

دانشِ نہایت فصیح و بلیغ شاعر تھے - سنہ ۱۰۶۵ ہجری میں

شاہِ جہاں (سنہ ۱۰۳۷ تا سنہ ۱۰۷۷ ہجری) کی خدمت میں ایک قصیدۂ مدحیہ پیش کیا اور دو ہزار روپیہ انعام پایا - کچھ روز شہزادۂ دارا شکوہ، ولی عہدِ شاہِ جہاں کی مصاحبت میں رہے - شہزادۂ موصوف نے دانش کے اس شعر کو بہت پسند کیا :-

تاک را سر سبز دارای ابر نیساں در بہار

قطرہ تا مے می تواند شد چرا گوهر شود *

فارغ التحصیل ہونے کے بعد شاہ طہماسپ صفوی کے دربار میں بار پایا، اور شہزادہ حیدر سلطان کے استادن مقرر ہوئے۔ شہزادہ موصوف کے انتقال کے بعد معاصرین کے حسد سے تنگ آکر ایران کو خیرباد کہا اور حرمین شریفین (زاد ہما اللہ شرفاً و تعظیماً) کی زیارت کو روانہ ہوئے۔ حج و زیارت سے فارغ ہو کر ہندوستان کی طرف رخ کیا۔ محرم سنہ ۹۸۹ ہجری میں بعہد سلطان ابراہیم قطب شاہ (سنہ ۹۵۷ تا سنہ ۹۸۹ ہجری) حیدر آباد دکن میں پہنچے۔ یہاں دربار شاہی تک رسائی ہوئی اور منصب مقرر ہو گیا۔ اسی سال بادشاہ موصوف کا انتقال ہو گیا۔ اُن کا فرزند سلطان محمد قلی (سنہ ۹۸۹ تا سنہ ۱۰۲۰ ہجری) جانشین ہوا۔ اس بادشاہ نے مؤمن کو قلمدان وزارت سپرد کیا۔ میر مؤمن نے ملک کا ایسا اچھا انتظام کیا کہ رعایا آرام و اطمینان کے ساتھ زندگی بسر کرنے لگی۔ تھوڑے ہی دنوں میں وہ اپنی سیادت، تبّحر علم، زہد و تقویٰ، عدل و انصاف اور اخلاق حمیدہ سے ہر دل عزیز ہو گئے۔ ہزاروں علماء و فضلاء دکن میں ان کی سفارش سے عہدہ ہائے جلیلہ پر سرفراز ہوئے۔ میر کا دائرہ (جس کی تفصیل صفی کے ذکر میں ہو چکی ہے) ان کی نیکی اور فیاضی کی ایک مثال ہے۔

میر مؤمن کو جفر اور نجوم اور عملیات میں بھی مہارت تھی۔ شاعر بھی اچھے پایے کے تھے۔ ان کا دیوان اصنافِ سخن پر مشتمل ہے۔ کلام صاف و شستہ ہوتا تھا۔ نمونہ یہ ہے :-

شادمانی است بندۂ غم ما * عالم دیگر است عالم ما
حبذا عشق و رستخیز بلا * ای خوشا روزگارِ درہم ما
شکرِ درد تو چوں کنیم کہ ہست * داغِ بالائے داغِ مرہم ما
شاہِ اقلیم درد و غم مائیم * ملکِ ہجراں سوادِ اعظم ما
سایۂ عشق کم مباد کزو * سور شد داغِ دار ماتم ما
نمکِ آن دودیدۂ خوش نمک است * کم ز کوثرِ مگیرِ زمزم ما

دو ششینہ مہے بودی و امروز ہلالی
آزردنِ یکروزہ ما خوش اثرے داشت *

سنہ ۱۰۲۵ ہجری میں راہی ملک بقا ہوے - تاریخ وفات
”او سراہل سخن بود“ سے نکلتی ہے -
(۱۰۲۵ ہجری)

کوکبی

کوکبی تخلص - قباد بیگ نام - سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا -
شاه عباس بادشاہ ایران کے غلام تھے - ان کے علم و فضل کو دیکھکر
بادشاہ نے مدّتوں اپنے سے جدا نہونے دیا - آخر ایران سے دکن آئے -
قطب شاہ والی گولکنڈہ کے دربار میں قسمت نے باریاب کیا -
بادشاہ نے ازراہ قدر افزائی ان کے نام منصب جاری فرمایا - اپنی باقی
ساری عمر یہیں گزاری -
من اشعار :-

ہرچہ ہم رنگ بہ معشوق بود معشوق است
نقصِ عشق است کہ پروانہ بہ مہتاب نسوخت *

با کائنات کردم ازاں دوستی کہ یار
در ہر دلے کہ جلوہ کند در دل من است *

سنہ ۱۰۳۳ ہجری میں انتقال کیا - میر کے دائرے میں
مدفون ہوے -

مؤمن

مؤمن تخلص - میر مؤمن نام - سید شرف الدین سماکی کے
فرزند تھے - استر آباد وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا -
مشہور ساداتِ استر آباد سے تھے - اپنے ماموں سید فخر الدین
سماکی سے درسی کتابیں پڑھیں اور علومِ عقلی و نقلی حاصل کئے -

ظہوری وہ صاحبِ کمال تھا کہ اُس کے جوہر کو دیکھکر ملکِ قمی نے، جو ابراہیم عادل شاہ کے دربار کے ملک الشعراء تھے، اپنی دختر کو اُن سے منسوب کر دیا تھا۔ بقول ’خزانۃ عامرہ‘ یہ آفتابِ کمال سنہ ۱۰۲۵ ہجری میں دکن ہی میں غروب ہو گیا *

ملکِ قمی

اُن کا نام اور سال ولادت وغیرہ کچھ معلوم نہوسکے۔ ایران سے ہندوستان آئے اور سلاطینِ دکن خصوصاً ابراہیم عادل شاہِ ثانی کے دربار میں قسمت نے پہنچا دیا۔ اُن کی قسمت کا ستارہ اسی بادشاہ کی عنایتِ خاص سے چمکا۔ ملک الشعراء کا خطاب بھی اسی سرکار سے ملا۔ ملکِ قمی ملا ظہوری کے خُسر تھے۔ اُن دونوں نے ملکر ایک کتاب ’نورس‘ لکھی اور علی عادل شاہ کو نذر کی۔ اِس کتاب میں نو ہزار شعر ہیں۔ بادشاہ نے اِس کے صلے میں نو ہزار روپے انعام دیئے۔

ملکِ قمی بہت بڑے شاعر تھے۔ اُن کے بعض اشعار بطور نمونہ

یہ ہیں :-

دل و دیں بُردی و صد عریدہ برپا کردی
ہمچ کافر نکند آنچہ تو باما کردی *

او بہلاکِ من خوش و من بہ بقائے عمر او
قاعدۂ وفا نگر یار چنان و من چنیں *

ز خونِ خویش ابراں قطرہ می برم غیرت
کہ گاہِ قتل بدامانِ قاتل افتاد است *

خاریم و در بر ابرِ آتش نشستہ ایم
مارا اگر رسد مددے از صبارسد *

بیا ساقیا بگذر آن روز را
 بده آتشِ معذرت سوز را *

بیا ساقی ای باز خاطرشکار
 که خونی است چنگِ عقابِ خمار *

ز گلبن چمن گشته طاؤس دُم
 برون آر خونِ کبوتر زخم *

اسیرِ خمارم شرابِ کجاست
 دلم بر دلم سوخت آبِ کجاست *

بکس خنجرِ انتقام از غلاف
 سرت گردم ای ساقی سینه صاف *

بیا ای نمک پاشِ زخمِ جگر
 که بختم ز اشکم بود شور تر *

ببین تلخیِ عمرِ شیرین من

بده ساغرِ بگذر از کین من *

بیا ساقیا جان فدا می کنم
 تو دشنام ده من دعا می کنم *

زالِ تو تلخی که سرمی زند
 ره کاروانِ شکر می زند *

سرت گردم ای مطربِ خو برو
 که مرغوله گوئی و مرغوله مو *

شدم پایمالِ هجومِ ملال

بدستِ کرم گوشِ قانونِ بمال *

بیگ نغمه بنواز گوشِ مرا
 بپر مزد کالائِ هوشِ مرا *

نام پر ساقی نامہ لکھا۔ جس کے صلے میں بادشاہ نے کئی ہاتھی، جن پر نقد و جنس بار تھا، ظہوری کو عطا فرمائے۔ کہتے ہیں کہ جس وقت یہ عطیہ سلطانی پہنچا تو ملا ایک قہوہ خانے میں بیٹھے ہوئے ملے۔ لانے والوں نے رسید مانگی۔ ظہوری نے پرزہ کاغذ پر یہ الفاظ لکھ کر حوالے کر دیئے:—

”تسلیم کردند - تسلیم کردم۔“

ہر چند کہ ظہوری کی نظم و نثر مشہور و مطبوع ہے، مگر ہم ان کے چند اشعار دیوان سے انتخاب کر کے ذیل میں لکھتے ہیں:—

چشم را پردہ خود کردہ بدیدن رفتم
پنبہ در گوش نہادہ بہ شنیدن رفتم *

از دم تیغی مگر تن بہ تپیدن دہم
سرمہ حیرت کشم، دیدہ بدیدن دہم *

بند نقابے کشم تیغ و تریج آورم
یوسف و یعقوب را کف بہ بریدن دہم *

ذوق حسنش بر تماشای گل خسار داشت
گر نمی بُردند زود آئینہ با خود کار داشت *

بجگر تشنگی خضر دلم می سوزد
کہ سر چشمہ تیغی دم آبے نکشید *

از ساقی نامہ

بیا ساقی لے خرمن گل بیا
تو گل من خزاں دیدہ بلبل بیا *
بہ رویم درخندہ بستن چرا
تبسم بلب در شکستن چرا *

میں پہنچ کر ایک طویل قصیدہ پیش کیا۔ اس کے صلے میں بادشاہ نے خلعتِ خاص اور زمرد کی بیش بہا انگوتھی عطا فرمائی۔

من اشعار :-

مرا کجاست پر و بالِ قربِ شعلہ حسن
ہمیں بس است کہ پروانہ ام سپند ترا *
ہمیں ترانہ حسرت ز تار می آید
کہ بزم بے می رنگیں چہ کار می آید *
اگرچہ کار تو غیر از جفا نمی باشد
وظیفہ دلِ ماجر دعا نمی باشد *
ما خود ز آرزو بشہادت رسیده ایم
خوابِ صواب نیست کہ فکریّت کنند *
بہ پیرِ گم شدہ فرزند گو کہ گفت ترا
کہ اعتماد بہمراہی برادر کن *

ظہوری

ظہوری تخلص - ملا محمد طاہر نام - نور الدین لقب - توشیز واقع
ملک ایران مولد و منشأ - سال تولد معلوم نہر سکا -

مفلوک الحال والدین کے فرزند تھے - کچھ پیت کی مجبوری، کچھ
آب ودانہ کی کشش نے بیجاپور پہنچایا - حکیم الحکماء مرزا محمد یوسف
کے مہمان ہوئے اور ان ہی کی وساطت سے ابراہیم عادل شاہ تک
رسائی ہوئی *

نثر میں 'مینا بازار' اور 'سہ نثر ظہوری' ان دونوں کی شہرہ آفاق
تصانیف ہیں - آخر الاسم کتاب بادشاہ کی تعریف میں ہے - زیر دست
فاضل اور اعلیٰ پایہ کے نثر و ناظم تھے - فنِ شعر میں ملا یزدی کے شاگرد
تھے - برہان نظام شاہ (سنہ ۱۹۸ تا سنہ ۱۰۰۳ ہجری) والی احمد نگر کے

ہم وزن نکلیں - جو ان کو عطا فرمادی گئیں - سعید اے گیلانی نے 'شاعر
سنجدیدہ شاہی' اسی واقعے کی تاریخ کہی -
۱۰۱۱ ہجری

من اشعار :-

در دل من درد افزودی و میگوئی منال
آتشے در جانم افگندی و می گوئی مسوز *
خاک کوی تو ز سیلِ مژہ پر نم کردیم
تا غبارے بتو از رے گزرِ مانرسد *
در بلای عاشقی دل یاری من می کند
جان فدای او کہ جانب داری من می کند *
می نمایم شاد خود را گرچہ می میرم ز جور
تا نیاید رحم در خاطر جفا کار مرا *
بہرِ شوخ کو نداند دوستی در اصل چیست
خلق را با خود حیاتی از چہ دشمن کردہ *
بے لعل تو گر خون رود از چشمِ ترِ من
شادم کہ نیاید دگرے در نظرِ من *

حیاتی کی تاریخ انتقال یا مدفن معلوم نہیں - یہ ظاہر ہے کہ
سنہ ۱۰۱۹ ہجری تک زندہ تھے - کیونکہ اسی سال وہ چاندی
سونے میں تولے گئے تھے - اسی لئے ہم نے ان کا حال فرح (المقوفی)
سنہ ۱۰۱۰ ہجری) کے بعد لکھا ہے -

سنجد

سنجدِ تخلص - مرزا سنجد نام - فرزندِ میر حیدر معنائی - کاشان
وطن - سال ولادت معلوم نہیں - شاعرِ فصیح و بلیغ تھے - پہلے
اکبر اور امراء اکبری کے مداح رہے - پھر ابراہیم عادل شاہ کی خدمت

این جام نہادہ اند بر طاقِ بلند

پا بر سرِ خویش نہ کہ دستت برسد *

۶۹ سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۰۱۶ ہجری میں وفات پائی

’خدا شناس‘ سے سالِ رحلت نکلتا ہے۔

۱۰۱۶ھ

حیاتی

حیاتی تخلص - مرزا حیاتی نام - کاشان وطن - سالِ پیدائش معلوم نہوسکا - ابتدا میں سقائی تخلص کرتے تھے اور الحاد و زندقہ مشرب تھا - ایک زمانہ دراز تک ملاحدہ کے ہم نوالہ و ہم پیالہ رہے - ایک مرتبہ اہل کاشان نے تنگ آکر اس فرقے کے ایک گروہ کو شاہِ طہماسپ صفوی کے حضور میں پیش کیا - ان ہی میں سقائی (حیاتی) بھی تھے - بادشاہ نے سب کو قید کرنے کا حکم دیا - سقائی بھی قید ہوئے - دو سال کے بعد رہا ہوکر شیراز گئے اور وہاں دو سال مقیم رہے - سنہ ۹۸۶ ہجری میں اپنے وطن کاشان کی طرف مراجعت کی - وہاں ہدایت دستگیر ہوی، توبہ کر کے دینِ نبوی کی پیروی اختیار کی - کچھ روز کے بعد سیاحتاً دکن آئے اور احمد نگر میں نظام شاہ بھری کے ملازم ہو گئے -

شہنشاہِ جہانگیر (سنہ ۱۰۱۴ تا سنہ ۱۰۳۶ ہجری) نے اپنے کسی

مقرب سے حیاتی کی تعریف سنی، اُن کو بلواکر مراجع خسروانہ سے سرفراز فرمایا - سنہ ۱۰۱۹ ہجری میں مثنوی تغلق نامہ مصنفہ حضرت امیر خسرو، بادشاہ کی نظر سے گزری اور بہت پسند آئی، مگر اس کا ایک حصہ گم ہو چکا تھا - بادشاہ نے تمام شعراے دربار کو حکم دیا کہ اس کو مکمل کریں - سب کی تحریریں پیش ہوئیں تو حیاتی کی نظم پسندِ خاطر اقدس ہوئی - حکم دیا کہ حیاتی کو چاندی سونے میں تولا جائے - چھ تھیلیاں اشرفی اور روپیوں سے بھری ہوئی حیاتی کی

فانی

فانی تخلص - خواجہ احمد نام - دہدار علاقہ شیراز وطن - صحیح سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا - کہا جاتا ہے کہ انہوں نے سنہ ۱۰۱۶ ہجری میں بعمر ۶۹ سال رحلت کی - اس حساب سے سنہ ۹۴۷ ہجری میں پیدا ہوئے ہونگے -

حصولِ علم کے بعد ہی فائزِ دکن ہوئے - علی عادل شاہ (سنہ ۹۶۵ تا سنہ ۹۸۸ ہجری) والی بیجاپور کے ملازمین میں داخل ہوئے اور رفتہ رفتہ بادشاہ کے مقرب اور مصاحب خاص ہو گئے - اپنے استاد شاہ فتم اللہ کی تعریف کر کے بادشاہ کو اُن کی ملاقات کا شوق دلایا - چنانچہ ایک گراں قدر رقم بھیج کر شاہ صاحبِ موصوف دکن طلب کئے گئے - مصنف تاریخ بیجاپور نے اندازہ لگایا ہے کہ ان کے آنے میں چالیس ہزارہوں صرف ہوئے - آخر علی عادل شاہ کی رحلت کے بعد شاہ فتم اللہ کو شہنشاہ اکبر نے اپنے پاس بلالیا -

فانی بڑے عالم و فاضل صوفی مشرب تھے - علومِ عقلی و نقلی میں ماہر تھے - انہوں نے بیجاپور کو چھوڑا اور احمد نگر جاکر برہان نظام شاہ ثانی (سنہ ۹۹۸ تا سنہ ۱۰۰۳ ہجری) کے ناظرِ سلطنت ہو گئے - بقیۃ العمر یہیں بسر کی - آخری عمر میں گوشہ نشین ہو گئے تھے -

’نفحات الانس‘ پر حواشی اور شرح لکھی - ’گلشن راز‘ ان ہی کی تصنیف بتائی جاتی ہے - مگر اس کے مصنف کے متعلق اختلاف ہے - تاریخ فرشتہ میں شاہ طاہر کو ’تذکرۃ نقائے الافکار میں شیخ محمود شبستری کو اور تذکرۃ محبوب الزمن میں فانی کو اس کا مصنف بتایا گیا ہے -

فانی صاحب دیوان تھے - ان کے کلام کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

یک جرعہ کہ از حریفِ مستت برسد

پس چاشنیِ دمِ الستت برسد *

تا چشمِ نیمِ مستِ ترا دید روزگار
 خاکِ سیہ بہ کاسۂ چشمِ غزالہ کرد *
 شبِ گزاری بہ دلِ بے خور و خوابم کردی
 آنقدر گرم بکشتی کہ کبابم کردی

سنہ ۱۰۱۳ ہجری میں بمقامِ گولکنڈہ انتقال کیا - مؤلف
 محبوب الزمن نے لکھا ہے کہ وحشی سلطان عبد اللہ قطب شاہ کے
 زمانے میں دکن پہنچے اور سنہ ۱۰۱۳ ہجری میں وفات پائی - لیکن
 سلطانِ مذکور سنہ ۱۰۳۵ ہجری میں تخت پر بیٹھے تھے - معلوم
 ہوتا ہے کہ وحشی سلطان عبد اللہ کے پیشرو کے عہد میں دکن آئے ہونگے
 یا سنہ ۱۰۱۳ ہجری کے بعد انہوں نے انتقال کیا -

ارسلان

ارسلان تخلص - قاسم نام - مشہد وطن - والد کا نام اور سال
 ولادت معلوم نہو سکا -

شہنشاہِ ہند اکبر (سنہ ۹۶۲ تا سنہ ۱۰۱۲ ہجری) کے عہدِ
 دولت میں وطن سے ہندوستان پہنچے، چند روز ملازمینِ شاہی کے
 زمرے میں رہے - پھر احمد آباد گجرات گئے - کچھ روز وہاں مقیم رہکر
 دکن کی طرف رخ کیا - پہلے احمد نگر گئے، وہاں سے بیجاپور، پھر
 گولکنڈہ گئے اور وہاں سے احمد نگر کو مراجعت کی - ہر ملک کے
 فرمان رواؤں نے بڑی قدر افزائی کی اور انعام و اکرام سے مالا مال کر دیا -

صحیح النسب سید تھے - علم و فن میں یکتا اور شاعر
 بے نظیر تھے - تاریخ گوئی اور خطاطی میں خاص شہرت رکھتے تھے -

من اشعار :-

آہِ دلم گر اثرے داشتے * شامِ امیدم سحرے داشتے
 گردِ سرت گشتے و کردے طواف * کعبہ اگر بال و پرے داشتے
 سنہ ۱۰۱۵ ہجری میں سفرِ آخرت پیدش آیا اور وہیں مدفون ہوئے -

مغاں کہ دانہ انگور آب می سازند
 ستاره می شکند آفتاب می سازند *
 ذرّہ از بالا روی خورشید تاباں کے شود
 مور گر بر تخت بنشیند سلیمان کے شود *
 سنہ ۱۰۱۰ ہجری میں اس جہان فانی سے رحلت کی - مدفن
 معلوم نہیں -

وحشی

وحشی تخلص - کاشان وطن - نام اور سال ولادت معلوم نہوسکا -
 وطن چھوڑ کر ہندوستان کا رخ کیا - مختلف شہروں کی سیاحت
 کرتے ہوئے سلطان عبد اللہ قطب شاہ (سنہ ۱۰۳۵ تا سنہ ۱۰۸۳ ہجری)
 کے عہد میں گولکنڈہ پہنچے - بادشاہ نے ان کی اچھی قدر کی -
 وحشی نے انہیں کے سایہ عاطفت میں زندگی بسر کی -
 عالم و فاضل اور نامور شاعر تھے - فن شعر میں مولانا محترم
 کاشی سے تلمذ تھا - سنہ ۹۹۹ ہجری میں شیراز میں تھے اور وہیں ان کی
 غزل گوئی کی شہرت ہو چکی تھی - عمر بھر سوائے غزل کے کچھ نہیں
 کہا - کلام میں رنگینی اور شیرینی تھی -
 من اشعار :-

ندارد آسماں ہم در خور امید من کلمے
 ازاں ہرگز ندیدم بر مرادِ خویش دوراں را *
 گر سرشکِ آتشیں ریزد دل من دور نیست
 شعلہ نقواند نگہ دارد شرارِ خویش را *
 از شوقِ سوختن دل من در ہوا گرفت
 باغے کہ چرخ نام زد و جانِ لالہ کرد *
 گشتم چنان ضعیف کہ در گلشنِ وصال
 ہر دم مرا نسیم بسوی دگر برد *

منشیِ دورانِ غیب از پیِ تاریخِ آن

بر سرِ دوراں نوشت شاہِ جہاں شد شہید *

سنہ ۹۸۸ ہجری

اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ رضائی سنہ ۹۸۸ ہجری تک زندہ تھے۔
اس کے آگے نہ ان کے حالات نہ ان کے انتقال کی تاریخ اور مدفن کا پتہ
چلتا ہے۔

فرح

فرح تخلص - فرح اللہ نام - شوستروطن - سال ولادت معلوم
نہو سکا۔

محمد قلی قطب شاہ فرمانرواے حیدر آباد دکن کے زمانے میں حیدر آباد
آئے۔ اگرچہ صاحب تذکرۂ محبوب الزمن نے اُن کا حیدر آباد آنا سلطان
عبد اللہ قطب شاہ کے زمانے میں لکھا ہے، لیکن سلطان مذکور سنہ ۱۰۳۵ھ
میں تخت نشین ہوا ہے اور فرح نے سنہ ۱۰۱۰ ہجری میں وفات پائی۔
اس لئے فرح غالباً محمد قلی قطب شاہ کے زمانے میں آئے ہونگے،
جس نے سنہ ۹۸۹ سے سنہ ۱۰۲۰ ہجری تک حکمرانی کی تھی۔ ہم نے
اسی سال اور اسی بادشاہ کے عہد کو صحیح تسلیم کیا ہے۔ بہر حال
بادشاہ کی توجہ نے انہیں دولت و ثروت سے مالا مال کر دیا *

بلند پایہ اور شیریں زباں شاعر تھے۔ عربی میں بھی شعر کہتے تھے۔
مرزا صائب نے اپنی ایک غزل کے مقطع میں ان کی نسبت یہ خیال
ظاہر کیا ہے :-

ہمیں زخاک فرح کامراں نشد صائب

کہ فیض ہم بظہوری ازیں جناب رسید *

چار ہزار شعر کا ایک دیوان چھوڑا، جس کے چند اشعار یہ ہیں :-

در ہوائے بادۂ گلرنگ بے تا بیم ما

سالہا شد کز ہوا دارانِ این آ بیم ما *

از رہِ ببانگ ہرزہ درایاں نمی روم

کے میدہد فریب صدائے جرس مرا *

چشم و دھنت آیہ و وقف ابرو مد

مژگانِ اعراب و خال و خطِ حرف و نقط *

سنہ ۱۷۱۴ ہجری میں اس جہانِ فانی سے کوچ کیا - بمقام حیدر آباد
میر مؤمن کے دائرے * میں مدفون ہوے -

رضائی

رضائی تخلص - ملا محمد نام - مشہد وطن - سال ولادت کا
بتہ نہ چلا -

ابوالمظفر علی عادل شاہ (سنہ ۱۵۶ تا سنہ ۱۸۸ ہجری)
فرمانروائے بیجاپور کے عہد کے شاعر تھے - اس سے زیادہ ان کے کچھ اور
حالات معلوم نہوسکے -

سنہ ۱۸۸ ہجری میں جب ایک خواجہ سرانے بادشاہ کو شہید
کیا تو رضائی نے قطعہ تاریخ کہا - یہی ان کا نمونہ کلام ہے :-

آہ کہ دستِ اجل در چمنِ عدل و داد

نخلِ فتوت بکند شاخِ مروّت درید *

بر فلکِ خسروی گشت ازیں ماجرا

مہرِ کرمِ مخفّی ' ماہِ سخنانا پدید *

خسرو عادل لقب ' شاہِ علی نام آنکہ

ظلم بدورانِ او کس نشنید و ندید *

وقتِ وداع جہاں تا نہ رود تلخ کام

از کفِ ساقی دہر شہدِ شہادت چشید *

* میر مومن نے جن کا حال آگے آتا ہے ، چند بیگہ زمین افتادہ حیدر آباد میں خرید کر
اسکو صاف اور ہموار کرایا - پھر لاکھوں روپیہ خرچ کر کے کربالے معلیٰ کی خاک چند جہازوں
میں بار کر کے منگوائی اور اس میدان کو قد آدم کھدوا کر مٹی نکلوا دی اور اس میں
یہ خاک پاک بھروا کر اس قطعے کا نام ”میر کا دائرہ“ رکھا اور اس کو شیعہ و ہنی کے
دفن کے لئے وقف کر دیا - اس دائرے کا ذکر آئندہ اکثر آئیگا -

رباعیات

ماٹیم کہ ہرگز دم بے غم نہ زدیم
 خوردیم بسے خونِ دل و دم نزدیم *
 بے شعلہ آہ لب زہم فکشودیم
 بے قطرہ اشک چشم برہم نہ زدیم *

گر کسبِ کمال می کنی می گزرد
 و فکرِ محال می کنی می گزرد *
 دنیا ہمہ سر بسر خیال است محال
 ہر نوع خیال می کنی می گزرد *

شاہ طاہر نے سنہ ۱۵۱ ہجری میں انتقال کیا۔ پہلے لاش امانہ
 احمد نگر میں دفن کی گئی۔ چند ماہ کے بعد ہڈیاں کربلائے معلیٰ کو
 بھیج دی گئیں اور وہاں مشہدِ سیدنا حضرت حسین رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ
 کے قریب دفن کر دی گئیں۔

صفي

صفي تخلص - شيخ محمد نام - شيراز مولد - سالِ ولادت
 معلوم نہوسکا - صاحب علم و فن اور شاعر شيرين سخن تھے -
 خوش خلقي اور بذلہ سنجي ميں بہت مشہور تھے - علمِ رياضي ميں
 خاص مہارت تھی -

سلطان محمد قلي قطب شاہ والي گولکنڈہ (سنہ ۹۸۱ تا سنہ ۱۰۳۰ ھ)
 کے عہد ميں دکن پہنچ کر شاہي ملازمين کے زمرے ميں منسلک ہوئے -
 دفتر محاسبی ميں مير منشي کے عہدے پر تقرر ہوا -
 چند اشعار ملاحظہ ہوں :-

رخسارِ تو مصحفِ است بے سہو و غلط
 کش کلکِ قضا نوشت از مشکِ فقط *

شاہِ طاہر کو خفیہ طور پر اس کا علم ہوا تو اپنے اہل و عیال کے ساتھ چھپ کر ہندوستان روانہ ہو گئے۔ کچھ روز بیجاپور میں قیام کیا۔ پھر حرمین شریفین (زاد ہمالہ شرفاً) اور دیگر مقامات مقدسہ اور عتبات عالیات کی زیارتوں سے مشرف ہو کر ہندوستان واپس آئے۔ جب مقام پریندہ میں پہنچے تو خواجہ جہاں دکنی نے جو امرائے بہمنیہ سے تھے، شاہِ طاہر کی بڑی خاطر داری کی اور اپنے یہاں مہمان رکھا۔ آخر سنہ ۹۳۸ ہجری میں برہان نظام شاہ اول فرمانروائے احمد نگر (سنہ ۹۱۴ تا سنہ ۹۶۱ ہجری) کی طلب پر احمد نگر گئے۔ بادشاہ ان سے تواضع کے ساتھ پیش آیا اور بہت قدر افزائی فرمائی۔ برہان نظام شاہ سنی المذہب تھا۔ شاہِ طاہر کی ترغیب سے مذہب امامیہ اختیار کیا۔ شاہِ طاہر علم و عمل زہد و تقویٰ اور اخلاق حمیدہ سے متصف تھے، بہت سی کتابیں ان کی تصنیف سے ہیں۔ مصنف تاریخ فرشتہ مثنوی گلشن راز کو جو تصوف میں ہے، انہیں کی تصنیف بتاتا ہے۔ لیکن تذکرۃ نتائج الانکار، شیخ محمود کو اس کا مصنف کہتا ہے۔

شاہِ طاہر بڑے پایے کے شاعر تھے۔ عربی اور فارسی دونوں میں شعر کہتے تھے۔ ان کا کلائیات نظم قصائد و غزلیات و رباعیات کا مجموعہ ہے۔ فارسی کلام کا یہ نمونہ ہے :-

جلوۂ زلف شاہدے بُرد دلِ رمیدہ را
 پیے بہ کجا برد کسی مرغ بہ شب پریدہ را *
 وہ چہ شود اگر شبے بر لب من نہی لبے
 تا بہ لب تو بسپرم جانِ بلب رسیدہ را *
 در غم او لذتِ عشق از دلِ ناشاد رفت
 خو بغم کردیم چندانے کہ عیش از یاد رفت *
 بیرون میا کہ شہرۂ ایام می شوی
 ما کشتہ می شدیم تو بدنام می شوی *

شہیدی نے ایک دیوان کئی ہزار شعر کا چھوڑا ہے - نمونہ کلام
ذیل میں درج ہے :-

از سرِ کویت شہیدی را مراں ، خوش مریر
دوست را بگذار تا شرمندہ دشمن شود *
چو ابر من بہوے تو از جہاں رفتم
گلے نچیدم و گریاں ز گلستان رفتم *
رقیب از آتشِ ہجرش من مہجور می سوزم
نمی سوزی تو از نزدیک و من از دور می سوزم *

بہ بے درداں نشینی کے فقد ہر مانگہ از دور
نہ قدرِ حسن می دانی نہ دردِ عشق آہ از تو *

قریب ایک سو سال کی عمر پا کر سنہ ۱۳۶ ہجری میں انتقال کیا
اور بیجاپور ہی میں سپرد خاک ہوئے -

شاہ طاہر الحسینی

طاہر تخلص - طاہر الحسینی نام - شاہ لقب - موضع خوند وطن -
سال ولادت کا پتہ نہ چلا -

ساداتِ خوند میں سے تھے - خوند ایک موضع ہے ، جو گیلان کی
سرحد پر قزوین کے علاقے میں واقع ہے - علوم ظاہری و باطنی سے آراستہ
تھے - اپنے باپ کے بعد سجادہ نشین ہوئے - شاہ اسماعیل صفوی
بادشاہ ایران کے عہد میں پہلے کاشان میں مدرسہ کی خدمت پر
مامور ہوئے -

چونکہ ان کے معتقدین بہت کثرت سے تھے ، اس لئے بعض لوگ
ان سے حسد کرنے لگے - اور شکایتوں کے علاوہ یہ بات بھی بادشاہ کے گوش
گذار کی گئی کہ شاہ طاہر بد مذہب ہیں ، اس پر بادشاہ نے ان کے قتل کا
حکم صادر کر دیا -

شہیدی

شہیدی تخلص - مرزا شہید نام - سال ولادت کا پتہ نہ چلا -
عالمِ مقبّر اور شاعرِ گرامی پایہ تھے - کسی شاعر کو اپنا ہمسر نہیں
سمجھتے تھے - سلطان یعقوب فرماں رواے تبریز کے مقرب اور صاحب
تھے - بادشاہ کی طرف سے خطاب ملک الشعرائی سے سرفراز ہوئے - معاصرین
ان کے جاہ و جلال کو دیکھ کر حسد رکھتے تھے - مگر بادشاہ کی نظر
لطف و کرم کی وجہ سے نقصان نہیں پہنچا سکتے تھے - جب ان کے
مرتبے بادشاہ کا انتقال ہو گیا تو انہیں بھی تبریز کا قیام دشوار ہو گیا -
مجبوراً سفر اختیار کیا - وطن سے نکل کر گجرات پہنچے - وہاں بھی
دال گنتی نہ دیکھی تو سلطان اسمعیل عادل شاہ (سنہ ۹۱۶ تا سنہ ۹۴۱ ھ)
کے عہدِ حکومت میں بیجاپور کا رخ کیا - چونکہ بادشاہ خود شاعر اور
اہلِ علم کا خواہاں تھا، اس لئے یہ بادشاہ کے مقرب ہو گئے اور بڑی
قدر ہوئی -

قلعہ احمد آباد بیدر فتح ہوا تو بادشاہ نے زرو جواہر سمیت تمام
چیزیں جو کروڑوں روپے کی مالیت کی تھیں مقربینِ دربار اور
مستحقین کو تقسیم کر دیں - شہیدی سے بھی کہا کہ ”خزانے میں جا کر
جس قدر مال اُٹھا سکتے ہو لے لو“ انہوں نے عرض کیا کہ ”جب میں
گجرات سے یہاں آیا تو خوب قوی تھا، اب ضعیف ہو گیا ہوں
طاقت برداشت زیادہ نہیں - کچھ روز مہلت ملی تو مجھ میں
طاقت آجائیگی، جب حکم کی تعمیل کرونگا“ - بادشاہ نے
مسکرا کر فرمایا:-

کہ آفتِ ہاست در تاخیر و طالبِ رازیاں دارد

اور یہ اجازت دی کہ اچھا ایک مرتبہ نہیں دو دفعہ خزانے سے
جتنا اُٹھا سکو اُٹھا لو - شہیدی نے حکم کی تعمیل کی اور دو دفعہ
میں تقریباً پچیس ہزار ہون طلائی لے آئے - خازن نے بادشاہ کو اس کی
اطلاع دی تو بادشاہ نے ہنس کر فرمایا کہ ”شہیدی سچ کہتے تھے کہ
اُن کی قوت بہت کم ہو گئی ہے“ -

کرتے رہے۔ وہ اس زمانہ عروج میں بھی اپنی غریبی نہیں بھولے اور ساوہ میں بیس ہزار روپیہ بھیج کر ایک مسجد بنوائی جو ”مسجدِ غریباں“ کے نام سے مشہور ہوئی۔ یوسف عادل شاہ نہایت حسین شخص تھا۔ بڑھاپے میں بھی اس کو دیکھنے کے لئے دور دور سے لوگ بیجاپور آیا کرتے تھے۔ بڑا عالم و فاضل اور عالموں کا قدرداں تھا۔ علم عروض و قافیہ اور موسیقی میں کمال حاصل تھا۔ خطاط بھی بہت اچھا تھا۔ جوانمردی و عدل و انصاف میں دور و نزدیک مشہور تھا۔ خود سنی المذہب تھا۔ مگر اتنا غیر متعصب کہ مذہب شیعہ کو اپنی سلطنت میں رواج دیا۔ شاعر تھا اور شاعر نواز۔ اُس کے اشعار کا نمونہ یہ ہے :-

تا بارِ غم عشق کشد قافلہ * گلہا شکفت ہر طرف از مرحلہ
با آنکہ بجاں با تو نکردیم بخیلی * پیش دگراں بہرچہ کردی گلہ
ما مسئلہ فقہ ندانیم چہ یوسف * آساں شدہ از عشق بقاں مسئلہ

گوارسی بہ دردِ دلِ ناتوانِ من
کے می رسد بمرگِ کساں رشکِ جانِ من *
با آنکہ صدر ہم بجفا آزمودہ
تبیغ کشیدہ زبئے امتحانِ من *
ای گلِ رسیدہ است بگوشِ توقصہ ام
بلبلِ نخواند وقتِ سحرِ داستانِ من *
گویا کہ بلبلانِ چمنِ نقلِ کردہ اند
حرفِ زبے وفائیِ گلِ از زبانِ من *
یوسف بہ زاریِ دلِ من گوشِ کس نکرد
کو بختِ آن کہ گوشِ کند داستانِ من *

اکیس برس تک بڑے اقبال و کامرانی سے سلطنت کی۔ آخر سنہ ۹۱۶ ہجری میں پیغامِ اجل آپہنچا۔ ۷۵ سال کی عمر میں داعیِ اجل کو لبیک کہا۔ تاریخِ وفات یہ ہے :-

بگفتا۔ نمادہ شہنشاہِ عادل
سنہ ۹۱۶ ہجری

کھیل کہ ایک بے گناہ تو قتل ہو گیا اور یوسف کو ایک سلطنت کا حکم راں بنانے کے لئے بچا لیا گیا۔ خواجہ عماد الدین یوسف کو اپنے قافلے میں لیکر بغداد شریف روانہ ہوا۔ وہاں سے اپنے وطن ساوہ میں پہنچا اور یوسف کی پرورش اپنے بیٹے کے ساتھ کرنے لگا اور اُس کی خوب تعلیم و تربیت کی۔

رفتہ رفتہ یہ راز طشت ازبام ہو گیا کہ یوسف زندہ ہے۔ اتفاقاً اسی زمانے میں یوسف اور حاکم ساوہ کے متعلقین میں سے ایک سے کچھ جھگڑا ہو گیا۔ یوسف کو اپنی جان کا خطرہ ہوا تو وہ ساوہ کو چھوڑ کر سیر و سیاحت کے لئے نکل گئے۔ کچھ دنوں کے بعد ساوہ واپس جانے کا قصد کیا۔ ایک رات خواب میں حضرت خضر (علی نبینا و علیہ السلام) نے اُن کو دولت و عظمت کی بشارت دی اور ہندوستان کی طرف جانے کی ہدایت کی۔ اُس کے موافق وہ عازم ہند ہوئے اور اپنے محسن خواجہ عماد الدین کی معیت میں احمد آباد بیدر پہنچے۔

خواجہ عماد الدین اور خواجہ محمود گواں ایک مدت کے دوست تھے۔ یوسف کے اصرار پر خواجہ محمود گواں کی وساطت سے نظام شاہ بہمنی (سنہ ۸۶۵ ہجری تا سنہ ۸۶۷ ہجری) کے ہاتھ ان کو فروخت کر دیا۔ خواجہ محمود گواں نے اُن کے صفات سن کر اور صورت شکل دیکھ کر اُن کو اپنا مُتنبیٰ بنالیا اور خواجہ کی توجہ سے یوسف ایک قلیل عرصے میں ترقی کے بڑے مدارج طی کر کے چند ہی روز میں امرائے ہزاری کے رتبے پر پہنچ گئے۔

یوسف پر سلاطین بہمنیہ کی فوج جان دیتی تھی اور اُنکے اخلاق نے اکثر مغل اور ترک امرا کو اُن کا گرویدہ کر رکھا تھا۔ سلطان محمد شاہ بہمنی (سنہ ۷۶۷ ہجری تا سنہ ۷۸۷ ہجری) نے انتقال کیا تو سب نے بالاتفاق یوسف کو منصبِ شہابی کے لئے انتخاب کیا۔ چنانچہ انہیں کے سر پر تاج رکھا گیا اور وہ بہ خطابِ عادل شاہ تختِ دکن پر جلوہ گر ہوئے۔ یہی خاندانِ عادل شاہی کے بانی ہوئے۔ انہوں نے سنہ ۸۱۵ھ میں بیجاپور کو اپنا دارالسلطنت بنایا اور سنہ ۹۱۶ ہجری تک حکمرانی

موجود تھا۔ وہ آگے بڑھا تو خواجہ دوزانو ہو کر قبلہ رو ہو بیٹھے اور کلمہ طیبہ پڑھنے لگے۔ جب تلوار کی ضرب پڑی تو خواجہ نے کہا ”الحمد لله علي الشهادة“ اور جاں آفریں کو جان دیدی۔

شہادت کے وقت خواجہ کا سن اٹھتر برس کا تھا۔ یہ واقعہ ہائلہ ۵ صفر سنہ ۸۸۶ ہجری کو ہوا۔ ملا عبد الکریم ہمدانی صاحب محمود شاہی نے جو خواجہ کے شاگرد تھے، یہ قطعہ تاریخ شہادت کہا:-
شہید بے گنہ مخدوم مطلق

کہ عالم را ز جودش بود رونق *

اگر خواہی تو تاریخ وفاتش

فرو خواں قصہ قتلِ بناحق *

سنہ ۸۸۶ ہجری

ایک اور تاریخ یہ ہے:-

سالِ فوتش گر کسے پرسد بگو

بے گنہ محمود گاواں شد شہید *

سنہ ۸۸۶ ہجری

یوسف

یوسف تخلص - یوسف عادل خاں نام - ابو ظفر لقب - فرزند

سلطان مراد - وطن ملک روم - سالِ ولادت سنہ ۸۴۱ ہجری -

سنہ ۸۵۴ ہجری میں ان کے والد نے رحلت کی اور ان کے بڑے بھائی

سلطان محمد سریر آراء ملک روم ہوئے تو ارکانِ دولت کی تحریک سے

تمام خاندان کے افراد کے قتل کا حکم دیا جس میں یوسف بھی شامل

تھے۔ سلطان محمد کی والدہ کو اپنے چھوٹے بیٹے یوسف بہت

عزیز تھے۔ انہوں نے ان کی جان بچانے کی یہ تدبیر کی کہ خواجہ

عماد الدین محمود گرجستانی، تاجر ساوہ سے ساز باز کر کے یوسف کو

اُس کے غلاموں میں داخل کر دیا اور اُس سے چند غلام خرید کر

ان میں سے ایک کو جو یوسف سے مشابہ تھا قتل کرا دیا۔ قدرتِ الہی کے

دکن فتح ہوسکتا ہے۔ تم فوج لیکر یہاں پہنچو۔ میں بھی تمہاری مدد کرونگا اور اکثر امرا سے مدد دلاؤنگا کیونکہ وہ میرے تابع فرماں ہیں۔ بادشاہ کو اس کے کیفر کردار کو پہنچا کر ہم دونوں آپس میں علی السوئے ملک کو تقسیم کر لینگے۔“ ظریف الملک دکنی اور مفتاح حبشی نے ملک حسن نظام الملک بحری کے سامنے یہ تحریر بادشاہ کو دکھائی۔ بادشاہ نے خواجہ کی مہر پہچان کر فوراً خواجہ کو طلب کیا۔ خواجہ نے یہ شعر جو اُس زمانے میں وردِ زباں رہتا تھا پڑھا:

چوں شہیدِ عشق در دنیا و عقیلِ سرخرو است

خوش دمی باشد کہ مارا کشتہ زین میدان برند *

اور کہا کہ جو ڈاڑھی ہمایوں شاہ کی خدمت میں سفید ہوئی ہے اگر اُس کے بیٹے کے ہاتھ سے سرخ ہو تو سرخروئی کا باعث ہوگا۔ قسمت کا لکھا تل نہیں سکتا۔

خواجہ جب بادشاہ کے سامنے آئے تو اُس نے پوچھا کہ ”اگر کوئی شخص اپنے ولی نعمت سے نمک حرامی کرے اور اُس کا ثبوت بھی مل جائے تو اُس شخص کی کیا سزا ہے؟“ یہاں تو حساب پاک تھا۔ خواجہ نے بے ساختہ کہا کہ ”جس بدبخت سے ایسی حرکت سرزد ہو اُس کی گردن مار دینی چاہئے“ بادشاہ نے وہ خط خواجہ کو دکھایا۔ خواجہ حیران رہ گئے اور قرآن مجید کے یہ الفاظ کہے کہ ”سبحانک ہذا بہتان عظیم“ پھر کہا کہ ”مہر تو بلاشبہ میری ہے مگر تحریر میری نہیں۔“ بادشاہ ایک تو شراب میں مست تھا دوسرے غصے کا بہوت اُس پر سوار تھا، بغیر مزید تحقیقات کے جوہر نامی حبشی کو خواجہ کی گردن مارنے کا حکم دیکر حرم سرا کی طرف چلا گیا۔ خواجہ نے بہ آواز بلند کہا کہ ”مجھ جیسے بوزھ کا قتل تو آسان ہے مگر میرا خون ناحق رنگ لائیگا اور تمہاری رسوائی اور خرابی کا باعث ہوگا“ بادشاہ نے کوئی جواب نہیں دیا اور حرم سرا میں داخل ہو گیا۔ تاریخ شاہد ہے کہ وہی ہوا جو خواجہ نے کہا تھا۔ جوہر حبشی تلوار لئے ہو

دوسرا قصیدہ :- جامی اشعار دلاویز تو جنسے است لطیف

بودش از حسن بود لطف معانی تارش *

ہمراۃ قافلۂ ہند رواں کن کہ رسد

شرف و عزّ قبول از ملک التجارش *

خواجہ نے سنہ ۸۷۶ھ میں ایک عالی شان مدرسہ اور مسجد

احمد آباد بیدر میں بنوائی - سامعی نے مدرسے کی حسب ذیل

تاریخ کہی :-

ایں مدرسۂ رفیع و محمود بنا

چوں کعبہ شد است قبلۂ اہل صفا *

آثار قبول ہیں کہ شد تاریخش

از آیت ربّنا تقبل منا *

سنہ ۸۷۶ ہجری

خواجہ نے سلطان محمد بہمنی کی مدح میں ایک قصیدہ

کہا ہے جس کے دو شعر یہ ہیں :-

شد شکل ضرب تیغت بردوش جاں حمائل

ہیکل ز حرز سیفی انگہ ہراس ای دل *

تیغ تو آب حیواں مردم ز حسرتِ آن

آرے بہ عہدِ من شد آب حیاتِ قاتل *

خواجہ کی موت کا واقعہ نہایت درد ناک ہے - آپ کی روز

افزون ترقی کو دیکھکر اکثر اقران و امثال آپ کے بے سبب دشمن ہو گئے

تھے - ظریف الملک دکنی 'مفتاح حبشی اور ملک حسن نظام الملک نے

آپ کے قتل کی سازش کی اور اُس حبشی غلام کو جس کے پاس

خواجہ کی مہر رہتی تھی اپنے ساتھ ملا لیا - ایک روز اُس کو خوب

شراب پلائی اور جب وہ بیہوش ہو گیا تو ایک سفید کاغذ اُس کو دیکر

خواجہ کی مہر اُس پر کرائی - پھر اُس کاغذ پر خواجہ کی طرف سے

آریسہ کے رائے کے نام خط لکھا جس کا مضمون یہ تھا کہ ”بادشاہ کی

شراب خواری اور ظلموں سے ہم تنگ آ گئے ہیں - تمہاری قلیل ترجہ سے

آنا چاہا تو سلطان علاء الدین بہمنی ثانی (سنہ ۸۳۸ ہجری تا سنہ ۸۶۳ ہجری) نے آپ کو روک لیا اور اپنے امرا میں داخل کر لیا۔

ہمایوں شاہ (ظالم) بہمنی (سنہ ۸۶۳ تا سنہ ۸۶۵ ہجری) کے عہد میں ملک التجار کا خطاب پایا، وزیر اور جملة الملک کے منصب پر سرفراز ہوئے اور بڑی شایستہ خدمتیں انجام دیں۔ سلطان محمد شاہ بہمنی ثانی (سنہ ۸۶۷ تا سنہ ۸۸۷ ہجری) کے عہد میں خواجہ جہاں کا خطاب اور منصب امیر الامرائی پایا۔ بادشاہ نے خلعت خاص عطا فرمایا اور یہ حکم دیا کہ خواجہ کے نام کے ساتھ یہ الفاظ لکھے جایا کریں:۔
”مجلس کریم، ستید عظیم، ہمایوں اعظم، صاحب السیف والقلم، مخدوم جہانیاں، معتمد درگاہ شاہاں، آصف جم نشاں۔
امیر الامراء ملک، نائب الملک، ملک التجار، محمود گواں المختاطب بہ خواجہ جہاں۔“

خواجہ خلعت و خطاب سے سرفراز ہونے کے بعد فوراً اپنے خزانے کے حجرے میں گئے، شاہی خلعت اُتار کر فقیرانہ لباس پہنا اور بہت روئے۔ حجرے سے نکلے تو تمام نقد و جنس و جواہر اور دیگر سامان جو بذریعہ تجارت و امارت جمع کیا تھا، احمد آباد بیدر کے علما و فضلا اور سادات میں تقسیم کر دیا۔ کتابیں اور ہاتھی گھوڑے رکھ لئے اور کہا کہ کتابیں طلبا کا حق ہے اور ہاتھی گھوڑے بادشاہ کی ملک ہیں۔ یہ چند روز کے لئے میرے پاس امانت ہیں۔

خواجہ اور ملا جامی میں خط و کتابت رہا کرتی تھی۔ ملا صاحب نے خواجہ کی مدح میں دو قصیدے لکھے ہیں۔ جن کے دو دو شعر ہم یہاں درج کرتے ہیں:۔

پہلا قصیدہ:۔ مرحبا اي قاصدِ کلکِ معاني مرحبا

الصلا كزجان و دل بذل تو كردم الصلا *

ہم جہانرا خواجہ و ہم فقر را دیباچہ اوست

آیت الفقر لکن تحت اسقار الفنا *

خواجہ محمود گاوآن

تخلص معلوم نہیں - عماد الدین نام - خواجہ لقب - وطن
قاوان - سال ولادت کا پتہ نہیں چلا - خواجہ محمود گیلان کے ایک
قریہ قاوان میں پیدا ہوئے - اسی مناسبت سے محمود گاوآن کے نام سے
مشہور ہو گئے -

خواجہ بہت بڑے فاضلِ عصر تھے - علوم عقلی و نقلی خصوصاً
ریاضی اور طب میں خاص مہارت رکھتے تھے - نثر و نظم و انشاس میں
تو ممتاز الافاضل تھے - علم دوست ، قبیلہ پرور ، قیّاض ، قدردانِ علم
و ہنر ، رحم دل ، خوش خلق ، متواضع ، منکسر المزاج اور عابد و زاہد
تھے - قیاضی کا یہ عالم تھا کہ ہمیشہ اپنے ہم عصر فضلا کو خراسان اور
عراق تک تحفے بھیجا کرتے تھے -

خواجہ محمود کا خاندان ہمیشہ سے معزز و محترم رہا ہے - آپ کے
اجداد شاہانِ گیلان کے وزیروں میں سے تھے - شدہ شدہ ان میں سے
ایک سریر آراء سلطنتِ رشت ہوا اور اُس کا خطبہ منبروں پر
پڑھا گیا - یہ سلسلہ تاجداری شاہ طہماسپ صفوی دارایِ ایران کے
زمانے تک خواجہ کے خاندان میں رہا - ہوش سنبھالنے اور علم و کمال
حاصل کرنے کے بعد لوگ اُن کے ایسے محسود ہوئے کہ مجبوراً اپنی
والدہ کے ایما پر وطن چھوڑنا پڑا - آپ کی والدہ بھی مشایخِ دیں کے خاندان
کی ایک فرد تھیں - عراق و خراسان کے بعض بادشاہوں نے آپ کو اپنا
وزیر بنانا چاہا مگر آپ نے قبول نہ کیا اور تجارت کو اختیار فرمایا -
اسی تقریب سے اکثر دیارِ امصار کو دیکھا اور ہر جگہ کے علماء اور
مشایخ کی صحبتوں سے مستفیض ہوئے -

تینتالیس برس کی عمر تھی کہ آپ ایک تاجر کی حیثیت سے
دکن پہنچے - شاہِ محب اللہ قدس سرہ اور دیگر مشایخ کا شہرہ سنکر
اُن کی ملاقات کے لئے احمد آباد بیدر گئے - اِس اثنا میں خواجہ کے
علم و فضل اور اخلاق کا دکن میں شہرہ ہو چکا تھا - بیدر سے واپس

کہ اتنے خطیر مال کو کفایت نہیں کرسکتیں - سلطان احمد شاہ انتقال کر چکے تھے - مجبوراً سلطان علاء الدین شاہ بہمنی ثانی (سنہ ۸۳۰ ہجری تا سنہ ۸۶۱ ہجری) کو ایک عریضہ لکھا - بادشاہ نے اس کا جواب دستِ خاص سے لکھ کر شیخ کا اعزاز بڑھایا اور اُس کو عطایائے کثیر کے ساتھ شیخ کے پاس بھیجا -

آخر سنہ ۸۶۱ ہجری میں بیاسی سال کی عمر پاکر واصل بحق ہوئے - آذری نے ایک مبسوط دیوان مشتمل بر قصائد و غزلیات و قطعات وغیرہ یادگار چھوڑا ہے - من اشعارہ :-

بہ مجلسے کہ درو گنج کبریا بخشند
 ہزار افسرِ شاہی بیک گدا بخشند *
 دلا بمی کدہ ہا روز و شب گدائی کن
 بود کہ دُرد کشاں جرعہ بما بخشند *
 شدیم پیر بہ عصیان و چشمِ آن داریم
 کہ جُرمِ ما بہ جوانانِ پارسا بخشند *
 غلامِ ہمتِ آن عارفانِ با کرم
 کہ یک صواب بہ بینند و صد خطا بخشند *
 بہ کوی میکدہ از مفلسی چہ غم دارم
 کہ ساقیاں ہمہ جام جہاں نما بخشند *
 بہ نیم ساعتِ ہجر آذری نمی ارزد
 ہزار سال گرش در جہاں بقا بخشند *
 تاریخ انتقالِ آذری :-

چراغِ دل بہ مصباحِ حیاتش
 بہ انواعِ حقائق داشت پرتو *
 چو او مانند خسرو بود در شعر
 از ان تاریخِ فوٹش گشت خسرو *
 سنہ ۸۶۱ ہجری

میں دارالامارۃ شاہی زیرِ تعمیر تھا۔ جب تعمیر ختم ہوئی تو آپ نے یہ دو شعر پتھر پر کھدوا کر دارالامارۃ کے دروازے پر نصب کرائے :-

حبذا قصرٍ مشید کہ ز فرطِ عظمت
آسماں سُدّۂ از پایۂ این درگاہ است *

آسماں ہم نتوان گفت کہ ترکِ ادب است
قصرِ سلطانِ جہاں احمدِ بہمن شاہ است *

ایک روز اتفاق سے بادشاہ کی نظر ان اشعار پر پڑی تو پتھر پر ہنک گیا۔ شہزادۂ علاء الدین ساتھ تھے۔ پوچھا کہ کس کا کلام ہے؟ انہوں نے آذری کا نام لیا۔ چونکہ موقع اچھا تھا، ساتھ ہی عرض کیا کہ ”آذری اپنے وطن کی جدائی میں سخت بے تاب ہیں اور اجازت کے خواستگار۔ وہ کہتے ہیں کہ اگر مجھے وطن جانے کی اجازت مل جائے تو جو حج میں نے کیا ہے اُس کا آدھا ثواب نذرِ حضور کرونگا۔“ بادشاہ یہ سنکر ہنس پڑے اور فوراً اجازت عطا فرمائی اور ساتھ ہی خلعتِ خاص، پانچ ہندی غلام اور چالیس ہزار تنگہ نقرہ (ایک تنگہ = ایک تولہ) عنایت ہوئے۔ شیخ بہت شکر گزار ہوئے اور عرض کیا کہ ”لا یحمل عطایاکم الا مطایاکم“ بادشاہ نے اور بیس ہزار تنگے سفر کے خرچ کے لئے دئے۔ چلتے ہوئے آذری نے بادشاہ سے وعدہ کیا کہ تازیست ”بہمن نامہ“ کی تصنیف میں مصروف رہونگا، جس کا آغاز ہو چکا تھا۔ چنانچہ مدتِ العمر اِس وعدے کا ایفا کرتے رہے اور ایک سال میں جتنا حصّہ نظم کر لیتے، وطن سے بادشاہ کی خدمت میں بھیج دیتے تھے۔ سلطان ہمایوں شاہ بہمنی تک پہنچنے پائے دئے کہ پیغام اجل آ پہنچا۔ باقی حصّے کو ملا نظیری ملا سامعی اور دیگر شعرا نے پورا کیا۔

شیخ یہ انعامات لیکر وطن پہنچے۔ بقیہ عمر عبادتِ الہی میں گزار دی۔ مزید براں دستِ سخاوت و خیرات وسیع کیا۔ چنانچہ ایک مہمانسرای بنوا کر اِس کو وقف کر دیا۔ ایسی سخاوتیں ظاہر

پہلا باب

فارسي گو شعرا کا حال

فصل اوّل

وہ فارسي گو شعراء ايران جو شمالي ہند سے دکن ميں آئے

آذري

آذري تخلص - سيّد حمزہ نام - شيخ نور الدين لقب - فرزند
خواجہ علي ملک سربداريہ - وطن اسفراين (علاقہ خراسان) سال ولادت
سنہ ۷۸۴ ہجری - ماہ آذر ميں پيدا ہوا اسلئے آذري تخلص اختيار کیا -
بہت بڑے پائے کے شاعر اور نہایت ذہين شخص تھے - عنوان
جواني ہی ميں سلطان شاہ رخ مرزا کی سرکار ميں بڑا رسوخ حاصل
کیا اور بڑی عزت پائی، یہاں تک کہ خطاب ملک الشعرائي سے سرفراز ہوا -
پھر گوشہ نشيني اختيار کی اور حضرت محي الدين طوسي کی خدمت
ميں رہکر رياضتیں کیں - ان کے انتقال کے بعد سيّد نعمت اللہ سے
مستفید ہوا - خرقہ خلافت آپ ہی سے پایا - متوسط عمر ميں زیارت
حرمين شريفين سے مشرف ہوکر ہندوستان پہنچے اور سلطان احمد شاہ
بہمني اول فرمان رواے گلبرگہ کی سلک ملازمت ميں داخل ہوا اور
بادشاہ کی تعریف ميں کئی پُر زور قصیدے لکھے - بادشاہ نے بھی ان کی بڑی
قدر داني کی اور یہاں سے بھی ملک الشعراء کا خطاب پایا - بارہا بيش بہا
انعامات سرکار شاهی سے عطا ہوا -

ایک دفعہ بادشاہ سے وطن جانے کی اجازت چاہی مگر نہ ملي،
ناچار خاموش ہو رہے اور کسی ذریعے کی فکر ميں لگے - ان دنوں گلبرگہ

(۱۲) آب حیات، مصنفہ مولوی محمد حسین صاحب آزاد -

(۱۳) مضامین شرر، از مولوی عبد الحلیم صاحب شرر -

(۱۴) تاریخ ادب اردو، مصنفہ رام بابو صاحب سکسینہ، مترجمہ

مرزا محمد عسکری صاحب -

جہاں میری یہ دعا ہے کہ رب الارباب اس تذکرے کو قبولیت دوام عطا فرمائے، وہاں مٹیں یہ بھی دعا کرتا ہوں (اور ناظرین سے بھی استدعا کرتا ہوں کہ وہ بھی میرا ساتھ دیں) کہ جن حضرات شعرا کا اس تذکرے میں ذکر ہے اُن سب کو ارحم الراحمین مغفرت نصیب کرے، کیونکہ وہی فارسی اور اردو زبان کے اصلی محسن ہیں -

آخر میں بہ ادب یہ گزارش ہے کہ مٹیں نے حتی المقدور اپنی طرف سے انتخاب و تحقیق حالات شعرا میں کوئی کمی نہیں کی - ممکن بلکہ یقین ہے کہ ابھی یہ تذکرہ بہت ہی نامکمل ہو اور سیکنڈوں مشہور امیر میری نگاہ سے چھوٹ گئے ہوں، یا مٹیں نے اپنی کمی قابلیت سے قصداً چھوڑ دیے ہوں - اگر ناظرین کرام بجائے زبان طعن دراز کرنے کے مجھے میرے سقموں پر متنبہ فرما کر اس تذکرے کی تکمیل میں مدد فرمائیں گے تو مٹیں بے حد ممنون ہوں گا اور آئندہ ایڈیشن میں یہ مکمل ہو سکیگا -

آخر یہ مشترکہ جائداد ہے اور جنوبی ہند کے باشندے کا یہ فرض ہے کہ وہ اس کی صلاح و فلاح میں جان توڑ کوشش فرمائیں -

جیسا کہ مٹیں ابھی عرض کر آیا ہوں مجھے اپنی کمی استعداد کا اعتراف ہے - وہ کونسا انسان ہے جو اپنے آپ کو ”انسان کامل“ کہہ سکے - محال ہے کہ نامکمل کا کوئی کام بھی مکمل کہا جاسکے - وصّٰی اللہ تعالیٰ علی افضل الانبیاء و اشرف اولاد آدم محمد مصطفیٰ الذی ہو انسان کامل و لاریب فیہ -

خاکسار محمد منظور گوہر (مخاطب بہ امیر الشعرا و نجم الفضلا)

نائر خاندان نوابان کرناٹک و منصبدار ہزارا لٹڈ ہائنس اعلیٰ حضرت

(حضور نظام دکن خلد اللہ تعالیٰ ملکہ)

جام بازار - مدراس

فصل دوم - وہ شعراء جو مختلف بیرون دکن شہروں سے دکن آئے اور یہیں توطن اختیار کیا -

فصل سوم - وہ دکنی شعراء جو مدراس ہی میں پیدا ہوئے *

تیسرا باب - اُن فارسی گو ایرانی شعراء کا حال جو شمالی ہند سے دکن آئے اور چند روز مقیم رہ کر واپس چلے گئے *

اس تذکرے میں شعراء کے ناموں کو بہ ترتیب تہجی نہیں لکھا گیا ہے - بلکہ تقدّم زمانی کا خیال رکھا گیا ہے - البتہ تذکرۂ گلزار اعظم (مولفۂ نواب غلام محمد غوث خان بہادر اعظم، نواب کرناٹک) سے جو شعراء منتخب کئے گئے ہیں اُن میں حروف تہجی کی ترتیب ہے - اُن میں سے اکثر شعراء وہ ہیں جو گلزار اعظم کی تالیف، یعنی سنہ ۱۲۶۹ ہجری تک بقید حیات تھے *

اس کتاب کے دوران تالیف میں ذیل کی کتابیں میرے مطالعے میں تھیں اور اُن سے میں نے مدد لی ہے :-

- (۱) تاریخ فرشتہ، مصنفۂ محمد قاسم فرشتہ -
- (۲) کلمات الشعراء مصنفۂ محمد افضل سرخوش -
- (۳) خزائن عامرہ، مصنفۂ میر غلام علی آزاد بلگرامی -
- (۴) گلشن بیخار، مصنفۂ نواب مصطفیٰ خان شیفتہ -
- (۵) صبح وطن اعظم، مصنفۂ نواب غلام محمد غوث خان بہادر اعظم نواب کرناٹک -

- (۶) نتائج الافکار مصنفۂ محمد قدرت اللہ خاں قدرت -
- (۷) گلزار اعظم، مصنفۂ نواب غلام محمد غوث خان بہادر اعظم نواب کرناٹک -

- (۸) تاریخ عزیز دکن، مصنفۂ مولوی عبد العزیز صاحب فرزند مولوی مہدی صاحب واصف -

- (۹) دیوان ممتاز، مصنفۂ نواب عمدۃ الامراء بہادر ممتاز فرمانرواے کرناٹک -

- (۱۰) مثنوی رشک قر، مصنفۂ نادر (نام نامعلوم) -

- (۱۱) محبوب الزمن، مصنفۂ مولوی ابوتراب محمد عبد الجبار خان صاحب -

ب

مدراس یونیورسٹی کی طرف سے شائع کیا جاتا ہے۔ اُمید ہے کہ اس کو بذریعہ قدر دانی ملاحظہ فرمایا جائیگا اور مدیری محنت کی داد دیجائیگی *

اس تذکرے میں سنہ ۷۷۰ ہجری سے سنہ ۱۲۷۰ ہجری تک جو شعرا گزرے ہیں، اُن کا حال مٹیں نے بڑی تحقیق سے درج کیا ہے۔ اس میں اُن ۱۴۷ شعرا کا حال درج ہے جو جنوبی ہند اور دکن میں پیدا ہوئے یا دوسرے شہروں سے جنوبی ہند میں پہنچے تھے۔

اس کتاب میں تین باب اور ایک ضمیمہ ہے اور ہر باب کی کئی کئی فصلیں ہیں، جو ذیل کی تفصیل سے معلوم ہوگا۔

پہلے باب۔ فارسی گو شعرا کا حال۔ اس میں آٹھ فصلیں ہیں۔

فصل اول۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء ایران جو شمالی ہند سے دکن میں آئے۔

فصل دوم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء ہندوستان جو شمالی ہند سے دکن میں آئے۔

فصل سوم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء جو دکن ہی میں پیدا ہوئے۔

فصل چہارم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء ایران جو دوسرے شہروں سے مدراس میں آئے۔

فصل پنجم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء ہندوستان جو دوسرے شہروں سے کرناٹک آئے۔

فصل ششم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء ہندوستان جو دوسرے شہروں سے مدراس آئے۔

فصل ہفتم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء جو کرناٹک میں پیدا ہوئے *

فصل ہشتم۔ وہ فارسی گو شعراء جو مدراس میں پیدا ہوئے *

دوسرا باب۔ دکنی شعرا کا حال۔ اس میں تین فصلیں ہیں *

فصل اول۔ وہ شعراء جن کی ولادت۔ نشو و نما اور ترقی دکن

میں ہوئی *

دیباچہ

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

حمدِ داور گوہرِ کانِ سخن * نعمتِ سرورِ جوہرِ جانِ سخن
فصلِ یزداں نے ہدایت دی مجھے * حمدِ سبحان نے سعادت دی مجھے
نعمت نے بخشا شرفِ برتر کیا * قطرۂ ناچیز کو گوہر کیا
یہ دعا ہے اے ودودِ بے مثال * بھیج روز و شب درودِ بے مثال
احمدِ مُرسل شہِ معراج پر * آل پر اصحاب پر ازواج پر
انبیا پر اولیا پر ہو سلام * اتقیا پر اصغیا پر ہو سلام
میرے پیرانِ طریقت پر بھی ہو * مُرشدانِ پاک طینت پر بھی ہو
نکتہ سنجانِ سخن سے عرض ہے * صاحبانِ علم و فن سے عرض ہے
یہ ہے گلدستہ سخن کے باغ کا * یہ ہے گلدستہ دکن کے باغ کا
ہے دکن کے شاعروں کا تذکرہ * ہے سخن کے ماہروں کا تذکرہ
رونما ہیں واقعاتِ شاعراں * دل گُشا ہیں سائناتِ شاعراں
یہ سفینہ گلشنِ بیخار ہے * یہ خزینہ مخزنِ اشعار ہے
خیر ہواے کردگارِ اس باغ کی * روز افزوں ہو بہارِ اس باغ کی
اس کو بھی ہر دلعزیزی ہو نصیب * اس کی شہرت میں ترقی ہو نصیب
چمکے ہر لفظ اس کا اختر کی طرح * آبرو بھی پلے گوہر کی طرح
کام میرا التجا دن رات ہے * نام تیرا قاضی الحاجات ہے

تجہ سے گوہر کی دعا ہے روز و شب

یہ وظیفہ ای خُدا ہے روز و شب

اما بعد - سنہ ۱۹۲۷ ع میں صوبہ مدراس میں محکمۂ تفحص

السنة مشرقیہ (اورینٹل ری سرچ انسٹی تیوٹ) قائم ہوا - اور
میرا تقرر بہ عہدۂ جونیئر ریڈر عمل میں آیا - علاوہ اور فرائض مفوضہ کے
میں نے یہ تذکرہ فارسی اور اردو کے اُن شعرا کا تالیف کیا جس کو

ب

صفحہ	مضمون	صفحہ	مضمون
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